

The MODERN REVIEW

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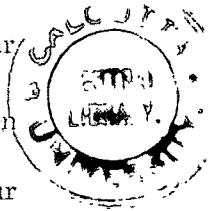
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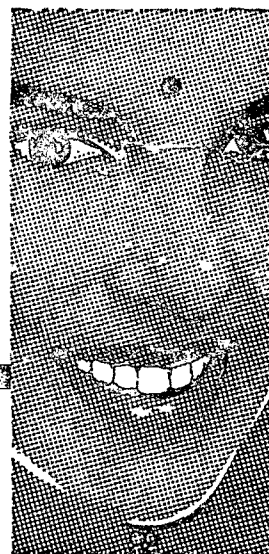
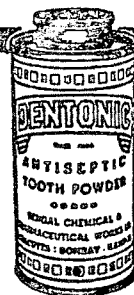
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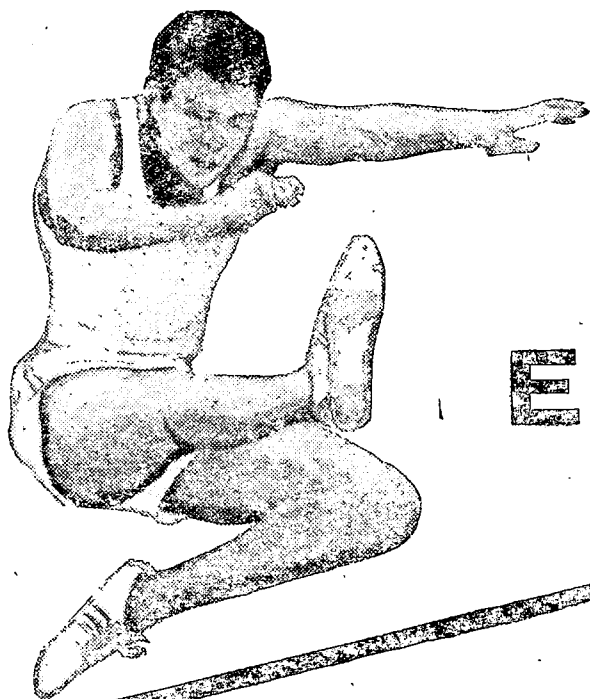
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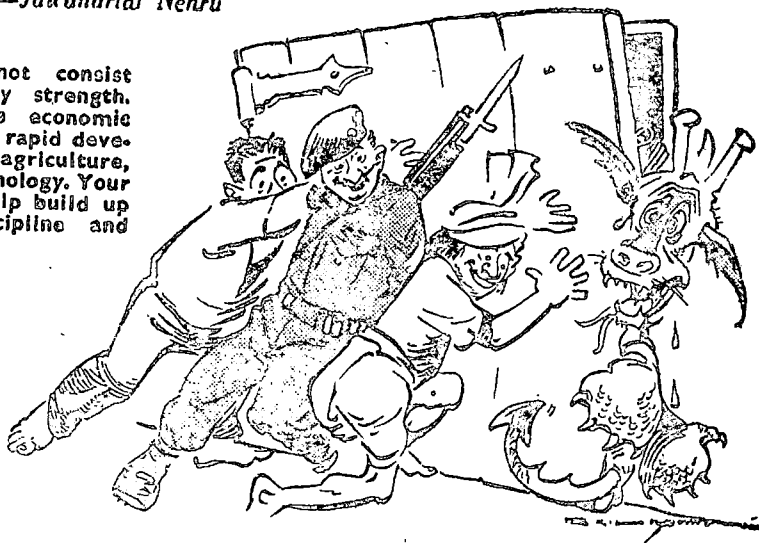
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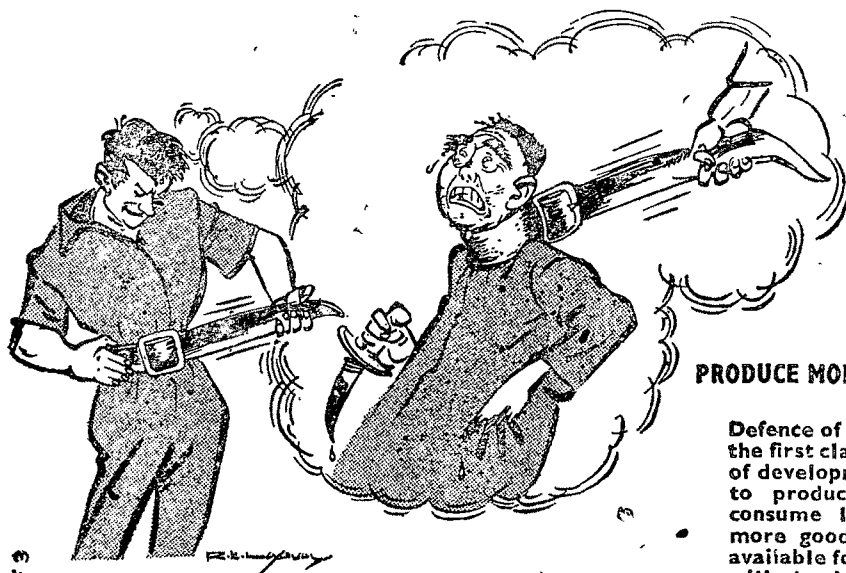
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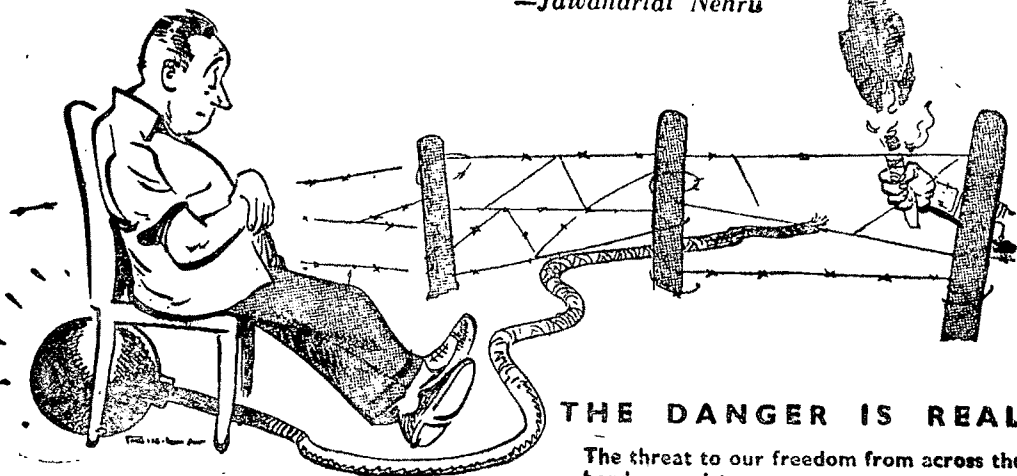
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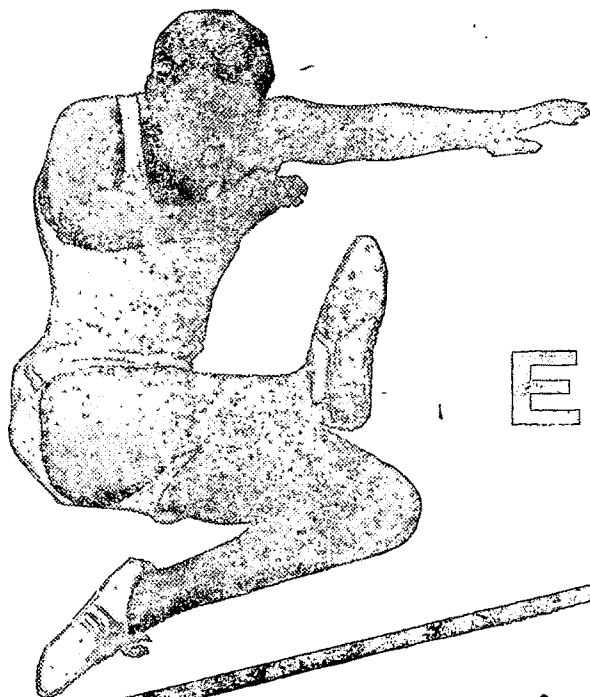
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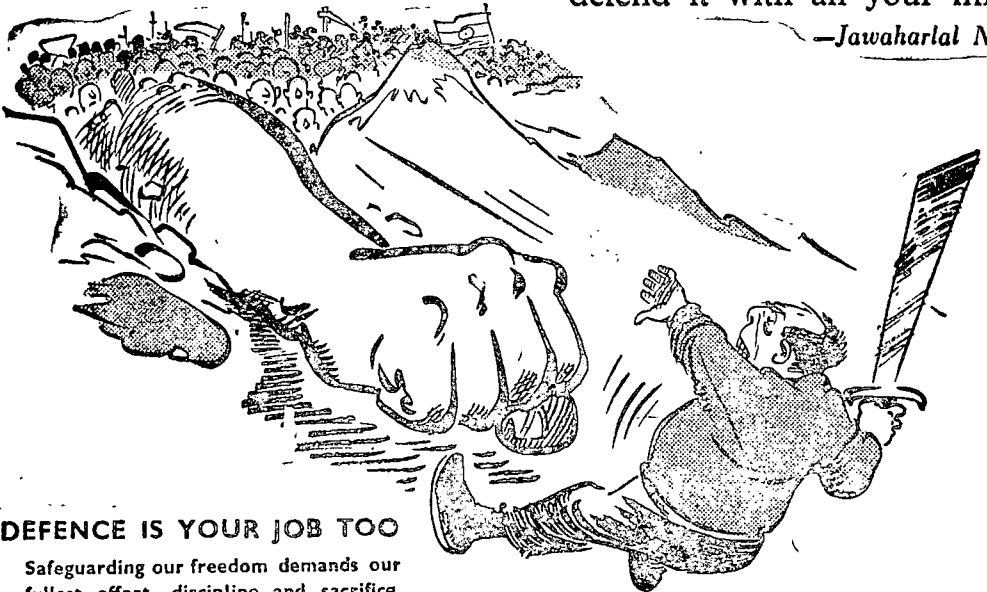


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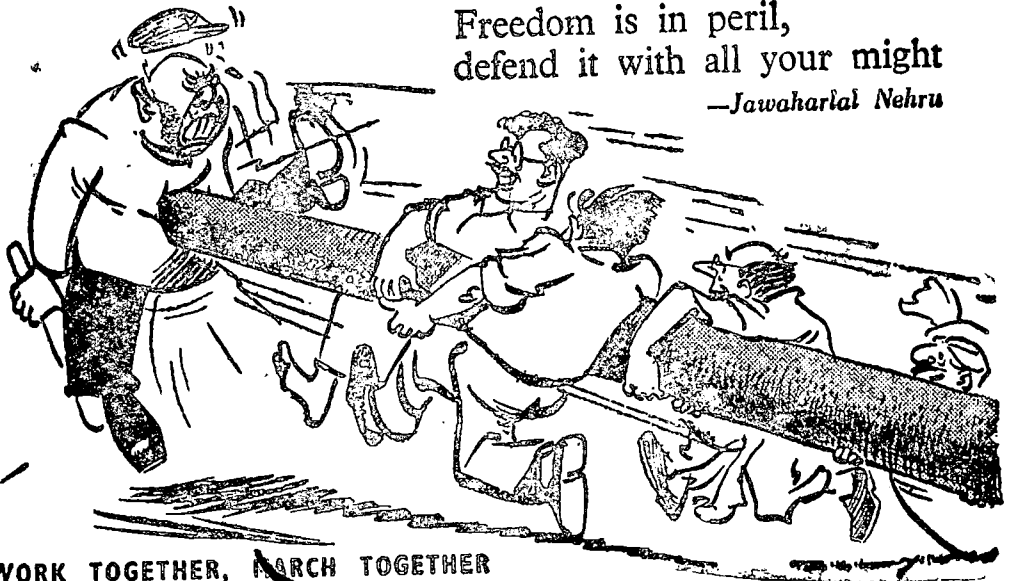


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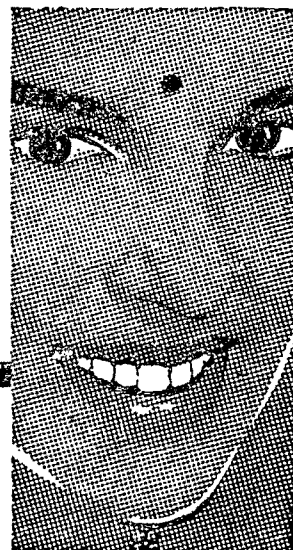
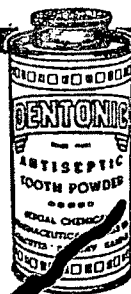
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THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY



1964

VOL. CXV, No. 1

WHOLE No. 685

NOTES

THE WORLD

The world is in a more relaxed state at the end of 1963 than it was when the year was young. Tensions have been distinctly lowered as between the Western and the Soviet blocs. The detente that followed the agreement between the Soviet and the Western powers over the banning of all Nuclear tests excepting those underground, has spread all over Europe despite the unwillingness of de Gaulle's France to sign the nuclear test ban treaty.

The recent move by the authorities of East Berlin which allowed tens of thousands of West Berliners to visit their relatives during the festive season of Christmas with gifts, has further eased the situation in a sector which has been the test area of the cold war in the West. The Soviet authorities were somewhat doubtful about the continuance of the policy and attitude of a friendly approach laid down by the late President Kennedy by his successor President Johnson. They seem to have been reassured to some extent by the declarations of the latter in the last few days. In any case there has been no fresh incidents of any serious import since the detente. In the U.S. too the jingoes seem to have relaxed.

The state of affairs on our Himalayan frontiers remain unchanged. But the situation that developed after the Chinese invasion, has been stabilised to some extent and no further aggressive moves of

any consequence has been reported in recent months on either the Ladakh or the NEFA areas. The Chinese are trying to intensify the cold war in this area and they are being actively aided by President Ayub and his counsellors. Active provocations are being given all along the common frontiers, with particular emphasis on the Chaknot area in Kashmir and in the hilly areas of Assam-East Pakistan borders. A continuous campaign of vilification, mostly through false accusation and brazenly lying statements, is being carried on likewise.

There is a recent joint move, by the Chinese Premier and the Pakistan dictator, to drive a wedge between India and the non-aligned States of the Afro-Asian group. Ayub has tried all his blandishments on the Prime Minister of Ceylon and her cabinet members. He was well aware of the differences that have arisen between the Governments of India and Ceylon over the question of the "State-less" people of Indian origin in Ceylon, and he thought he might cash-in while the going was good. There does not seem to have been much agreement between Ayub and the Ceylonese Premier, as evinced by the news reports and the joint statement issued by both after Ayub's visit was over.

The Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and his entourage have started with the U.A.R. There were prolonged talks between the Chinese Premier and President Nass

and Premier Sabri and press conferences, etc. But here again the main points of the proposals put forward by Chou En-lai—and his satellite Ayub—regarding the holding of another Bandung conference and the abandonment of the proposed conference of the non-aligned States of the world do not seem to have been accepted by the U.A.R. President. Chou En-lai apparently seems to have scored a point in the matter of getting the "direct negotiations" between India and China, without any condition precedent proposal, agreed upon by President Nasser, so far as the news reports of the joint communique issued by the visitor and the host go.

Needless to say our External Affairs department has taken the usually sonolent blinks at the moves of our hostile neighbour, as is customary with it. On the questions of the Bandung Conference proposal and the abandonment of the conference of all the non-aligned States, no positive moves seem to have been taken by our authorities.

The month of December, up to the time of writing these, has had nothing untoward to happen in international affairs. On the positive side the new American President—the 36th man to fill the post of the Chief Executive of U. S.—Lyndon Johnson, has taken firmly over. In his address to the Congress, the new President had told the Congress and the world, "Today, in this moment of new resolve, I would say to all my fellow Americans, let us continue." The picture that emerged after the address was that of a President who would translate the promises of the late President into action. The democratic world bids him Godspeed in his resolve. The dead President was a friend in the fullest sense of the term, as understood by us along the tenets laid down by the ancients. He had understanding and courage mixed with a genuine love for all humanity and it would be difficult to fill his vacant seat. But if there be any chance of a real successor being found to this great leader, than certainly Lyndon Johnson, who was close to him through the trying times of last three years seems to be the best choice.

Other events worthy of report are few. The death of the Maharaja of Sikkim, Sir Tashi Namgyal, has removed a legendary figure from amongst us. He was a painter of very considerable talent and though he seemed to be detached from all worldly affairs in recent years, he had a personality that had an exotic charm. Premier Sarit Tuanarat of Thailand, the Strong Man of his country, who had stabilized his country's chaotic Government and collapsing economy has also died at the age of 55. His death has removed from South-east Asia the one man on whom the Western powers—particularly the U.S.—could rely.

Kenya and Zanzibar have attained full freedom. Kenya becomes the 35th new State, with Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta at the helm. Zanzibar becomes Africa's smallest independent nation with a population of only 300,000 on her two islands. Kenya has a large European colony, which for the present seems content with Kenyatta's promises. Zanzibar has a mixed population, largely dominated by the Arab minority which forms 20 per cent only of the population. Prime Minister Sheikh Muhammad Hamadi is an Arab.

Corruption

It seems that at last the Wise Men of New Delhi have woken up to the fact that there is corruption, all pervading and intensely corrosive in nature, eating at the vitals of the administration and the economy of the country. It is late in the day, for now corruption has become the major force in practically every walk in the life of the nation, thanks to the indifference and crass ignorance about public welfare of those who could have run the country on a different track if only they had listened to the warnings given by those who were aware of the evil force slowly wrapping its coils round the nation. Still it is better late than never, though the struggle will be fierce and the effort to cleanse public life of this degrading filth must be sustained for years before any positive results are even apparent.

For corruption provides the supreme incentives in all sections of administration and enterprise. These incentives are the provisions for the satisfaction of greed and lust in the fullest sense of the terms. And those who provide the means

NOTES

together with those who receive it because of their hold over the administration or the economic reins or the nation's affairs, have between them brought the nation to the verge of an absolute collapse.

The Home Minister, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda seems to be the first in the Central Cabinet to have realised the extent to which this evil has permeated. Mr. Nehru does not seem able as yet to make up his mind to look the facts about corruption straight in the face. But even he admits—at long last—that corruption poses a major challenge to the nation. He said that at a rally of Congress workers at Madras on Nov. 30. *The Statesman's* report on that part of his address ran thus :

"Exaggerated though they may be, charges of corruption at all levels in the country are at least partly correct, Mr. Nehru said here today.

Addressing a rally of Congress workers, the Prime Minister said it was obviously not possible to make every man in India an angel. However, this was a challenge which had to be taken up.

"It is a good thing that the challenge has come because it forces you to be on your toes and not to become slack and slow," he said.

He called for the introduction of a strong atmosphere opposed to corruption adding that "we have to fight this disease with all our strength and punish those guilty of corruption whoever they may be." This was very important from the point of view of administering the country as well as the Congress.

It was a little absurd for Congressmen to talk of objectives and principles when corruption always came in the way. It was the duty of every Congressman, Mr. Nehru said, to do his utmost to root out corrupt practices and bogus membership from the organization itself.

The Kamraj plan though not entirely successful everywhere was a right step to strengthen and purify the organization."

Mr. Nehru evidently has no idea of the extent to which this evil has penetrated and, further, as yet does not seem willing that the government and administration that has for so long been guided and directed by himself and his associates be declared to be riddled with corruption. He said "It was a *little absurd* for Congressmen to talk of objectives and principles when corruption always came in the way". What he should have said was "It was brazen hypocrisy for most Congressmen to talk of objectives and principles when all the time they were thinking of illicit gain or

undeserved powers." However, we should be thankful that the realisation of corruption standing always in the way has come to him.

Mr. Nanda seems to be more disturbed at the state of affairs, though even he does not seem to be fully aware of the formidable task that faces anyone who is out to eradicate corruption from the administration and the Government. *The Statesman's* report on his statement before the informal Consultative Committee of the Parliament on Dec. 7, which we reproduce below contains the rough outline of his plans for combating the evil.

Three high-powered bodies were proposed to be set up to deal with the problems of corruption—public complaints and administrative inefficiency. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Home Minister, announced here today.

These would include an "independent" Central Vigilance Commission on the lines of the Union Public Service Commission, a Central agency to deal with public grievances and a department of administrative reforms.

Mr. Nanda, who was addressing Parliament's informal consultative committee for his Ministry said that the Central Vigilance Commission will have extensive functions so that it could take prompt and effective action against corrupt officials.

The commission will submit an annual report which will be placed before Parliament. The report will mention all cases where its advice is not accepted by the Government.

The Union Home Minister was confident that a visible and striking change would be discernible within two years through this measure. The commission will function with the help of the Special Police Establishment, Commissioners for departmental inquiries and vigilance agencies in Ministries and departments.

The States, it was hoped, would adopt the anti-corruption measures taken by the Centre with suitable modifications. A district-level set-up would also have to be evolved to check corruption, he said.

The agency on public grievances would deal with citizens' complaints against administrative mal-practices, unsound procedures, wrong though not necessarily dishonest exercise of discretion, delays and lack of courtesy and human consideration in governmental activity.

The department of administrative reform will aim at adapting the administrative set-up to changing conditions. It will take action on the

recommendations of various committees on the subject and may also take steps for a new study of the governmental structure.

The scheme for the "Three pronged attack" on corruption looks good as a sketch plan. But when the details are being filled out, difficulties and Landicaps galore will be observed. The very first thing would be to find officers and men of Special Police Establishment, who are efficient and intelligent and, further, whose integrity is beyond challenge. For during all these years such officers have been deliberately bye-passed, superseded or otherwise neglected to such an extent that it seemed to all who had eyes for such things that there was a definite plan emanating from the Ministerial level, to weed out or eradicate such men. The Police to-day as a result is as corrupt as it was during the worst days of the British administration and *far less efficient*.

The worst offenders were the political bosses of the Congress. They influenced those Ministers and high executives who were not willing to accept open and illicit offers in cash or kind—though some of them succumbed to temptations of another kind—by threatening dire consequences when the time for vote gathering came. Any Police Officer, or for that matter any efficient and honest executive of the administration, who stood in the way of these thoroughly corrupt political bosses, had to face endless troubles from the higher set-up of the administration. So those who were honest started shirking their responsibilities and as a result efficiency in the services has reached an all-time low.

Then, there is the question of the Constitution. Unless amendments are made which will permit the fixing of teeth and claws to penal laws that might be framed for the punishment of corrupt officials, all efforts of the proposed Commission to root out corruption will fail. For corruption centres round illicit wealth in vast quantities and where there is money, there are a thousand doors provided by the Constitution for the escape of the law-breaker—provided he can spend money on lawyers and corrupt officials.

Over and above all these, is the question of dealing with the roots of corruption in the body-politic of the party in power. There are thousands of professional politicians and "patriotic jail-birds" who are virtually in the pay of Big Business. Mr. Nehru and some other prominent men have great hopes about the Kamraj Plan. We only wish that we could be equally optimistic. Unfortunately, we—and a great many know-

ledgeable persons in this country—know too much about the people who are supposed to work the reforms, to hope for any substantial achievement in that way.

The Commission has been announced with the Chief Justice of India, B. P. Sinha, constituting a one-man body. The choice is beyond cavil but the full effect of judgment and experience can only come into action if the executives provided are beyond reproach and efficient. Otherwise, even a Titan would not be able to achieve any result. And further there must be laws framed and suitable amendments made. And lastly the cleaning of the administration would be impossible unless the highest places are subjected to the same process of close inspection.

In this connection a private member's Bill which aimed at checking corruption amongst Ministers should be mentioned. This Bill, which was moved by Mr. H. V. Kamath (P. S. P.) on virtually the last day of the Lok Sabha session, and which urged that Ministers should declare their wealth and possessions once every year, was to have been moved on Dec. 6. But as, according to the rules, a Private Bill which could not be moved on the appointed day is "pushed out" and as certain Congress members for obvious reasons had secured an extension of the debate on a Bill by one of their party men had managed to prevent the moving of this Bill on Dec. 6., it seemed to be doomed. But by a lucky break, in the selection by drawing of lots of one of many non-Official Bills for discussion on Dec. 20, this Bill was chosen. And, thus the Bill was moved and even the Prime Minister came into hear Mr. Kamath move his Bill. Powerful support was given to Mr. Kamath by Prof. Hiren Mookerjee the Communist leader and both Mr. Kamath and Mr. Mookerjee referred to Mr. Nehru's declaration made three years ago that all Ministers should furnish statements of their properties to the Congress High Command, but both insisted that the declaration should be made public and not merely to the party caucus. Both of these speakers had a lot to say about rampant corruption in Congress ranks.

Mr. Hiren Mookerjee declared that the Congress Ministers constituted a new class in what might be called the "perquisitive" society. He said that even Karl Marx had failed to notice "the essential economic difference between those who have expense accounts and those who don't". Mr. Kamath had presented the Lok Sabha, before Mr. Mookerjee, with a new phrase, "the gift of the

grab" which according to him Congressmen possessed abundantly. Further, he said, he was only seeking to achieve, through his Bill, by compulsion what Mr. Nehru had failed to do through persuasion. He stated that serious charges against Ministers were levelled by the Press and the public from time to time, but there was no proper enquiry. The Government had not framed codes of conduct for Ministers though it had been done for public servants.

Incidentally, we would remark that the codes of conduct for public servants was being observed increasingly in the breach thereof, the public servant deriving his immunity to a substantial extent through the grace of his Congress patrons and Ministerial overlords.

In the debate that followed two of the three Congressmen who participated in the discussion opposed the Bill outright on the ground that it was an unwarranted slur on the fair name of Ministers!

The third, Mr. Sinhasan Singh, declared that he would support the Bill provided it applied to all politicians and was not confined to Ministers.

We are inclined to support Mr. Sinhasan Singh and we would say that those two who opposed the Bill because it was a slur on the "fair name" of all Ministers, are worthy of being exhibited as fine specimens of Congress Parliamentarians. For it is the like of them who have sprayed the Congress Ministries with the special "fragrance" that is now rising to high heavens in evidence of their "fair names"! Anyway, they are elected members and as such they must represent a section of the electorate. Curious is it not, how democratic methods work out in some areas?

In the Lok Sabha's winter session the long-awaited debate on corruption was finally postponed till the next session after only three speeches had been made. The reason given for the postponement was the inadequacy of time available for the debate, which was initiated by an Independent member, Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri, on Dec. 21. The short discussion was made quite lively and remarkable by the pungency of the remarks made by the speakers. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the Socialist leader, made a speech in which was trenchant and remarkable, as he probed into the roots of the problem.

According to Dr. Lohia the evil was generated through the ingrained impulse with which every Indian tried to promote the interests of himself, his family, caste and community, by fair means or foul. And unfortunately no odium was

attached to this pernicious pre-occupation. This deep-rooted disease had persisted for more than 1500 years, but during the 15 years of Congress rule it had deteriorated into leprosy. Dr. Lohia complained that the Prime Minister's family and community were flourishing as no other group of people in India. He further remarked "We are told that what can the Prime Minister do if his relatives and friends happen to be brilliant? I assure you, Sir, that all this brilliance would be suddenly transferred to the Ayyangar Brahmins, should the Finance Minister become Prime Minister one day".

Another root cause of corruption, according to Dr. Lohia, was the unholy alliance between those in political authority and "big business". In no other country was this relationship so "dishonest" and never before had so many relatives of the Ministers prospered in the private sector solely because of Ministerial influence.

Dr. Lohia's probe was telling, but it must be a sustained and measured effort if any lasting effects are to come out of it.

The Cruise of the U.S. 7th Fleet in the Indian Ocean

We frankly confess that the bullaballoo raised by a host of our politicians over the Cruise of the U.S. 7th Fleet in the Indian Ocean, can not be understood by us. Mr. Nehru had to explain the position repeatedly and lastly he had again on Dec. 21 to reassure our amateur strategists of the Rajya Sabha—who are no better than their confreres in the Lok Sabha—that the proposed cruise in the Indian Ocean by "a few U.S. ships" would neither threaten India's freedom, nor imperil our policy of non-alignment. "Further he declared emphatically that there was no question of any foreign ships or foreign troops or foreign aircraft" participating in the actual defence of India, which would be effected only by the Indian armed forces and the people of this country.

What was further elicited from the Prime Minister through a question by a Communist member, was the fact that the issue of the U.S. 7th Fleet had neither cropped up during the talk Mr. Nehru had with the Soviet Charge d'Affairs at New Delhi on the previous day, nor had any Asian country made any representation to him on this matter.

We consider Mr. Nehru's explanations quite convincing. And further we fail to see that those gentlemen who were so agitated about the proposed cruise have expressed anything beyond a

veiled sense of hostility to a very friendly country. If they could place any solid grounds for their apprehensions, we could evaluate their arguments. But their protestations and fulminations seem to be as hazy to us as they are the reverse of useful. Do these champions of India's good name realise that the Indian Ocean is Indian only in name, and apart from our territorial waters it might be renamed Burmese Ocean, Indonesian Ocean, Malayan Ocean or whatever-you-like, without so much as a by your leave from us? The High Seas are free and open to ships of all nations, in times of peace.

And lastly we could not understand what Mr. Nehru was supposed to do. Make himself ridiculous by remonstrating with the U.S., over what is no concern of ours?

Only a short while ago there were combined air and naval exercises off the Pakistani coast, in the Arabian Sea. We did not hear a single whisper from these alert sentinels of Indian non-alignment. If there be SEATO or CENTO exercises, as there were off the West Pakistan coast, then American crafts as a rule participate—as they did in the one referred to above. If it did not matter on that instance then how would the cruise of a few ships matter now?

Indonesia's dictator Sukarno and its Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio had made statements which matched some that have appeared in newspapers and other Columns of newspapers here. But Sukarno and Subandrio are carrying on a little private war with the new-born state of Malaysia and they are apprehensive that their plans against that state—whose defences are very weak as yet—would be queered or scotched if the U.S. 7th Fleet joins issue with them. The reports emanating from Washington on Dec. 25, clearly state that Admiral Ricketts, U.S. Vice-Chief of Naval operations had given an assurance to the Indonesian Government during his visit there on the previous week. And further it stated that although the statements of Sukarno and Subandrio were noted, there was no government to government approach made by Indonesia to the U.S.

We have no private war which can be weighted against us by this proposed cruise. On the other hand we have a definite war which has been thrust on us by Red China and we have another neighbour who is doing her level best to provoke open hostilities. Under these circumstances we cannot venture to indulge the idle fancies—or is it some thing more—of some cranks whose pet aversions have been roused by mis-

Education

The new Union Education Minister, Mr. M. C. Chagla, while addressing the 15th meeting of the All-India Council for Technical Education at New Delhi on December 8 declared that half the students of the 14-17 age group should be given technical education while the other half went to the "conventional" higher secondary schools. He said that his view was based on two vital factors, the first being the Indian Constitution and the second the psychology of the adolescent. The Constitution lays down the essential provision for the free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14—thus making that age the natural cross-roads for a new turn in education. He further said that experience had shown that 50 per cent of the year-olds were more interested in developing physical skills than intellectual pursuits." It was only fitting that such students should be sent to technical schools, he felt.

Incidentally, the Education Minister seems to hold the view that the duration of the higher secondary course should be three years. His repeated emphasis on the period 14-17 seems to indicate his opinion about the still unsettled controversy on the duration of the higher secondary school course.

West Bengal's Chief Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen, expressed his views on the other side of the picture. According to him the emphasis on secondary and higher education had caused serious neglect of the needs of primary education in West Bengal. As a result 71 per cent of its population remained illiterate and the State had slid back to the sixth place amongst the Indian States in literacy, Delhi with 52.7 per cent, Kerala 46.6, Madras 31.4, Gujrat 30.5 and Maharastra with 29.8 being put above West Bengal with 29.4 per cent in order of literacy in the 1961 Census.

The Book Co. Ltd., Calcutta

We have to note in the context of education an incident which shows that culturally some of us have also become retrograde to a lamentable extent, in Calcutta. This above-mentioned book-shop, which opened its doors in 1919, had served generations of scholars—literally thousands of them—not merely as a book-shop but also as a free library where most valuable reference books could be consulted under the eyes of the proprietor. The proprietor is now bed-ridden and the concern has had many lean-years. As a result the landlords obtained eviction order. The eviction was done in a fashion which showed how barbaric the process of law could be. Thousands of books were flung out. Much was destroyed and more

CURRENT AFFAIRS

KARUNA K. NANDI

PARLIAMENT ON PLANNING

Following the mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan by the Planning Commission and its consideration by the National Development Council—which has already been noticed in these columns in our last December number—the six-day almost-marathon debate in Parliament, it was hoped, would help a clarification of issues and a realistic assessment of the process of planning in general and of the lay-out and implementation of the Third Plan in particular. Unfortunately, however, expectations in this regard do not seem to have been at all realised and the desire to find faults and score debating points on the one hand, and to find justifications and to defend the shortfalls of plan-development on the other dominated the atmosphere in which the debate was held and which, by and large, prevented a factual assessment of the Planning Commission's survey and an evaluation of its justifiability on the basis of a careful scrutiny of its details. From such a point of view—and this should have been the only point of view in which the debate should have been held—the week-long discussions on the Plan must be held to have been wholly infructuous.

Two points of view seem mainly to have emerged from this debate. On the one hand the Opposition view, mainly represented by Mr. M. R. Masani, the Swatantra leader and those who thought along similar lines, were severely critical of the priorities given to heavy industry and of the dominant role assigned to the public sector in the process of the country's industrialization, although the record of achievements of the latter has been admittedly poor and discouraging. The opportunity, however, was seized upon, during the debate by both the Prime Minister and the Union Finance Minister to cry down Mr. Masani and his school as if they wanted

a free market economy. Mr. Masani certainly called for a scrapping of the Third Plan and was severely critical of its priorities as well as of its dynamics, but he did not, as the full text of his speech on the occasion would prove, oppose planning as such which the half-truths (and we use the word deliberately and in the fullest consciousness of its implications) indulged in by both the Prime Minister and Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari sought to present it to be.

By and large, the disappointment that Parliament had wholly failed to arrive at a realistic and factual assessment of the Third Plan survey undertaken by the Planning Commission and of the process and priorities of development planning as such as they have eventuated so far, cannot be avoided. This disappointment has been all the more poignant in view of the crucial character of planning in the manner in which it is being undertaken by the Government in the national economy, the wastes and inconsistencies inherent in it, and the huge cost of these wastes and inconsistencies that the country as a whole, and especially the more vulnerable sections of the population have to bear. That there has been a belated but a mounting consciousness of the failures of planning and the national waste they have been involving, cannot any longer be said to have been confined to the ranks of the Opposition in Parliament or of critics of Government outside Parliament. At a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, it is noteworthy in this connection, Mr. K. Hanumanthiyya, a former Chief Minister of Mysore and one among the top-ranking leadership of the ruling party, was quite forthright when he ascribed the responsibility for the failures of the Plan to the Prime Minister personally in the largest measure "for the simple reason that his authority was all-pervasive and almost absolute." He accused that the Union Government as a whole and individual

Ministers in that Government as well as the members of the Planning Commission, all look up to the Prime Minister for their position and status and are inevitably therefore guided by the latter's personal wishes; they are wholly insensible of any responsibility to anything or anyone else. This attitude of some of the prominent Congress leaders in parliament, not included within the Council of Ministers, appears to have set the tone for the later debate in Parliament and the atmosphere of frustration and criticism that, along with the opposition, seemed to have dominated them.

The actual debate in Parliament followed two distinct lines. Masani criticised the Third Plan, as far as it had gone at the time of the debate, which he said was characterised by a complete absence of realism, extreme dogmatism, huge wastes, too frequent intervention and interference by Government and widening discontent and frustration. No Government, he emphasised, had the right to hypothecate the entire future of a nation in the manner that it has been doing in the name of planning and it were better that the whole thing were scrapped before worse harm were done. Some top-ranking Congress leaders like, for instance, Dr. Harekrishna Mahtab, were no less incisive in their criticism. Dr. Mahtab said that although most of the small irrigation schemes had long since ceased to operate they are still being shown on paper as evidences of the agricultural progress achieved under planning. He further accused that the estimates of agricultural production that are still being given out by Government from time to time are mostly without any basis on facts and are probably wholly wrong and incorrect. Then, he continued, the mutually contradictory policies of the Government in respect of heavy and small industries have, to-day, reduced most small industries in the country to a state of suspended animation. In fact, Dr. Mahtab accused, this has rendered a large number of them altogether dead. There have been innumerable complaints of a similar nature from both the Opposition and the Congress benches alike and the accusation has been

general that the result of a decade and longer of so-called **socialistic** development-planning under Government aegis, has been to lead to a far greater concentration of wealth and income in the hands of a numerically microscopic but growingly immensely powerful section of the community as never before in the history of the country and rendering the numerically overwhelming poorer sectors far more abjectly poor. The complaint was wide-spread that the unconscionable delays in publishing the findings of the Mahalanobis Committee on the trends of national income distribution was being deliberately engineered by Government with a view to preventing a realistic picture of the situation being presented to the country.

The official spokesman of the Government in the debate was, naturally, Shri B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State in charge of Planning, who submitted that such great emphasis was being laid by the critics on the failures of the Plan that they have been completely overlooking its achievements over the last decade of Planning, which are, by no means inconsiderable. There was no doubt, he admitted, that as a result of the mid-term reappraisal of the Third Plan by the Planning Commission, quite a disconcerting picture of the situation has emerged, but the Government are determined that the shortfalls must anyhow be made up and the Plan targets reached before the end of the Plan period. Measures already taken by Government towards this end include, he said :

- (a) the establishment of an Agricultural Production Board ;
- (b) the laying of greater emphasis on improved farm production next year ;
- (c) strengthening the study groups on Plan projects ;
- (d) generating a favourable atmosphere to encourage increased investments ;
- (e) to speed up measures for land-reform legislations.

Others among the more important leaders of Government who intervened in the

debate and whose pronouncements must be taken to represent the official view point included the Prime Minister and the Union Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari. Shri Krishnamachari very picturesquely described the process of development-planning as like riding a tiger, one cannot get off its back without risking the danger of being completely devoured. Whatever the shortfalls and deficiencies of planning as so far unfolded, Shri Krishnamachari averred, it was not possible to abrogate planning; one had, per force to carry on with it. The only remedy was to progressively increase production. Planning, he conceded, may have resulted in increasingly greater concentration of economic power within a certain numerically microscopic but favoured sector (and he did not, of course, spell out its converse that it led to correspondingly greater deprivation of the more vulnerable sectors of the population, but the implication was obvious), but the situation had to be acknowledged for what it has turned out to be. One must even accept it to be able to get on with the work of increasing production which is more essential. If satisfactory increase in production can be achieved and maintained, it would not be difficult to devise effective measures to obviate this process of concentration of wealth, income and economic power. In fact, he had already given a great deal of consideration to the matter and he had one or two measures in view which should prove adequately effective (asked what these measures were that he claimed to have already thought of, he retorted that he was not quite such big a fool as to disclose to the enemy the weapons he had in his arsenal or words to that effect). Mr. Krishnamachari also spoke about measures of social security like old age pensions, etc., for the protection of the more vulnerable old, diseased and the infirm in the poorer sectors of the community and said the initial measures in this behalf could start with the low paid employees of the Central and State Governments which was already under processing. He said he was firmly of the opinion that despite current failures and

shortfalls, which he seemed to regard as merely incidental and temporary and was, therefore, not of much serious significance, the country will be able to cross the present confined frontiers of the economy and emerge on the sun-drenched heights of self-generating, self-sustaining **take-off**.

Intervening in the debate, the Prime Minister appealed to Parliament and the country alike not to become misanthropic about the future of planning. While plan progress during the first two years of the current plan, especially in agricultural production has been substantially behind predetermined targets, it was undeniable, he claimed, that the achievements of the first decade of development planning, have not merely been quite upto expectations, but even been unprecedented. He rejected outright the demand for the scrapping of the Planning Commission, as also the one for its structural reorganization. He reiterated the determination of his Government to carry on steadfastly with the process of socialistic development planning which, he said, was distinct from other methods of planning in that while creating equal opportunities for all, the public sector will continue to play an increasingly dominant role in the development of the national economy. There was no doubt, the Prime Minister conceded, that the private sector will continue to play a distinctive role and will have the opportunity to make significant contributions to the progress of the country. The private sector has grown immensely powerful over the last few years as never before in the history of the country and the concentration of wealth and power in this sector has been creating a situation of increasing anxiety. He hoped, however, that it will be possible to devise and enforce effective corrective measures against these trends in the near future. He regretted that the overwhelming majority of the country's population have not benefited from the rise in the national income that has been achieved during the last decade of planning and apprehended that it will be long before it will be possible to pull them up from their present sloughs of

poverty and give them a reasonable living standard. The Prime Minister's speech, which was characterised by a top-ranking daily newspaper of Calcutta as both **flat and flabby** on the occasion, failed to shed any ray of light as to how or when the poor (and there can be no question about the miserable abjectness of the more overwhelming number among them) can be rescued from their present deprivations and exploitations. Among other things that the Prime Minister said on the occasion the most astounding, perhaps, was his statement that much of the general and widespread allegation about official corruption was far too greatly exaggerated and, anyway, corruption was far more widespread, he interjected, in the U.S.A. than in this country. Mr. Nehru has never been known for the moderation of his language, but for sheer bad taste, this one statement may be said to have, perhaps, far outpaced any of his former irresponsible pronouncements. It was fortunate that he was wholly unable to get away with this for he was immediately challenged by the opposition and it was, perhaps, very significant that not one among the Congress following in the Lok Sabha would raise a single feeble voice to defend his leader on this count.

A rather extensive summary of this six-day debate in Parliament is being quoted here to enable our readers to form a factual estimate of the manner how the valuable time of Parliament is wasted in pointless and wholly infructuous discussions of a matter which, by all conscience vitally affects the future of untold generations of Indians. It should be remembered in this context that Parliament had set out to consider and evaluate the report of a mid-term survey of the Third Plan and it would have been far less wasteful, perhaps even profitable to enter into a detailed consideration of this survey which was already before Parliament. There have been speeches galore consisting of an equal measure of criticism and justification for the failure of the Plan, but of a realistic evaluation with a view to arriving at a decision as to what course of corrective

action might really be effective in saving the Plan on which far too much had already been invested in proportion to its yields in return, there appears to have hardly been any. The Commission's report, it should be conceded, is objective enough to shake Governmental complacency to the very foundations if they were not really completely inert or insensible to their responsibilities. It is doubtful, however, if Government, as usual, will at all be able to profit from their past mistakes and will be able to take measures for timely rectification of the defects in the administrative machinery, fiscal policies and economic controls which they had pressed into service for the attainment of their so-called ideological goals and which, demonstrably enough, have been responsible in large measure for the failures of the Third Plan which has been so forthrightly admitted by the Planning Commission. This doubt is once again heightened by the contradictions and confusions which abound in the speeches and prognostications of the Treasury benches, and especially in those of the Prime Minister and his favourite Finance Minister.

The question was raised during the debate if the Plan were at all a national plan. No doubt the Government claimed that it was so. But in actual effect it was hardly so; the plan has been formulated by the Government in power with the overwhelming majority given to it in Parliament by its party; the Planning Commission is a creature of this Government, created by a resolution of the same Government and has no especially sanctioned Constitutional status. Both the credit as well as the discredit for the success or failure of the Plan, as the case may be, must, therefore be appropriated by or apportioned to the party in power. The invectives and the abuses that were hurled against those that dared to call into question the so-called national character of the Plan, some even going to the length of calling them aliens, was something which did not at all serve to elevate the level of the debate which, on a dispassionate evaluation of its contents, must be contended to have

been low enough in all conscience. But this is only incidental.

Doubts about planning have been inherent in some of the recent statements of the Prime Minister himself, the most abusive champion of the cause, who have recently been complaining that the benefits of planned development have not been percolating to the bottom sectors of the economy in the measure it should have done. In Parliament, he actually confessed that despite his admiration for the modern machine age, he was being forced more and more to concede the greater resiliency of Mahatma Gandhi's approach to the country's economic problems. This was, it appears to us, more or less the point of view also of Mr. M. R. Masani when he complained that the Plan had far more heavily concentrated upon heavy industry to the relative neglect of agriculture and other essentials of life such as clothing, housing, education, etc. Curiously enough although Mr. Masani's criticism in this behalf would seem to have no more than reflected Mr. Nehru own 'thinking aloud' in this regard, the latter reacted sharply and almost with vitriolic abuse to what Mr. Masani had to say on the subject. Again, when Mr. Nehru himself confesses that the private sector, under planned development, despite the far more dominant role assigned to the public sector, has grown to be immensely powerful as never before in the history of this country, it was no more than a virtual admission of the failure of the so-called ideological goals of planning. And yet criticise the plan, and all the invective of which the usually never-too-polite Nehru is capable is instantly concentrated upon your head. What, however, is more to be feared in this connection is not the normal economic measures that may be thought of by his Government and, especially, by his never-to-be-wholly-trusted Finance Minister, but the increasing areas of power and discretion that may be progressively assigned to the public sector.

But to revert to the fundamentals of the Plan-debate, it is difficult to arrive at any sustainable estimate of what Parlia-

ment, the Government and the Opposition alike, set out to achieve when they agreed to discuss the matter. On the one hand, the Opposition blamed the Planning Commission for the incompetence of plan implementation and called for the wholesale scrapping of the Planning Commission; on the other hand, there was the Government and, particularly Mr. Nehru and Krishnamachari who, while being obliged to grudgingly concede that there have been woeful shortfalls in Third Plan achievements so far and even almost admitting that shortfalls have been so severe that it was unlikely that ultimate plan targets would be likely to be reached within the five-year period, sought to defend planning and, especially the Planning Commission with all the invectives and abuses in their respective arsenals against its critics.

Planning was first launched by the Government in 1950-51. In the First Plan primary emphasis was laid upon projects calculated to advance agricultural production and primary effort and investment were concentrated upon flood-control, irrigation, fertilizer production and other similar measures. In the Second Plan the emphasis materially shifted from agriculture to the laying down of the necessary bases for rapid industrialization, a process which has been continued into the Third Plan with far greater emphasis. In the Third Plan, it was estimated that the average rate of yearly increase in industrial production should be around 11 per cent; in agriculture the rate of increase over the five-year period should be around 42 per cent while food production should increase over the same period, by at least 32 per cent. As a result, it was estimated that National Income at factor cost would rise over the period by approximately 34 per cent, taking the National Income to the annual rate of Rs. 19,000 crores at the end of the Third Plan. To achieve these results the Planning Commission framed the necessary programme, allocated the needed priorities and estimated the requisite investment. If the Plan was realistic, therefore, and its implementation effective, the

national income during the first two years of the Third Plan should have increased by approximately 13.6 per cent. According to the latest appraisal by the Government, the gross rise in the national income during this period has been of the order of only just 4.7 per cent which is, indeed, less than the net rise in the population over the same period and leading to the inevitable result that the index of per capita income which registered at a fraction over 127 at the end of the Second Plan is now said to have fallen at a fraction below 125. The index of industrial production registered an increase of 9 per cent during the first year of the current Plan which, in the following year fell sharply to only 6.8 per cent and present indications do not seem to encourage the hope that even this lower level of increase would be found to have been sustained in the current year. In the agricultural sector according to accounts given out by Government, production progress appears to have been even far more dismal and the actual gross increase in food production over the two-year period aggregated no more than just 4 per cent which, again, is substantially below the net 4.8 per cent increase in the population that has been estimated to have occurred during the same period.

There would not seem, therefore, to have been left any doubt about the abject failure of the current Plan. But the measure of this failure would be brought home even more poignantly when the whole thing is evaluated from the investment point of view. To achieve the targetted for results in the Plan a gross investment, in the public sector, of Rs. 8,300 crores was assumed. Actual resources provided in the estimates were Rs. 7,500 crores, leaving an unbridged gap of some Rs. 800 crores which it was hoped, would be filled in by unspecified sources. The Planning Commission's appraisal discloses that investments during the first three years of the Plan would now aggregate Rs. 4,198 crores and the total investment over the whole five year period would aggregate Rs. 8,000 crores, or approximately 93.4, per cent of the original estimates.

There does not seem to be the least doubt now that results are not likely to be anywhere near being commensurate with this huge size of investment which, incidentally, it may be mentioned is approximately equal to the combined investment in the public sector of the first two Plans and a little more. The rate of progress already achieved during the first 2 years of the Plan in terms the national income has, as already mentioned, been only 4.7 per cent. Indications for the third year of the Plan do not seem to encourage the hope that this rate is likely to be substantially stimulated during the remaining three months of the current plan-year. Expert economists have already stated it to be their considered opinion, that given the utmost effort, the rate of annual increase in the national income during the two remaining years is not likely, at the outside to exceed 4.5 per cent per year. It is very unlikely, in any case, that the over-all rise in the national income over the entire Plan-period would exceed 16 or 17 per cent, or at an average annual rate of around 3.5 per cent. But even assuming that it was possible to achieve an over-all 18 per cent rise in the national income over the entire Plan period, it would comprise only about 65% of the original assumptions. In other words with a 93.4 per cent investment actually employed results that now could be realistically expected to even-tuate would be no more than just about 65 per cent. The huge waste involved in the process would, therefore, be all too glaringly obvious. What is even more significant in this context is that the perspective estimates included in the Third Plan document for the following two Plan periods (it is significant that the Planning Commission have been estimating the Fifth Plan end as the stage of so-called "take-off" towards self-generating momentum), visualizes the rise in the national income to Rs. 25,000 crores at the end of the Fourth and, to Rs. 33/34,000 crores at the end of the Fifth Plan period. But if the estimates of the targetted Third Plan achievements in this behalf remain materially vitiated as, now, it seems almost certain to do, there is not the

slightest reason to expect that the two following Plans, lacking the Third Plan base on which subsequent Plan estimates have been predicated, would be likely to yield the results which have thus now been envisaged.

There is not the slightest reason to doubt that so far Planning has been proving a most costly experiment not merely in terms of the yield against actual capital investment on the Plan, which has been substantial in itself, but even more so in terms of the widespread deprivations that the process of development-planning has, so far been involving to those who are least able to bear its burdens. Lip-sympathy for the poor and the deprived by the Prime Minister and his official hierarchy is not most obviously going to correct the situation. Nor is it likely that widening the sphere of the public sector of the national economy, as now seems to be most probable, is going to be any more helpful than the appropriations of the private sector which, according to the Prime Minister himself has, under development planning, grown to be more powerful than ever before in the history of the country. What is really needed is that the traditional element of competitive efficiency, must be restored to its rightful place in the dynamics of the national economy to enable the consumer to get a fair and a just deal from the producer and the trader, whether the latter be in the private sector or in the public. The innumerable fiscal, physical and other controls and restrictions to which the productive process has been suborned in the name of planning, have not merely killed efficiency and even productivity in large measure—demonstrably more so, so far as the public sector is concerned than even the private sector—but has also created a sort of sellers' cartel for the producer to which the consumer has naturally become the inevitable victim. That the process has been reacting far more adversely upon the more numerous and vulnerable sector of the population, has already been proved by the so far inadequate evidences that have already become available of the growing disparities in the income-distribu-

tion. We are not opposed to planning as such. Planning, we feel, could be a very effective instrument of progress in our moribund national economy within a system of appropriate priorities, increasing investment and co-ordinated, and sustained effort. What the respective roles of the private and the public sectors should be in the process should, we feel, be determined, by the measure of well-co-ordinated but competitive efficiency that these respective sectors of the economy could contribute to the entire process of development. Bureaucratic dominance over the national economy, it has already been proved, is not the best means to secure such a desirable end. The inevitable political pressures that such a system would be bound to generate have been largely destructive of the balances of a free-market economy from which has been flowing, as a matter of course, the growth of **protected** monopoly interests, be those in the private or the public sectors and the exploitation of the masses. That the public sector can be as conscienceless and exploitative as the private sector without, however, the latter's efficiency and business competence to match, has recently been amply proved by the trading account of the State Trading Corporation and the huge and unprecedented profits that it has been making at the expense of the people.

A better co-ordination of the private and public sectors in the national economy could only be secured, we feel, by circumscribing the role of the latter sector so far as its direct control of and participation in the dynamics of the developing national economy is concerned to the essential infra-structure, leaving the productive machinery largely in the hands of the private sector with appropriate checks and balances to prevent any possible trends towards monopoly trusts. The Government must plan the directions and the measures that development must conform to, allocate priorities and impose necessary investment controls to prevent possible deviations from the Plan, but leaving ample scope for that inevitable process of experimentation and elimination by trial and error without which the process of

economic development of a massive order would be bound to be lost in the sterile bogs of mechanical and procedural routine. The likely concentration of wealth and economic power within small favoured sectors that such a process might generate, could be dealt with by a system of judicious taxation and other like fiscal measures which while preventing the growth of monopoly cartels would also leave ample scope for self-generating and self-sustaining development in both investment and production. What, therefore, would seem to be urgently necessary, if the country has to be pulled out of the *cul-de-sac* into which it has been pushed through this last decade and a quarter of development planning, is a complete and thorough-going reorientation of the mechanics of planning, divesting it of its present encumbering and so-called ideological appendages and its complete revision on more realistic and actually realisable targets. Holding on to past mistakes stubbornly merely to score a political point or in the pursuance of effete and unreaistic ideological faiths would merely, we are afraid, lead the economy to even worse futilities than have already eventuated. Unfortunately a complete absence of such a rationale has been what seemed to have marked the debate in Parliament.

It is also necessary to clearly realise what the role actually is that has been assigned to the Planning Commission in the structure of development planning. The Planning Commission, clearly, is not an executive body. Nor is it a part of the Government. It is, in essence, a body presumably of experts charged with the responsibility of planning for economic development as a whole, fixing the details of the priorities of projects included in the Plan in relation to one another, estimating the resources necessary for its complete and successful implementation and, generally estimating the directions and trends that must be conformed to in order that the process of development may reach envisaged targets in all their varied aspects. It is a body, while it has no Constitutional sanction—it has been created by a fiat of the Gov-

ernment of India—is independent of the direct control of Parliament. The Plan framed by the Commission is left to the concerned Ministries of the Government to be implemented and fulfilled. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari was quite right when he said, in course of the debate, that the Planning Commission could not be blamed for the failures in the implementation of the Third Plan, the responsibility for which must be wholly and entirely borne by the Government of India as whole. The Commission is responsible for the Plan as such and it could only be held responsible for its failures or shortfalls if it could be proved that these failures and shortfalls have eventuated from the structural defects and shortcomings of the Plan itself in the process of its implementation.

The debate, on both sides of the House of Parliament, unfortunately failed to demonstrate any consciousness of this fundamental aspect of the Planning Commission's relations to Plan implementation. The complaint all along has been that implementation of the Plan, so far, have demonstrated glaring failures and shortfalls for which the critics of the Government sought to hold the Planning Commission themselves responsible and even went to the length of calling for a scrapping of the Commission. No effort has been made, it is found from the records of the debate, to assess responsibility for these failures and shortfalls to the inherent structural defects of the Plan. The Government, on their side, acknowledged that there have been undoubtedly glaring shortfalls and failures in the implementation of the Plan which, they promised, would be made up during the remaining years of the Plan-period, but they wholly refused to hold the Commission responsible or to agree to their disbandment. It is quite clear that the Planning Commission, as such, have no direct responsibility nor any authority for implementing the Plan that they have framed. The only question, therefore, that should have concerned the attention of Parliament anent the Planning Commission was, whether the Plan itself was properly and realistically framed. If

the Plan was not in itself sustainable, the Commission must be held to have been unquestionably responsible and the demand for its structural revision would, therefore seem to be both relevant and proper. From all points of view this should have been the primary target of attack of the Opposition during the debate in Parliament, but unfortunately this was an aspect of the matter which appears to have been wholly by-passed. Another equally important question that might have arisen in this context is the legitimacy of the increasingly widening role that was being assigned to the public sector in the Plan. Here, however, the discretion of the Planning Commission was obviously severely circumscribed by the terms of the Government of India's Industrial Policy Resolution which set the virtual terms of reference for the Commission. The wholesomeness and feasibility of the structure of the Plan itself would, therefore, seem to be the only question that should have engaged the Parliament's attention in this context. One most outstanding aspect of this would be visible in the Plan for agriculture. The target of increase in food production in the Third Plan, for instance, envisaged a rise in production of the order of 32 per cent over the Plan-period compared to 1960-61. It is however impossible to discover from the Plan document the data or the bases on which such an order of increased production was predicated. Even during the earlier Plan period, that between 1955-56 and 1960-61, targets in this behalf remained substantailly unfulfilled. There is no evidence that these targets were estimated on a factual survey of the many factors that go into agricultural production like, for instance, the acreage under cultivation, the irrigation potential, flood-control measures, fertilizer availability etc. There have, no doubt been scattered and practically disjointed allocations and priorities included in these Plans relating to these agricultural bases. But that this was done on the basis of a factual survey of the entire agricultural lay-out of the country, its trends and potentials, there is absolutely no evidence about. In fact there has never so far been any factual survey of India's agricultural trends and potentials since 1928 when the Linlithgow Commission held its inquiries and reported its findings. For many reasons, not the least of which is the partition of the country in 1947, this would be a poor and unreliable document to base one's predications upon for future agricultural developments in the country. And yet targets and plans have been glibly framed for the attainment of agricultural development of a massive order which have been visibly far too optimistic and unrealistic. If the pronouncement of the former Union Minister of Food and Agriculture, Shri S. K. Patil has any realistic basis, the possibilities of attaining self-sufficiency in food production even over the next ten years or so, despite the targets envisage in the Plan, would seem to be remote, indeed. This, in itself, should be regarded as a structural defect in Planning for which the Planning Commission could be held legitimately responsible. Then, again, in the matter of planning for power, it is now found that on an average an over-all 20 per cent of the actual laid down industrial capacity in the country has to remain perpetually idle for lack of power. Is not this another instance of glaring inconsistencies of planning, the responsibility for which must be wholly accepted by the Planning Commission? Instances could be multiplied. It was amazing that no one among the critics of the Plan in Parliament even thought of looking into these very necessary and wholly pertinent matters while discussing the Plan in the Lok Sabha. That the debate should, in the circumstances, be regarded as wholly futile and infructuous is not, either surprising or even illegitimate.

Legislation for Joint Stock Companies

The new Bill for the amendment of the Companies Act has already proved to be a highly controversial one. The need for the measure was said to have been predicated upon some recent findings by certain judicial and quasi-judicial tribunals of a large measure of *malpractices* in the administration of joint stock companies. That there have been and still may be instances of malpractice in the administration

of joint stock companies, one does not doubt. There is also apprehension which is fairly widespread and general, that similar malpractices, in a measure, have also been obtaining in the administration of public sector enterprises. The Companies Act, so far as the Joint Stock Companies are concerned, already includes some salutary provisions for dealing with such malpractices. There are, in addition, the ordinary criminal laws of the country which should be able to adequately take care of any malpractice of a criminal nature.

One is not, therefore, quite convinced about the supposed justification for new legislation of the order in which it has been framed. The principal objective of the proposed legislation would seem to be more or less obvious in the clauses of the Bill itself, some of which have already proved to be highly controversial both within the Select Committee which initially considered its provisions, and later in Parliament when the Bill came up for discussion. Repugnances of the Bill also echoed within the confines of the Parliamentary executive of the ruling Congress party.

One such provision, which should as it appears to have, cause general and widespread concern, was the one in regard to the powers sought in the legislation to enable it to convert loans by Government to private sector enterprises into share capital of the company concerned to be owned by Government. The original clause in this behalf empowered Government to ensure such conversion both in respect of past loans as well as future ones. The Select Committee, with a majority of Congress members of Parliament in its composition, amended this clause to cover future loans only. This was found unpalatable and objectionable by a majority of Congress members in Parliament and was reported to have caused a great deal of arimonious debate and heated controversy within its Parliamentary executive. The matter was left to the discretion of the Prime Minister who, as it was reported in the daily press, "ordered" the Select Committee to restore the clause in its original form. On the face of it, the Select Committee was a Committee of Parliament and was clearly not juridically subservient to the Prime Minister or to his Government. In any case such interference by a Prime Minister in the responsibilities of a Select Committee of Parliament is entirely without any parallel in any well established parliamentary democracy and it were better that the Prime Minister did not choose to undermine healthy democratic conventions in this country in the manner that he was reported to have done.

The Finance Minister gave his verbal assurances that the provision would not be taken recourse to lightly, not in any case unless the public interest may demand this to be unavoidable. But Mr. Krishnamachari's verbal assurances was quite worthless. It may be an insidious method devised for the gradual widening of the public sector into spheres which have been specifically assigned to the private sector. In another context we have already expressed our doubts about the process of widening the sphere of the public sector, and this method of gradual infiltration into the domain of the private sector by Government by devious means appears to us to be not entirely wholesome or legitimate.

Another clause in the Bill which also caused a great deal of controversy related to the powers invested in the Government to deprive trustees of shareholders of a joint stock company of their rights of voting by investing such powers to an official trustee appointed by Government. This, Mr. Krishnamachari insisted, was a very necessary clause in the Bill which was needed for the purposes of dealing effectively with the growing concentration of economic power within selected pockets of the private sector. How this can be done has not been made very clear by the Finance Minister, but this is clearly a process of expropriation that seems to have been thus initiated and which may have eventually very far-reaching effects.

Finally, the clause by which power was sought to be taken to deal with erring managers and administrators with the help of a tribunal that Government would be empowered to appoint in this behalf and against whose award the awardee would have no right to appeal so far as evaluation of facts are concerned and could only appeal in respect of supposed defects in the judgment on points of law. Here was a measure which would find a great deal of public approbation. On grounds of first principles, however, one must disagree with the need for the blanket powers sought to be taken by Government. An erring manager or managing director of a company who abuses his discretion for ends not in conformity with either the interest of the shareholders of the company he manages or in the larger public interest, would certainly deserve to be dealt with severely, but one must also hold such a person to be innocent and guiltless until he has been proved to be otherwise under due process of law. And the right of appeal is an inherent right granted to every accused in this process of law and one does not quite see why a part of this right should be taken away from him which is an essential instrument of his self-defence.

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND SOCIAL JUSTICE*

By CHESTER BOWLES,
U. S. Ambassador to India

In planning and promoting their industrial growth, developing countries face a dual problem, both aspects of which are perplexing.

The first half of the problem is how to encourage the most efficient use of the capital, raw materials, and skills which are immediately available. What are the needs? What are the priorities? Is steel more important than trucks? And what about the pace of industrial development? How should it be balanced with that of other sectors of the economy?

The second perplexing aspect of industrial development involves its impact on people and institutions. While industry must be stimulated to grow as fast as possible, we must be sure that it does not generate more evils than it eliminates. In Gandhi's words, "Scientific truths and discoveries should cease to be mere instruments of greed. The supreme consideration is the man."

In mid-19th Century Europe, Karl Marx, impressed by the harsh process of early industrialization, produced a theory of economic development and revolutionary changes which profoundly influenced the lives of millions of people.

Marx's thing was powerful largely because it was based on shrewd observation of life around him; it was limited because he saw only those facts which time, place and inclination permitted him to see.

What Marx saw were the grim realities of everyday life in the crudest years of the industrial revolution. He saw the London slum dwellers, crowded into hovels, working themselves to exhaustion under the insensitive demands of an ever-expanding economy. He saw their helplessness as individuals before the power of the men who owned the factories in which they worked

and who controlled the governments under which they lived.

Marx did not overstate the social evils and the injustice of man to man during the earlier decades of the industrial revolution. What he did do was gravely to underestimate the resiliency and capacity of democratic societies to change these conditions and to establish a socially responsible framework in which rapid development could take place.

In my own country we have been striving to create and maintain this balance between economic and social justice on the one hand, and rapid economic growth on the other since the earliest beginnings of our Republic. Inevitably this has resulted in continuing conflict between those who saw the accumulation of wealth as an end in itself, and those who looked on the economic process as the means by which the individual can be set free in an atmosphere of opportunity, dignity and justice.

The American Presidents who have been most respected are the ones who effectively upheld the interests of the people against those whom Theodore Roosevelt once described as "malefactors of great wealth." The list includes Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, Truman and John F. Kennedy.

Not only in America but in Japan, Britain, Sweden, Germany and other economically advanced democratic countries Marx's assumption that a ruthless class struggle was inevitable between "the exploiters and the masses" has proven to be mistaken. Experience has demonstrated that men can in fact become the masters of the machines which

*Summary of an address delivered to the University of Delhi on 12th December, 1961.

they have created, that they can prosper in material things and at the same time live in freedom.

In the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the necessity for this balance is now widely accepted. The difficulties occur when the concepts of social justice and industrial growth are related to means and techniques.

Often the result is a sterile confrontation of economic and political clichés which diverts the public dialogue into channels which are wholly irrelevant to the questions at hand. It is for this reason that I have been at considerable pains to define my own terms of reference.

I

Having accepted the premise that rapid industrialization, however essential, cannot be allowed to proceed at the expense of the public interest, let us turn our attention to a strictly pragmatic consideration of the means by which industrial production can be expanded most rapidly and effectively within this moral framework.

Development, in the end, means improving people, not feeding statistics. We want the things industry can give us. It is our task to figure out how to get them in a free and just society and in a manner that will further the entire process of nation-building in its broadest sense.

We may start with an obvious fact: In any developing nation, the government must play a central and critically important role. Only through government planning, government capital and government supervision can many of the basic tools be provided which are required to start things moving—and moving in the right direction. For instance, the so-called infrastructure—the roads, rail transport, schools, power, the communications networks—are in large measure a governmental responsibility.

Even in the United States where private enterprise has played such a central role, government has often been forced to carry a heavy share of the responsibility.

Shortly after the formation of the

American Republic in the late 18th Century, Federal subsidies were provided to build our privately-owned and operated Merchant Marine. In the 1830's Erie Canal, the first effective transportation link between the American East Coast and the fast-developing new West, was built with public funds—most of them borrowed in England.

Thirty years later the privately-owned and managed railroads were given massive federal grants of public lands to finance the unprecedented program of railroad construction which rapidly spanned the American continent.

Following the outbreak of World War II, the United States Government, acting on an emergency basis, took over the planning and much of the control of the economy. Even in peacetime the U.S. Government continues to subsidize railroads, shipping, airlines, public housing, all levels of education, much scientific development, a large percentage of our agricultural output, many electric power plants, and other enterprises.

The people of Africa, Asia and Latin America at the dawn of a new age face a **continuing** emergency. Their people, pressed by poverty and aroused by the promise of the new technology, are in a hurry, anxious to catch up. In such circumstances, government planning, investment and management will inevitably have a bigger role to play than in the United States where the foundations for growth were largely created in the more leisurely atmosphere of the past.

Yet the experience of the last fifteen years has demonstrated that in a developing nation there are practical limits to the share of the industrial load that the government can effectively carry.

For instance, in the emerging nations of Africa, Latin America and Asia, administrative experience is rarely adequate even for such basic needs as education, electric power, and transportation. The amount of capital that can be raised by taxation or government borrowing from the underprivileged majority is limited, and the well-to-do minority is very small. In many cases the leftover traditions of the colonial civil services place more emphasis on regulating the people

than on creating opportunities for them to prosper and grow.

In regard to the direct management of government enterprises, democratically oriented governments face an additional hurdle: In every industrial operation growth is dependent on thousands of day to day decisions, large and small, many of which require a trial and error approach. Any industrial manager who is unwilling to risk mistakes will almost certainly fail to create an efficient and expanding operation.

Here we run into a paradox. In a thoroughgoing police state this essential risk-taking process can proceed unhampered by opposition attacks. The managers of private enterprises in a democratic nation are also politically free to seek answers through experimentation without regard for the second guessers. When the inevitable mistakes occur, they are marked off against more profitable operations-elsewhere.

But when mistakes are made in the public sector plants of a democratic society, the political opposition may be expected to fill the air with charges of incompetence, corruption and worse.

A few years ago, the Ford Motor Company invested some \$300 million in building a car called the Edsel which, as it turned out, very few people wanted to buy. The company balanced its losses on the Edsel against more favourable investments elsewhere and that was the end of the story.

I shudder to think of the political uproar that would have occurred if the ill-starred Edsel had been built by a government agency under a Democratic or Republican administration. The party in power might have lost the next election.

Each mistake thrown up by a public sector enterprise in a developing nation will almost certainly be seized upon by the opposition as an instrument with which to belabor the party in power, and these attacks in turn undermine the administrative process on which further development depends. Civil servants anxious to avoid further political chastisement for errors actual or alleged freeze into rigid attitudes. The already slow process of bureaucratic decision-making

is further slowed and a damper placed on the vigorous experimentation which is essential to industrial expansion.

Since conditions vary widely among the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America there can be no precise formula to govern the size and domain of the public sectors. But because of the awesome problems facing their governments, an increasing number now undertake in the public sector only those essential enterprises which cannot be financed through other means.

Once a developing nation has defined in general terms the scope and responsibilities of its public sector, it faces a second decision: how best to manage those enterprises financed by public funds.

The first step is usually the obvious one: to assign management responsibilities for publicly-owned industries directly to the relevant ministries; thus steel mills are placed under a Heavy Industries Ministry, power plants become the responsibility of a Ministry of Power and so on. By and large this means that the already overburdened, understaffed ministries are asked to assume highly specialized, complex operating responsibilities in brand new fields where every move may be subject to opposition attacks.

The second stage develops when the political and economic limitations on the direct Ministerial-Civil-Service responsibility for the management of the public sector plants has become apparent. A search then begins for a system which will speed decision-making, encourage experimentation and otherwise assure greater efficiency.

Although political opposition and press criticism is only a marginal factor in the communist nations, it is instructive to note that even they are now delegating greater responsibility and encouraging more managerial initiative.

In an effort to speed up industrial production, the USSR, for instance, has created a system of integrated economic districts which have been given considerable authority by the central government in Moscow. Each factory in a given district can now

order directly from or sell to any other enterprise in the same district. Each plant manager is given a considerable degree of autonomy in the operation of his plant, including substantial control over personnel.

Soviet managers and their subordinates are judged increasingly by the over-all results with less regard for the mistakes that may occur in the process. Of particular importance is the fact that they are also paid accordingly. Indeed, some economists believe that the spread between the highest and lowest incomes after taxes is now greater in the USSR than in the United States.

Yugoslavia has gone further in delegating operating responsibility for public sector industrial plants to professional managers. The central ministries in Belgrade now function largely as planning and regulatory agencies for the whole economy. The day-to-day and even year-to-year operation of the factories has been placed in the hands of the factory managers and workers' councils.

Yet paradoxically, the most effective techniques for the management of public sector enterprises have been developed in the basically capitalistic economies in Western Europe.

In France after World War, II, government-owned enterprises were defined as "public establishments of an industrial and commercial character provided with a civil personality with financial autonomy." That is, public enterprises became legal corporations in which the government was the sole stockholder.

Operating decisions are in the hands of professional managers who are wholly responsible for the operations of each plant and who now receive salaries and bonuses comparable to those of their counterparts in private business. The central government ministries are largely restricted to broad policy determinations.

In Germany many major enterprises are also government owned and operated with the same delegation of responsibility. Indeed, the pragmatic Germans have gone one step further: Whenever private interests appear able and willing to manage a govern-

ment owned enterprise in the public interest they may buy it at a fair price from the government. Thus the highly successful government-owned and managed Volkswagen Company was sold to private interests in 1961 at a handsome profit to the taxpayers.

In the United States the Tennessee Valley Authority is a public corporation which operates in much the same way the French public sector industries do, though on a larger scale. Its Presidentially-appointed three-man TVA governing board is responsible for a wide range of activities including flood control and the production of electricity and fertilizer. Recently TVA was authorized to issue bonds to finance the expansion of its generating and transmission facilities.

In India, Mr. Subramaniam, Minister for Steel and Heavy Industry, recently announced the initiation of a notable experiment in managerial autonomy at the government-owned Durgapur Steel and Sindri Fertilizer plants.

As in Germany, France, Italy, Sweden and other European countries, these two public sector plants are to take on some of the aspects of a private corporation, and shed some of the characteristics of government agencies. Henceforth, the managements of these plants are to have the power to hire and fire, and to make the day to day operating decisions. Their financial affairs will be audited by regular public auditors.

In announcing this bold new approach, Mr. Subramaniam said, "The idea that public sector management can be so hedged about with checks and balances that mistakes cannot occur is mistaken. Effective management will always make interim mistakes. Mistakes are the price of progress. It is the end result that counts." This sophisticated step reflects the best world-wide experience.

II

Government in a developing nation, as we have seen, has the primary task of set-

ting national economic and social objectives, creating realistic plans and priorities in securing these objectives, providing the capital and direction for the basic infrastructure, and developing other essential production facilities for which private capital may be lacking.

In most of Asia, Africa, and Latin America this leaves a vast area of the economy open for a vigorous private sector operating within a clearly defined framework of national objectives and social and economic justice. With the right balance of profit incentives and respect for the public interest, experience demonstrates that this proven economic instrument can make a decisive contribution to national growth and well-being that cannot be duplicated by government.

Private enterprise, for instance, can enter every nook and cranny of economic life. It can draw out and thrive upon small pockets of indigenous capital and management skills which would otherwise remain untapped. By encouraging competition it can help generate initiative, research and the development of new products and methods which invigorate the whole economy. It can provide opportunities for individual advancement to people with intelligence, experience and energy.

In particular it can sharply increase opportunities for employment not only in the great urban centers but in the rural towns. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, imaginative business leadership in the rural centers plus technical training and low interest capital loans can produce goods and services that the rural population will eagerly absorb.

The recent surge of economic activity in the Indian Punjab is illustrative of the possibilities. Hundreds of small shops, factories, and services are being organized to meet growing consumer demands. Some 18,000 technicians are being trained annually to run them with thousands of additional non-skilled jobs also being created.

The prospect of reasonable profit incentives and political security can also attract substantial amounts of private foreign capital which in most developing

nations is sorely needed to supplement foreign exchange earnings and loans from foreign governments. To this may be added foreign experience in complex industries that may lower prices and improve quality, plus modern marketing techniques that may sharply reduce the cost of distribution and help to open up export markets.

The self regulating characteristics of the private sector are an additional factor which many developing countries are only beginning to appreciate. Privately owned and managed plants operating within the framework of the national plan more or less automatically shape production along the lines most acceptable to the consuming public.

If enough people want bicycles, their willingness to pay for them provides a powerful inducement to their manufacture. Conversely, the public's dislike of a specific model is an automatic curb on additional production, at least of that particular bicycle at that particular price.

The fact of the matter is that no government is flexible enough to adjust itself effectively to consumer preferences which often vary from place to place and from year to year. The self-regulating market system, on the other hand, guides the allocation of capital and skills to those products and services which the public wants in the style and quality that it prefers. What appears on the surface to be a wasteful process of trial and error, as small entrepreneurs feel out the needs of the public, is in fact a vital process of experimentation and growth.

Although this system of "control by the market" is usually associated with the democratic nations of the West, it is interesting to note that here, as in other economic situations, the communist nations are being forced to adopt similar tools.

As the USSR moves increasingly toward a consumer-oriented economy its government faces a growing dilemma. How can a totalitarian economic system with arbitrary control from the top provide the wide and inviting consumer choices of color, style, model, pattern and price which are necessary incentives to stimulate the public

to greater efforts? In other words, what can the Soviet Government substitute for the relatively free market system of the West?

III

I believe that experience will demonstrate that there is no effective substitute. If this is so, the communist nations, as in the case of worker and management incentives will again be forced to abandon dogma and to adopt the marketing mechanism of free consumer choices as the ultimate guide at least to the production of consumer goods. Although this may cause Stalin to turn over in his grave, it will not be for the first time.

In describing the potential role of private enterprise in a developing nation, I stressed that it must operate within a framework of established national objectives and economic and social justice. But how can such a framework be provided without creating a maze of controls that foster the very stagnation we are striving to avoid?

The market mechanism is by no means a guarantee that private enterprise will always function even in its own best interest much less in the public interest. Price fixing monopolies can exploit the public; dishonest practices can lead to black markets and tax evasion; labor may be exploited.

The task of a developing nation, therefore, is not to forego the creative aspects of private enterprise for fear of its excesses but rather to find the means to discourage those excesses without discouraging responsible initiative.

This means that side by side with adequate profit incentives there must be realistic rules laid down by government to ensure that private energies will be devoted primarily to creative enterprise rather than to speculation, that scarce resources are not used for frivolous or wasteful ends, and that the broader public interest will be given the highest priority.

Through the process of democratic debate and adjustment we in the United States have gradually established a system of regulatory laws and agencies which

police the activities of almost every segment of our private sector. In large measure we have succeeded in this delicate task of regulation without stifling the initiative of our entrepreneurs.

As a result most American businessmen have come to see that what is good for the public, is in the long run, also good for them. This has been accomplished by the establishment of economic and social ground rules, administered by the Federal Government and the states, which have served to domesticate American capitalism and to help turn it into a socially responsible force for national growth and for increasing opportunity for the individual.

For instance, the Sherman Antitrust Act passed in 1890 and the Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914 were designed to assure competition in regard to quality and price so that the market can act effectively as the public's instrument for regulating the flow of goods. These are only two of several laws prohibiting price fixing monopolies and combinations in restraint of trade.

Other government regulatory agencies govern the actual performance of many of our major basic industries—such as transportation, communications and power. The Pure Food Act of 1906 and the Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act of 1938 prohibit mislabeling of products as well as deceptive packaging, adulteration and sale of unwholesome products. All the ingredients that go into every package of food, every box of pills, and every tin of cooking oil must be clearly stated on the label. These laws are rigorously enforced.

In addition to such controls on business operations and behavior, there are minimum wage laws, legislation guaranteeing the rights of labor unions and individual workers within those unions, social security tax laws, workmen's compensation for workers who suffer an injury on the job, and many more which serve to make private enterprise in the United States responsible to the public interest. In all but a few cases businessmen have willingly adapted their operations to these rules and even extended them voluntarily.

Our tax system, also, has been a major

factor not only in providing the revenue needed for governmental services, but in creating a mass market to help assure business expansion. Each United States corporation pays nearly half its gross profits to the federal government which spends the money for schools, roads, hospitals, defense and public services which in turn create millions of additional jobs at good wages.

In my opinion, however, our tax system has failed adequately to distinguish between profits made through speculation or trading, where no additional value is created, and profits made from the creation of manufactured and agricultural products or services.

Indeed, I know of no nation, either developed or underdeveloped, which has dealt effectively with this challenging opportunity to lure private capital into the most socially productive uses. What is required is a tax system which offers extra profit incentives for the creation of goods and services and which strikes sharply at profits made by pure speculation in land and commodities. This is an area in which the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America have a particular opportunity for initiative and imagination.

Another crucial factor in this process of industrial expansion within a framework of social justice is organized labor. Responsible unions, whose leaders respect the right of management to a fair profit and to the right to manage while insisting on favorable working conditions and a fair share for the worker, are an indispensable element in a free and expanding society.

IV

From this discussion certain basic principles emerge. First of all, private enterprise in a moral sense is neither more or less to be preferred than public enterprise. With genuine encouragement on the one hand and responsible regulation on the other, the private sector operating under a sound National Plan can provide a major share of the economic dynamism which is essential to national growth.

This means that the overburdened gov-

ernments of the developing nations can be freed for the primary task that they alone can accomplish—the spelling out of national priorities and the plans best calculated to serve them, plus the creation of the all important economic infrastructure of education, mass transportation and those basic industries for which private financing and management are unavailable and government subsidies impractical.

Such a balance also allows these new governments to limit their political responsibilities for the day to day operation of much of the country's economy. This relieves them in a major degree from the harassment of an opposition in search of political issues.

Questions in regard to degree and emphasis will arise in different ways in different countries. They can only be settled by trial and error and by enlightened public discussion.

In most developing nations there are deep seated differences about the proportions of public and private enterprise which are appropriate to a modern social welfare economy. On my return to India, for instance, I find that the priorities and financing of industrial development is a special subject of debate. Although the debate is often heated, India is steadily freeing herself from some of the more negative concepts which grew out of her long and frustrating experience under colonialism.

It was logical that the Gandhian Revolution should closely associate industrialization with colonialism and that in leading the fight against colonialism, Gandhi should oppose industrialization. While accepting some large-scale industries as "necessary evils" he felt that they should all be owned and run by the state so they would disturb the moral fabric of society as little as possible.

However, events in the last ten years have made the old colonial-capitalist association largely irrelevant. In Africa as well as Asia colonialism has been smothered under the rush for freedom while new governmental techniques are being introduced which in large measure correct the abuses to which Gandhi referred. Thus the new India can move vigorously to develop

her industries without contravening the moral values she inherited from Gandhi.

With her traditional pragmatism, I believe that India will develop a realistic balance between government planning and government investment in the essential infrastructure, on the one hand, and a fast growing, socially responsible private sector on the other.

In its efforts to achieve this balance India has many advantages—dedicated leaders, a competent Civil Service, rapidly increasing experiences and skills. In addition, India unlike most developing nations has a substantial amount of domestic savings which now lie idle. These savings exist even in many villages. I once heard an old Punjabi grand-mother express her concern over the tendency of the younger generation to put their savings into "iron" (meaning machinery) rather than into the traditional land and gold. Let us hope that in this case the initiative of the grandchildren will increasingly assert itself.

The money that now flows into real estate speculation also represents major pools of savings that may be tapped for economic development by the combination of profit incentives and selective taxation that distinguishes between the creative enterprise

and sterile and uncreative trading to which I referred.

At present a vast reserve of human skills and energies, as well as savings, is going to waste for want of the profit incentives needed to create new enterprises and to provide consumer goods. I have in mind particularly the opportunities for building small factories and service establishments with from half a dozen employees to a few hundreds that can play a major role in providing the products and jobs that India needs so urgently. With a little more encouragement these energies could provide a dynamic force for India's national development.

Other nations with a strong tradition of democratic socialism such as Britain and Sweden have long since struck a realistic balance between the public and private sectors. Having lost their doctrinal concern over private enterprise, they have learned to encourage it, to give it scope, while molding it to the national objectives.

In so doing I believe they have pointed the way for the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are in a hurry for material progress but which insist that individual dignity and opportunity are the proper goal of a just society.



INDIA : FIFTEEN YEARS AFTER INDEPENDENCE*

By Dr. HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

Chairman, Department of Sociology, Dean, Div. of Arts and Sciences
Arkansas A. M. and N. College, Pine Bluff, Ark, U.S.A.

My return to India during the academic year 1961-62 as Visiting Professor of Sociology and Social Work in the Faculty of Social Work, M. S. University of Baroda, was a sentimental journey. To begin with, Mrs. Muzumdar, who had received her Master's degree in Social Work from the University of Chicago and her doctorate in Social Work from the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, was serving as Dean of the Faculty of Social Work in Baroda; hence we were looking forward to our reunion. Second, I had been born in the old Baroda State, now incorporated as part of the State of Gujarat. Third, I had devoted the best years of my life to India's struggle for freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and was eager to see the changes that freedom had wrought in the face of Mother India.

With the background of three weeks spent in India in 1957 and a month in 1960, this twelve-month period spent in India in 1961-62 gave me a good opportunity to study the emerging patterns of a new society.

Land of Contrasts

Let me at the outset give you an impressionistic picture of the Free India. First, India is a land throbbing with people, people, people everywhere. Second, it is a land of conferences and committee meetings and planning sessions which would do credit to an established democracy—or to an established dictatorship. Third, India is a beehive of activities, agricultural, industrial, commercial, cultural, political, and literary. Fourth, India is a land of vast contrasts—tractors and bullock carts, cottage industries and giant atomic power plants, steel mills and mud huts, spacious offices and crowded slums, riches and poverty, sophisticated scientists and ignorant people

steeped in superstition. Fifth, India is a land that makes you feel that she is making valiant efforts to overcome her economic underdevelopment and to bridge the gap between sophistication and superstition, between rich and poor.

I was happy to see the change in the outlook of the people brought about by freedom. As citizens of a free nation, young and old, men and women, they are able to look the world in the eye and conduct themselves with their head uplifted. The eagerness on the faces of young people especially, and their desire to make India over, to recapture the ancient glories of the forefathers, at once bewitch you and bewilder you.

With my headquarters in Baroda, about 200 miles north of Bombay, I travelled up and down the country and talked with the President of the Republic of India and the Prime Minister, with the Vice-President and Cabinet Ministers as well as with farmers and workers, with students and professional people. The most striking thing in India fifteen years after independence is the optimism of the people. The most striking feature of the Hindese scene is the type and extent of innovations. Prior to the attainment of independence on August 15, 1947, India had committed herself to three basic goals: (1) the creation of a Welfare State within (2) the democratic framework, based upon (3) a mixed economy.

The industrial policy of Free India is predicated upon: (1) increased production, (2) equitable distribution, (3) a progressively active role of the state in the development of industries, (4) state ownership and

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manufacture of arms and atomic energy as well as railroads, telephones, telegraphs and radio (the latter three being part of the postal service), (5) government operation of hydro-electric projects, (6) scope for private enterprise and co-operatives in the field of industrial and agricultural production, (7) harmony between labor and capital, (8) participation of foreign capital in India's development on terms not inimical to the national economy, and (9) a planned economy.

Perhaps the best expression of India's political course—and destiny—is to be found in the Resolution introduced in the Constituent Assembly by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on December 13, 1946 :

This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution, wherein all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people ; and wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India, justice, social, economic, and political ; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law ; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality ; and wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes ; and whereby shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilized nations ; and this ancient land attain its rightful and honored place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

India's Internal Revolution

We may best appraise India's progress since independence by analyzing her internal structure and her external relations.

Internally, the age-old caste system is on the way out. In urban areas, especially in metropolitan areas, caste is a factor of little consequence. The employment of women by various government agencies as well as by private business establishments is a heartening innovation. The Constitution of India promised the establishment of a public school system on the American model, but this goal has been only partially achieved so far because of (1) lack of trained personnel, (2) lack of school facilities, (3) lack of funds. In 1947 there were but fourteen universities in India ; fifteen years later there were 46 universities. In 1947, there were but two Schools of Social Work ; now there are eighteen Schools of Social Work, some of them, like the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and the Baroda Faculty of Social Work, maintaining as high professional standards as our American Schools of Social Work.

Untouchability has been abolished by constitutional prescription as well as by legislation. Taking advantage of special scholarships, many Harijan students are attending colleges and universities. And the presence of Harijans in Legislatures, State and Federal, as well as in the Cabinets of State Governments and the Central Government, augurs a new day for the nation.

India is, perhaps, the only significant country in Asia, fully committed to the gospel of democracy, and thoroughly competent to handle the tools of democracy. Having gone through three general elections peacefully, with the largest electorate in the world, with 70 to 80 per cent of the eligible voters going to the polls, India exemplifies her dedication to democracy and her ability to maintain a stable government. Respecting freedom of speech, press and assembly, India zealously guards the civil rights of her citizens, regardless of age or sex, race or religion.

The most thrilling feature of the Hindese scene is the launching of successive five-year plans, which are first discussed at the grass-roots level and then democratically promoted with the co-operation of citizens. The first five-year plan, 1951-56,

involved an expenditure of Rs. 33,600,000,000; the second five-year plan, 1956-61, involved an expenditure of Rs. 67,500,000,000, while the third five-year plan, 1961-66, in progress at present, is estimated to cost more than the total of the first two plans, namely, Rs. 104,000,000,000.

The first plan was aimed at rehabilitating the economy which had been disrupted by World War II and by Partition. The Second Plan aimed at developing basic and heavy industries, with the twofold purpose of creating opportunities for employment immediately and manufacturing consumer goods later. The third plan has addressed itself to developing all phases of economic activity—agricultural, manufacturing, transportation, etc.—so that at the end of the Fourth plan, 1966-71, India's economy may be self-sustaining.

There is no need to inflict on you statistics concerning, say, rise in industrial production of basic industries, such as :

TABLE I
RISE IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Year	Iron or Steel	Machinery	Chemical
1950-51	100	100	100
1955-56	121.6	191.8	179.3
1960-61	238.2	503.2	288.1

The point to note is : (1) that the Five-Year plans are operated democratically with the willing co-operation of citizens ; (2) that their objective is to create employment for the vast multitude of unemployed in the land (3) that they aim at increasing the purchasing power of the masses, (4) that they are valiantly striving to build within 20 years an economic structure which took over a hundred years to evolve in the Western World.

A fascinating aspect of these Five-Year Plans is the emergence of Community Development Schemes and National Extension Services in the rural areas all over the nation. The Community Development workers are acting as catalytic agents in tradition-bound rural areas, as dynamic change agents in the villages.

The Republic of India is one of the few nations in the world that officially sponsor the birth control movement, euphemistically known in India as the Family Planning movement. Family planning clinics are set up in urban areas ; in the rural areas, the Community Development worker serves as guide, friend and philosopher to the rural folk, pointing out to them the value of new seeds as well as of family planning.

Some of the new patterns in the Hindese social economy have been borrowed from other nations, especially America, while some others have been invented indigenously in response to local needs. We may pause to pay tribute to the industrialized nations of Europe and the Americas that have ungrudgingly either loaned or gifted funds and capital goods and technical skill to India ; these loans and gifts, especially from the U.S.A., amounting to over \$3,500,000,000 have materially aided India in successfully carrying out her ambitious five-year plans.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

India's foreign policy of so-called neutralism or non-alignment since independence has been both assailed and welcomed by partisans of one school or another. Viewing the United Nations Organization, in the early stages, as strictly a forum for the exchange of opinion and international discussion, the architects of India's foreign policy—spelled Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru—did not favour an active role for the U.N. During the Korean conflict, India's neutral position earned her the respect of all belligerents and she was welcomed as true supervisor. After the abortive conflict between Egypt on the one hand and Israel, Britain and France on the other, India was invited to furnish troops to the U.N. to supervise the truce line in that part of the world. And in the Congo, Hindese troops were dispatched to fight and to maintain order in that distraught African country under the banner of the U.N. Now, Mr. Nehru is perfectly willing to have the U.N. act as a dynamic peace-making agency, as policeman to the whole world.

In her relations with other nations,

India is guided by the twin principles of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, namely, Truth and Non-Violence. This means India charted her course in the field of international relations on the basis of peace and friendliness toward all nations, malice toward none, and co-existence of differing ideologies. This position has made India vulnerable to criticism by disgruntled parties, on the ground that she was partial (a) to the Soviet bloc and (b) to the American bloc. Such criticisms, justified or unjustified, India survived, until our venerable Purdit Walter Lippmann went on record as saying that if India with her neutralist policy did not exist, we would have to invent it.

On the whole, I must confess that India's architects seem to be more apprehensive of American encroachments than of Soviet Russian encroachments—this in spite of the fact that in a real emergency, they look to America for prompt aid and are not disappointed in their expectation of American generosity and goodwill.

Red China's aggression against India in September 1962 came as a bolt from the blue. The Himalayas, the unwearied guardians of India's northern frontiers, were breached by Red Chinese troops—a military feat of a very high order in the annals of history. Why the Red Chinese chose to attack India, the one country that brought respectability to them, the one country that treated them not as pariahs among nations but as an equal member in the comity of nations—why the Red Chinese chose to attack such a friendly neighbor nation is a mystery.

Tentative theories may be offered: (1) China and India were in a race as to who could rejuvenate the economy faster and thus become the leader of Asia. India's democratic progress must have hurt the Red Chinese ambitions. (2) Soviet Russia and Communist China were drifting apart ideologically since 1959 or thereabouts, and the Soviets were gradually withdrawing all their skilled aid personnel from China and denying the Chinese economic aid. This was bad enough, but to add insult to injury,

Soviet Russia decided to snuggle up to non-communist India and aid her by building the Bhilai Steel Plant as a showplace of Russian know-how on the one hand and of Russian goodwill to Asians on the other. (3) Red China, perchance, wanted to probe how well India would stand up under the battering ram of her simultaneous attacks in the Kashmir region and in the Assam region.

Whatever the reason, the Chinese attack on India's northern frontiers in 1962 opened India's eyes and compelled Mr. Nehru and others to do serious rethinking. India's policy of non-alignment still stands, but she relies heavily on America and commonwealth nations for aid and support, while hoping for and expecting Soviet Russian aid, and support against future Chinese aggression. I am satisfied—and I stated this point publicly to the press a year ago—that we may witness the strange spectacle of America and Soviet Russia standing side by side and aiding India against Red China if the situation should ever become serious enough.

Finally, we cannot conclude this brief discussion of India's foreign policy without mentioning the unresolved conflict between India and Pakistan. It is not necessary for us to apportion blame to either nation. Suffice it to say that these two neighbors, who are of one flesh and of one blood and who should be friendly to each other, have so far failed to arrive at a mutually acceptable solution. Perhaps both nations have become prisoners of their obsessions. But now with Pakistan flirting with Red China, Indo-Pakistan misunderstanding has been compounded so much that no accommodation between the two can be visualized in the near future—or in the distant future.

INDIA'S FUTURE

In conclusion, I may be permitted to set forth my own view of India's future in the second half of the twentieth century. We may look forward to India forging ahead politically, economically, socially

and religiously. Committed to democratic principles and procedures, devoted to the Gandhian way of life, to 'Gandhian socialism', borrowing the technology of the Occident at a dizzy pace, India is sure to build a sound foundation for power in world affairs. Then, in the words of the historic resolution of Nehru, "this ancient land (shall) attain its rightful and honored place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

"A FORGOTTEN EPISODE IN THE LIFE OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY"

By AMIYA SEN, M.A.

DURING the early days of the East India Company the Judicial system prevalent in the country was in a state of transition. The Judiciary had no codes of law to follow in all cases. Nor was there any uniform procedure in its operations. Distinctions were also made between "His Majesty's subjects" and the so-called "natives" of India and even between "natives" professing different religions. One such distinction was fully exemplified in the system of trial by Juries in the courts established by the Company. By the Act of 1774, in such trials only Europeans could sit as jurors; none else, not even Indo-Britons as Anglo-Indians of those days were known, could claim to be represented even on the Petty Jury not to speak of the Grand Jury. With the spread of Western culture, however, natives and 'Indo-Britons' coming into more intimate contact with Europeans gradually grew conscious of their rights and privileges and could not tolerate without any protest such distinctions among the different sections of His Majesty's subjects in India. As early as 1816, the 'natives' sent to England a petition praying that they might be permitted to sit on juries. The authorities in England were in an awkward situation. They could not openly justify such distinctions; for even in England of those early days there were men liberal enough to undertake the defence and vindication of the cause of justice. In order, therefore, to avoid the difficulty "the authorities here", says Hume, "on considering the petition, were of opinion, that the Supreme Courts in the Presidencies already possessed the power of directing that natives should serve on Juries". They, thus sought to transfer all responsibility regarding such distinctions from themselves to their agents in India.

The 'natives' of Calcutta refused to be satisfied with such evasive replies. Taking advantage of the assurance of the authorities in England they presented, in 1817, "a memorial" to the Supreme Court in Calcutta in order to have the question settled. The Judge on that occasion declared that it was not in his power to direct 'natives' to sit on juries under the existing law and that Parliament alone could grant them that privilege. It did not require any super-subtle brain to understand the significance of this game of evasions and we find that for at least five years the 'natives' of Calcutta did not move any further with their agitation.

On the 8th January, 1822, the 'natives' again applied to the Supreme Court of Calcutta for permission to sit on juries. The result of this application was very significant of the evasive attitude of the authorities. The Chief Justice said that the Sheriff might summon them if he pleased. The Sheriff answered that he could not do so unless instructed by the Chief Judge and the Chief Justice declared that he had no power to give such instructions. At this distance of time and, in the absence of the original petitions, it is not possible to find out to what extent Rammohun was associated with this movement. But his attitude towards the Special Jury Act and the prominent part he played in the agitation for its repeal or rather for its amendment—make it very probable that he took a similar interest in this movement as well.¹

The question of the improvement of the administration of justice in India had already attracted the notice of the authorities in England. In 1808. Sir Alexander Johnston, then Chief Justice of Ceylon, recorded it as his official opi-

nion that "the most certain and effective method of improving the Government of India, of raising the moral and intellectual character of the natives and of insuring the continuance of their attachment to the British Empire, was to render the system of administering justice among them really independent, efficient and popular".² He was in favour of granting to the inhabitants of the country a direct and considerable share in the administration of justice and that under European judges. There was, however, considerable opposition among people both in India and in England. "The natives of India", in their opinion, "from their division into Castes, from their want of intellect(?), from their want of education and from their want of veracity and integrity, were incapable of exercising any political or any judicial authority". He, therefore, thought it prudent that the experiment should first be tried in Ceylon. As the population of Ceylon was composed of a great number of "the four divisions of which the population of India was composed", if the experiment proved successful there, it might be acted upon "with great moral and political advantage in legislating for the natives of India". In 1825, at the request of the President of the Board of Control, Sir Alexander communicated to him "a statement explaining the reasons underlying the introduction of Trial by Jury in Ceylon and the consequences with which its adoption was attended."

The obvious way of remedying the defects of the administration of justice was "first to give natives a direct interest in that system by imparting to them a considerable share in its administration; secondly to give them a proper value for a character for veracity by making such a character the condition upon which they were to look for respect from their countrymen and that from which they were to hope for promotion in the service of their Government; thirdly, to make the natives themselves, who, from their knowledge of their countrymen, can decide at once the degree of credit which ought to be given to native testimony, judges of fact and thereby shorten the duration of trials". After mature consideration of the proposals in England, provisions were made extending the right of sitting upon juries, in criminal cases to every native of Ceylon.

The experiment proved very successful. As Sir Alexander observed in the statement—The (i) native jurymen being now judges of fact, and

the European judges only judges of law, only one European Judge was necessary instead of two or three. Knowing full well the different degrees of weight which may safely be given to the testimony of their countrymen the native jurors decide (ii) upon questions of fact with great promptitude so that there is little delay in the administration of justice. They also obtain so much information regarding the (iii) modes of proceeding and the rules of evidence that the most efficient and respectable native magistrates may be, very well chosen from amongst them. After the adoption of these measures whenever a man was chosen as a juror the very fact of this choice was regarded as a proof of his being a man of unexceptionable character. This made the people more attentive than they used to be in their adherence to truth and had given them a value for character. Being associated with the administration of justice they felt an interest which they never felt before in upholding the Government. They were also afforded an opportunity of hearing any observation which the judges might make to them with regard to the administration of justice or the state of society or morals. The experiment of extending the rights and privileges of Englishmen to natives having after sixteen years of experience, been found to be productive of the greatest security to Government and of the greatest benefit to the people of the country it was felt that it might be applied to India as well.³

Meantime the Indo-Britons in India were not idle. They were smarting under this stamp of inferiority. Early in 1825, they sent a petition to the Parliament for the removal of their disabilities. On June 13, 1825, in course of discussions in the House of Commons regarding the East India Judges Bill, Mr. Hume presented this petition and moved for an amendment empowering the Judges to direct Natives and others to act as Juries under such regulations as may be thought advisable for the due administration of justice. Mr. Wynn, the President of the Board of Control was very sympathetically disposed towards the proposal. He was perfectly sure that no invidious distinction should be made between different sections of His Majesty's subjects in India. Natives lawfully born in wedlock were entitled to be considered as British subjects and had the right to the privileges possessed by them. He considered all persons born in Calcutta to be British subjects and entitled to all privileges which

appertained to that character; nor could there be any reason why, if natives could serve on juries in England, they should not do so in India.⁴ This assurance was sought to be translated into action by the East India Jury Bill. There was serious opposition to the Bill. Doubts were entertained by many who were consulted as to the expediency of allowing natives to sit on Grand Juries at all and on Petty Juries in cases where Europeans were concerned. Emphatic insistence "on the little respect paid by natives to veracity or sanction of an oath" and the undesirability of placing the conquered in situations of judges of the conquerors in a recently acquired domain induced Mr. Wynn to introduce invidious distinctions in the Bill.⁵ It gave all classes of natives the right to sit on the common jury; but, at the same time, enacted that the Grand Jury be composed of Christians alone. This distinction became still more invidious and intolerable by the further stipulation that in cases where either of the parties was a Christian all the twelve persons shall be no other than Christians. When either of the parties was Hindu or Musulman, or any other class the Christians would have the privilege of judging them.⁶

The Act was received in India with a storm of protest and the most prominent voice that was heard against it was the voice of Rammohun. The exceptions made in the Act were felt by the natives of Bengal to be insulting and degrading, as contrary to the spirit of English Law and to the principles of abstract justice. Such was the information derived from personal communications on the subject with natives of first respectability and intelligence in Calcutta, which the editor of a contemporary journal gave to his readers in England.⁶ The most significant of this protest came from Rammohun's *Sambad Kaumudi*. The consequences of this new Act is that in matters where a man's life is at stake or where banishment, imprisonment and severe punishments are awarded, we, Hindoos and Musalmans, must submit to the verdict of Christians whether they be natives of Britain or the offspring of British fathers by Indian mothers, whether they be the common Portugese or Armenians or the 'rice Christians' of Serampur. These persons shall have the privilege of judging in cases where our lives are concerned; whereas we, although living in the same country or in the same hamlet with them, and partaking in their virtues and vices

shall have no power of judging respecting them. In like manner our descendants must also submit their lives to the decisions of the sons of Christians."⁷

In this unreasonable distinction between Christians and people of other faiths resident in India Rammohun suspected an insidious attempt on the part of the Government to favour the spread of Christianity in the country. As a matter of fact the proceedings of the debates at the East India House during this particular period show an anxiety on the part of several proprietors to assist in missionary efforts in India. Mr. Paynder's resolutions even against Suttee and the exaction of tributes from the pilgrims at Puri had, as their background, his orthodox faith in Christianity and his earnest desire for an extension of its sphere of influence; and there were not wanting proprietors who supported him in his evangelical zeal. It was not, therefore, strange that Rammohun should take the East India Jury Act as a measure for the furtherance of Christianity. "Missionaries and clergymen", proceeded Rammohun, "have spent more than thirty years in disseminating their faith in different sorts of books and by various other means, without being able to make a single true and sincere convert to Christianity; but now the way is opened and many persons, no longer able patiently to bear the reproach brought upon them by this Parliamentary Act, will take shelter under the Christian faith. When rulers of the country use force or art to win over their subjects to their own faith from that of their ancestors, who shall have the power to oppose?"⁸

The alternatives suggested show the practical statesmanship of Rammohun and his sense of self-respect. "It would have been consonant to reason, virtue and equity, if it had been ordered by this Act that as a Christian shall have the privilege of being tried by a jury composed of Christians in like manner a Hindoo or Musulman shall be tried by a jury consisting exclusively of persons of his faith, or that as Christians shall have the privilege of sitting with Hindoo and Musalmans on the trial of a Hindoo or a Musulman, so Hindoo and Musalmans shall have the privilege, equally with Christians of sitting on the trial of Christian." He could not observe with equanimity the slur cast upon "Hindoos and Musalmans" nor tolerate the stamp of inferiority that was sought to be put on them. The order of

the Parliamentary Act, Rammohun was sorry to observe, has laid all Hindoos and Musalmans without any regard to rank or respectability prostrate at the feet of Christians, whether of this or any other place.⁹

Rammohun and his group could not remain inactive. They had already taken necessary steps in the matter. On this subject a memorial has been prepared now nearly a month past to the proper authorities in England by a person amongst us who is waiting in anxious expectation to hear the result—show the *Sambad Kaumudi* of Dec. 30, 1826. The fact that among his associates Rammohun took the most prominent part in controversies and in the drafting of petitions and memorials makes it most probable that the petition referred to was his own composition and that he modestly described himself in this connection as "one amongst us".

In 1828, again we find Rammohun taking a very prominent part in the agitation against the Special Jury Act. On August 18, 1828 he wrote to Mr. J. Crawford entrusting to him petitions numerously signed by Hindoo and Musalmans against the Jury Act which had come into operation in the beginning of 1827. The arguments he used in support of his opposition to the Act mark him out as a champion of Indian rights and privileges. He very urgently protested against the introduction of "religious distinctions into the judicial system of this country" and pointed out that such acts were calculated not only to give "just grounds for dissatisfaction among the natives in general but also to excite much alarm among people conversant with political principles." He did not fail to lay special emphasis on the disastrous consequences of distinctions based on religious beliefs. Misery had resulted in Ireland from such distinctions; the same calamities might easily be reproduced in India by pursuing a similar policy. "Supposing that some hundred years hence the Native character becomes elevated from constant intercourse with Europeans and the acquirement of general and political knowledge as well as modern arts and sciences, is it possible," he asked, "that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society?" He reminded his contemporaries that it was easier to transport armed forces to Ireland and succeed in suppressing every effort of a

refractory spirit. But the position of India is different. She might very well prove, "from her remote situation, her riches and vast population, either useful and profitable as a willing province, an ally of the British Empire or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy" and her choice would depend on the administrative and other policy of Britishers. His almost prophetic vision could see future possibilities which were absolutely unapparent even to the statesmen and administrators of those early days. Nor was he less emphatic in his protest against the way in which the "Act was sought to be forced on India." "In common with those who seem partial to the British from the expectation of future benefits arising out of the connection, I necessarily feel extremely grieved in often witnessing acts and regulations passed by Government without consulting or seeming to understand the feelings of its Indian subjects and without considering that these people have had for more than half a century the advantage of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation, advocates of liberty and promoters of knowledge."¹⁰

The petition that was placed before the House of Commons on June 5, 1829 is an interesting document. Among the signatories we not only find the name of Rammohun but also those of some of his most intimate associates as Gurudas Mukherjee, Dwarkanath Tagore, Prosanno Coomarr Tagore and others. Its arguments bear a very close resemblance to the standpoint of Rammohun as expressed in his articles in the *Sambad Kaumudi* or even in his other writings on political and administrative matters. The petitioners respectfully but firmly protested against "the invidious distinctions introduced into the Act as not only useless but odious and impolitic." They pointed out that fifty years ago a committee of the House of Commons had recommended that Indians ought to enjoy to the fullest extent the right of sitting on juries "without any reserve on the ground of religious opinions." With the spread of education among the native population of Calcutta they had become more familiar with English law; they had formed a connection much more intimate and numerous, with their European fellow-subjects. Not only so, they had been found qualified to act as jurors in many cases. Under these circumstances the distinctions were wholly unnecessary.¹²

They pointed out that the better class of the

natives of India were placed under the sway of the East India Company in a state of political degradation which was absolutely without a parallel in their former history, for, "even under their Mohamedan conquerors, such of your petitioners as are Hindus were not only capable of filling but actually did fill numerous employments of trust, dignity and emolument from which under the existing system of the Honourable Company's Government they are absolutely shut out . . . They have submitted to these exclusions reconciled in some measure to them from a persuasion of the tolerant spirit of the local Government and from an implicit reliance on its often renewed assurances that their religious opinions should be inviolably protected."¹³ In this assertion they seemed to be echoing similar sentiments expressed in the Appeal to the King in Council.

The emphasis the petitioners laid on the disastrous consequences of invidious distinctions on grounds of religion remind us of Rammohun's letter to Crawford. They felt that privileges granted to one community and denied to another must be very injurious not only because it "exposes them without defence to the operations of prejudices arising from religious feelings among the strongest which actuate the human mind when once awakened but because the India-born Christians being much more numerous than Europeans and intercourse between them and Hindus and Mohammedans being much more frequent and familiar, feelings of rivalry and animosity are much more likely to exist between them than between your Petitioners and Europeans. It was also degrading because those who were never regarded as superior were elevated above them by the sole circumstances of their religion." Now that they beheld themselves as branded with inferiority and "a numerous and increasing class of their own countrymen scarcely even on a level with themselves in public opinion withdrawn from the community to be enclosed within a circle of immunities into which they are debarred from penetrating, they feel themselves practically degraded with the same measure as their countrymen are exalted and experience the deepest humiliation." These distinctions were, consequently doubly injurious and degrading."¹⁴

They suggested that the Act might be intended to operate as a motive to conversion to Christianity and it "may be proposed to intimate

to the people of India in this indirect manner that the road to European distinction can only be reached by a profession of the religion of the greater part of Europe."¹⁵ They reminded the House of Commons that the legislature of Great Britain and the local Government of the East India Company were bound by the most solemn and repeated pledges to protect the natives of India in the full enjoyment of their laws, customs and religion.¹⁶ "Religious opinions," they pointed out, "exercise a great influence over their general conduct and daily conduct. It is not merely a system of theories and opinions but is interwoven with the laws, the manners, the daily necessities and doily actions of every condition of human life and any interference with it is, therefore, peculiarly hard to be borne."¹⁷ These pledges, they held, should be kept in that spirit of perfect and sacred good faith which "disdains alike insidious and indirect attack and open infraction" and if these assurances be withdrawn or if a system of indirect attack be commenced on all religions to which Christianity is opposed your petitioners will no longer know where to look for protection."¹⁸ These passages bear a very close resemblance to the arguments developed in Rammohun's article in the *Sambad Kaumudi*.

It might have been hastily supposed, so the petitioners asserted, that there were no individuals professing the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions who moved in the rank of society from which the Grand Jury were selected.¹⁹ They could not, however, believe that a social ban so absolutely revolting would ever have been sanctioned by the legislature of a civilised nation. The Permanent Settlement was introduced to build up a landed aristocracy, that being one of the favourite objects of the British Government in Bengal. A new race of landed proprietors, "possessed of energy and capital," had, by that time, been created many of who resided in Calcutta. Similarly, the free-trade of the late years had created a class of native merchants, "in wealth equal and in intelligence but little inferior, to the most honourable of the European Commercial residents of Calcutta." To assert that there was in Calcutta among the landed proprietors and merchants "not one single individual entitled to rank in the eyes of Government as an equal with the European merchants of Calcutta or the Civil servants of the Government was an admission of the failure of the experiment which

had been tried for over thirty years to create a race of native gentry for the prosperity of the country."²⁰

It might also have been considered, so the petitioners pointed out, that the Grand Jury were called upon to judge of the value of evidence without the aid of the debates of the counsels and the directions of a judge, and such functions required an intellect of a higher order than that which was necessary for the due performance of those of a petty juror and more than was possessed by any Hindoo or Mohammedan. To meet this contention the petitioners observed that the petty jurors had to discern the truth among the conflicting statements of adverse witnesses and the eloquent and artful addresses of counsels against which the dry and impartial charge of a judge is but an imperfect protection.²¹ It was a task far more difficult than deciding upon the value of ex-parte evidence and coming to a conclusion whether the guilt was sufficiently established by the complainants, proof, to warrant further judicial investigation. The knowledge that native inhabitants possessed of the peculiar habits, manners and prejudices of their own countrymen enabled them to judge more accurately the value of the evidence placed before them. It was further pointed out that for the functions of a petty juror in which judges and Barristers took part a more accurate knowledge of English was required than for the familiar examination of ex-parte evidence. "Justice," they held, "can never be perfectly administered without the aid of the people themselves."²²

In their suggestions regarding the remedies of the disabilities introduced by the Act the petition showed interesting points of resemblance with Rammohun's article in the *Sambad Kaumudi*: "If your Honourable House does indeed suppose it impossible that among men of different religions, a common sense of justice and common regard for impartiality should prevail, your petitioners trust that you will at least extend to them, in conformity with the sacred pledges given by the legislatures, the protection that is deemed necessary to afford to others." The petitioners however pointed out that such prejudices did not exist but that the invidious distinctions sanctioned by the legislature might create them.²³ They, however, preferred the

removed either by permitting half the jurors from the community to which one of the parties belonged or by repealing the section altogether and leaving it entirely to the judges to form the list of jurors.²⁴

The similarities of thought and style show clearly that either Rammohun was himself the writer of the petition or it was drafted in consultation with him—the style and sentiments expressed are, however, in favour of the first alternative being the more probable one. The petition was sought to be ridiculed by the English Press. *The Asiatic Journal* tried to weaken its genuineness by the bare assertion, without any corroborative evidence whatsoever, that it was evidently the production of an English pen. *John Bull* went one step further and represented it to be a "radical trick of interested parties. It opined, again without assigning any reason, that the native petitioners were mere tools. It stooped even to untrue statements and asserted that among the names published, there were few, if any, above the rank of moonshees or writers in public offices—and this of a petition signed by Dwarkanath Tagore, Prosanna Kumar Tagore, Rammohun Roy and others."²⁵

The petition asserted that the Act had become very unpopular with the respectable natives of India and "if these disabilities were not removed in time no Hindu or Mohammedan inhabitant will willingly serve as a juror in any capacity."²⁶ Its prophecy was fulfilled by a curious occurrence during the same year. No Hindu and Mohammedan volunteered to sit on the petty jury much to the astonishment of the powers that be. This was probably the first occurrence of non-cooperation by the natives of India with the administration. *The Calcutta John Bull* wrote under date Aug. 1, 1828—"It has been stated to us, in regard to no Hindoo or Musalman having volunteered to sit on petty juries, to which they are eligible that this proceeds from the notion that a slight has been put on the whole of them by the more influential among them being excluded from the Grand Jury; and that if disqualifications were once removed, there are many who would come forward to offer their services on petty juries."²⁷

It is, therefore, significant that the very person who was responsible for the East India Jury Act, should sponsor this petition before the House of Commons. He admitted that the con-

cessions to the natives might be safely extended so far as the right of serving on the Grand Jury was concerned. The administration of justice, in his opinion, suffered from a deficiency in the number of judges. The only way in which this deficiency could be supplied was by raising and training up a "superior grade of native functionaries." "But the first step," so he asserted, "is to open the avenues of rank, distinction and emolument as the reward of good conduct." The situations of village and provincial magistrates then occupied by natives were limited in jurisdiction, nor was their salary adequate. Although education had progressed yet unless the natives could look forward to situations which would not only afford them emolument but rank and consideration in society, all other incentives to improvement must prove vain and insufficient. So all should "concur in the propriety of a declaration that the subjects of Great Britain without distinction of blood or colour be eligible to every employment for which their abilities, education, and habits might qualify them."²⁸

In supporting it Lord Ashley dwelt significantly on the advantages derived from associating Indians of intelligence and respectability with the administration of justice. Mr. Fergusson pointed out that its signatories were natives of Calcutta best known for their wealth, respectability and intelligence, "fully adequate to discharge judicial functions of the highest description." Sir Charles Forbes insisted upon the necessity of admitting the natives of India to a participation in all civil rights belonging to British subjects. In such a sympathetic atmosphere it was only natural that Mr. Wynn should close the debate by promising redress.²⁹ Later on the House of Commons received in 1831, petitions from Bombay praying for the removal of the same disabilities.³⁰

In the meantime the Government of England had changed. Mr. C. Grant, when he came into office, was fully conscious of the necessity of the changes advocated by the petitions. In the correspondence between him and the Court of Directors we find that it tried its utmost to dissuade him but he remained firm.

The Court of Directors admitted that it had acted upon the principle laid down by Mr. Grant viz. "that the natives of a country sufficiently civilised should be deemed eligible to fill

important offices in the administration of its affairs." "The Principle once being accepted," observed Mr. Grant, "and the eligibility of natives to fill important and responsible posts being established, the propriety of excluding them by law from particular offices can only be maintained, by showing with respect to each office a special case of exception."³¹

Mr. Grant brushed aside the contention that "natives would be reluctant to acquire an acquaintance of English law and Acts of Parliament for the mere distinction of acting as unpaid magistrates or to take up the duties of this office on account of its responsibilities and their liability to penalties for illegal conduct," by observing that such men would not be selected and their exclusion would not be regarded as a grievance. There was, however, no reason why the acquirement of a knowledge of English law should be regarded by respectable natives as a matter of formidable difficulty. In private life and in the performance of public duties, they had shown no deficiency either in "the habits of application to business or in the skill and acuteness required for its successful prosecution" nor were they "insensible to that stimulus to exertion which arise from the hope of honourable distinction."³²

The Court urged that to commit to natives a direct cognisance of the acts of Europeans would have "An injurious effect in lowering that estimation of the European Character which was necessary for the stability of the Indian Empire." In reply, Mr. Grant pointed out that the 'natives' had long been accustomed to see Europeans in situations very unfavourable to the continuance of any such notion of their individual superiority, and the stability of the British Empire depended not on such notions of individual superiority but on a conviction of the superiority of the British Government to those of Asiatic states. "The real source of our strength, next to our military power and skill, being the unity of power and the justice of principle which have distinguished our Government, the security of our domain cannot fail to be increased by every measure tending to remove needless distinctions and to combine all classes in the administration of laws."³³

The Court considered 'natives' to be deficient in many qualities, particularly firmness of character so necessary to inspire confidence and so essential for the discharge of the duties of a Justice of the Peace. Mr. Grant pointed out in

reply that the native character was not incapable of improvement in those points and it would seem that the most effectual means of that improvement would be to open the 'natives', as objects of honourable ambition "those employments which obviously require the exercise of the qualities in question."³⁴

The Court objected to the admission of non-Christians to Grand Juries and to Petty Juries constituted for the purpose of trying Christians. They pointed out that "according to the law of England, there should be some community of feeling between those who are to try and those who are to be tried; that men should be tried by their Peers, by what the English law with strong meaning, calls *the country*; and further that in the trial of an Englishman or a Christian by Hindus or Musalmans there is no country, no community of feeling, interests or habitude." In reply to this objection Mr. Grant observed that the constitution of England would recognise as Peers or Country, in matters of this nature, "those persons, in every part of our domain, who are made amenable to the same tribunal as their European fellow-subjects. It does not appear that identity of religion has been considered as necessarily involved in those expressions." "Such arguments," in his opinion, "involve the principle of separation between persons of different religions which is obviously full of injustice and attended with injurious and fatal consequences both to the Governors and the governed."³⁵

Similar arguments, we find in Rammohun's remark in answer to the objections raised by the Court of Directors against the introduction of the proposed Jury Bill. I am quite at a loss, observed Rammohun, "to conceive why the Court of Directors instead of endeavouring to conciliate the affections of millions of British subjects in India should, on the contrary, pass laws calculated to stir up a spirit of religious intolerance in a harmonious though mixed community and to revolt the feeling of the most numerous classes of it, particularly the intelligent among the rising generation."³⁶ He further pointed out—"It lies with every government to establish and preserve a community of feeling, interest and habitude among various classes of its subjects, by treating them all as one great family, without showing an invidious preference to any particular tribe or sect, but giving fair and equal encouragement to the worthy and intelligent under whatever denomina-

tion they may be found. But by pursuing a contrary plan, for 'community of feeling' will of course be substituted religious jealousy for community of interest, a spirit of domination or ascendancy on the one hand, of hatred and revenge on the other, and lastly for community of habitude will be established a broad line of demarcation and separation even in conducting public business."³⁷ How prophetic!

All the Directors (except Major Carval and Mr. John Forbes) concurred in opposing Mr. Grant and, not content with this, they stirred up the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* to attack the Bill and the author of it in his journals in order to prejudice the British Public against it. This having failed, they got a number of their servants and connections to draw up a petition against it to be presented to the House of Lords. Such a petition signed by 34 servants of the East India Company was presented before the House of Lords. In spite of all this strong opposition the Bill was duly read a third time and passed by the House of Commons on June 12, 1832.³⁸

The India Justices and Juries Bill was vehemently opposed by the Anglo-Indian Press and it is a significant fact that Rammohun came in for his due share of blame. One editor found in it a principle subversive of European ascendancy in this country. Mr. Grant was, in his opinion, an inexperienced legislator and a mere political visionary and, as such, he must have been "mystified by Rammohun Roy." For the Jury system was incompatible with the state of society in India. "Indians must give up many of their characteristics like subservience, slavish instinct, before they can be entrusted with the duties of a juror." He then lashed himself up into fury and concluded in a style reminiscent of the days of the Ilbert Bill controversy. "That we shall," observed the irate editor, "in process of time, be ejected from this country there is little doubt. Let us not be prematurely busy in teaching its inhabitants to lord it over us. No measure is, we conceive, more calculated to hurry the catastrophe than the favourite idea acted on by Mr. Grant, the superiority, namely, of theory vs. practice, self-sufficiency vs. experience." Again: "It is not often that we have occasion to speak favourably of the political measures of the Court of Directors or to use harsh language towards the enlightened Ex-Brahmin Rammohun Roy; in the present instance, however, we have good reason to break our rule

in either case.....nor can anything be more impolitic than the *arguments evidently supplied by the Hindu patriot* who has sacrificed truth and honesty in order to pander to his passion for theory and assured Mr. Grant that all-India regretted the non-appearance of native Grand Jurors while he must have known that such a statement was hardly true when predicted of even the enlightened population of the single city of Calcutta." The fulminations of the Anglo-Indian Editor throw a flood of light on the influence of Rammohun over the mind of Mr. Grant and the decisive part he played in the removal of these grievances.³⁹

Even when the Act was passed in 1832, it received a very mixed reception in India(?). While Justice Sir E. Ryan of the Calcutta Supreme Court welcomed it and rejoiced that invidious distinctions had been removed, Chief Justice Sir W. Compton of the Bombay Supreme Court in course of sincerely congratulating the native population for the measure candidly confessed that his experience in India had led him to entertain some doubt whether the natives of these presidencies were yet sufficiently qualified; and Justice Sir Ralph Palmer of the Madras Supreme Court openly showed his dissatisfaction with the measure.⁴⁰

Rammohun was a practical politician. He did not speculate on the origins of law and constitutions or even on the general principles of political theory for the sake of speculation; nor did he attempt to draw conclusions deductively from general principles and apply them towards the solution of practical problems. On the contrary, he always took up issues of practical importance, analysed them and out of such analysis arrived at general principles which illuminated the practical problems. It is this "wide illumination from great principles of human experience" that makes whatever he wrote, petitions or pamphlets, so very significant.

An analysis of the controversy that centred round the East India Jury Bill shows that although Rammohun's primary concern was the removal of invidious distinctions, he supported his point of view by reference to general principles which touch the fundamentals of politics and administration.

During the age in which Rammohun lived the

ultimate power of legislation was vested in the British Parliament. Legislating from a distance of thousands of miles, it was very probable that the Parliament, for want of knowledge should arrive at wrong decisions with regard to the point at issue. There was the further problem of how to make public opinion effective in matters of legislation. Rammohun laid special emphasis on this aspect of the question. According to him legislation should be undertaken in Parliament "upon representation being made by local authorities" and completed "after due investigation" and with the advice of the High Council of the realm." By investigation he meant "circulation for public opinion"—a procedure he recommended in his Questions and Answers on the Judicial system of India. It is not necessary to go into the details of the recommendations. Rammohun, however, laid special emphasis on the part which ought to be played by public opinion in matters of legislation. It was, therefore, only natural that he should lament, as he did in his letter to Crawford, for the callous indifference shown to public opinion in the acceptance and the implementation of the Special Jury Act.

Rammohun was conscious of the loss of political consequence of Indians under the British rule; notwithstanding this loss of power and prestige, Indians had reconciled themselves to it from a persuasion of the tolerant spirit of the local Government and an implicit reliance on its assurances. It was this implicit reliance, this implicit faith in its *bona fides* that was according to him, the foundation of the stable structure of the British Government in India. Once this faith received a shock from the measures of the Government the cement of mutual trust which bound together the Governor and the governed would be destroyed with disastrous results. Rammohun accepted Bentham's theory of the duty "of resisting the Government in case the benefit to be secured by it is greater than the evils of revolution." "If mankind" so he asserted "are brought into existence and by nature found to enjoy the comforts of society and the pleasure of an improved mind they may be justified in opposing any system, social, domestic, or political, which is inimical to the happiness of society or calculated to debase the human intellect."⁴¹ This gives an added significance to the warning he conveyed through Crawford to his contemporaries. India might according to him, become a faithful ally of the British

Empire, or its bitter enemy according to the policy followed by the Government.

Religion, with Rammohun, was not a mere system of theory and opinion but a way of life. It is interwoven with the laws, manners, daily necessities and daily actions of men. Any interference with it is particularly hard to be borne. Whenever there is the suspicion of an attack, however insidious and indirect it be, in contravention of repeated assurances by the Government, he felt it a duty to express his grief, his astonishment and his alarm.

Rammohun was conscious of the deficiencies of the Judicial system under the East India Company. He was strongly in favour of closer association of the people with the administration of justice. The judges, in his opinion, owing to the absence of a common language and the differences in manners, etc., could not acquire an adequate knowledge of the real nature of the grievances of the persons seeking redress or of the real character and validity of the evidence by which their claims were supported or opposed, Indians with their knowledge of the peculiar habits, manners and prejudices of their own countrymen should be given a direct and considerable share in the administration of Justice. "Justice can never be perfectly administered without the aid of the people themselves."

In the days of Rammohun there was amity among the different communities of India. Time and again he reminded the authorities both in England and in India, that communal prejudices were non-existent in India and they were living in a "harmonious though mixed community." He could not understand why the Court of Directors should pass laws calculated to stir up a spirit of religious intolerance. He could not but perceive the dangerous situation that the invidious distinctions sanctioned by the legislature might create. He spoke of the operation of the prejudices arising from religious feelings "as the strongest which actuate the human mind if once awakened" and warned the authorities concerned that by pursuing their policy of introducing invidious distinctions based on religion they would be disintegrating this harmonious though mixed community. It was this fear which urged him to take so prominent a part in the agitation against the Special Jury Act.

We have before us two problems of supreme importance. The problem of the treatment of mino-

rities and the problem of emotional integration. The ideal that we have put before us is that of a secular state—a state which would treat all communities alike and mete out to them justice without reference to creed or colour. Was not Rammohun anticipating such a concept when he spoke of "equal treatment without showing invidious preference to any particular tribe or sect" and "of giving fair and equal encouragement to the worthy and intelligent under whatever denomination they may be found?" We speak of emotional integration, mutual forbearance, a recognition of a common basis of culture and ideals. Did not Rammohun express, in his own way, the same ideals when he asserted, "It lies with every government to establish and preserve, a *community of feeling*, interest, and habitude among the different communities resident in India?" What ideal of national integration can be higher than the concept of a "family of communities?" Have the disastrous results of an absence of integration ever been more eloquently expressed than by Rammohun? Rammohun pointed out that "by pursuing a contrary policy for community of feeling" will be substituted "religious jealousy" for "community of interest" a "spirit of domination or ascendancy" on the one hand, "of hatred and revenge" on the other,—Does not this assertion give a vivid picture of the disastrous consequence of invidious preferences leading to national disintegration?

The fight that Rammohun put up for the national self-respect of Indians as Indians and against the intrusion of distinctions based upon religious belief in the realm of the administration of justice in India was thus a strenuous one. He had to contend against heavy odds, the prejudices of Anglo-India, the cautious policy of the Court of Directors and the inertia of his own people. And, it was a fight of great significance for in it was involved high moral, political and administrative principles. Not only so, it went directly against the superiority complex then running rampant among authorities both in India and in England. Even Mr. Wynn fell a victim to the vociferous opposition of people whom he consulted. The liberal minded Mr. Grant had to face not only the opposition of the Court of Directors but also a public campaign based upon the idea "that the Bill was an attempt to alter by force of law that relation between the European and the Asiatic which had conferred on a few strangers

the Empire of India." It was against such ideas that Rammohun had to fight. He had to convince the right-thinking people of England of the justice of his cause. He had to mystify Mr. Grant into accepting more liberal principles. Although the change of government in England facilitated the passing of the East India Jury Act, Rammohun's vigilance, his industry in this cause and the decisive part he played in its successful issue should be gratefully remembered.

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31. Letter from the Right Hon'ble Charles Grant, Chairman, Board of Control to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, East India Company, March 6, 1832. *Rammohun and Progressive Movements in India*, p. 381.

32. *Ibid*, p. 382, (Parliamentary Papers 1831-32 Vol. 31) Cf. "Persons who choose to qualify themselves by acquiring a competent knowledge of British law may be appointed by Government. Those who might decline the labour and the rise would, of course, be not appointed. It imposes no hardship or difficulty on either party"—(Rammohun : Answer to objections by the Court of Directors).

33. *Ibid*, p. 383. Cf. "The Court must know that such" direct cognisance "has already existed for years. Has this coercion at the very seat of the British Empire lowered the estimation of the British character or impaired the British Power in India?" (Rammohun : *Ibid*).

34. *Ibid*, p. 383. Cf. "And if they saw by experience that their merits were appreciated, that they might hope to gain an independence by honest means.....being ultimately rewarded by situations of trust and responsibility they would gradually begin to feel a high regard for character, rectitude of conduct, and from cherishing such feelings become more and more worthy of public confidence. (Rammohun : Paper on the Revenue System of India, published 1831).

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CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

By JOSEPH MINATTUR, M.A., J.D., Ph.D., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law.

The Constitution of India guarantees that "19(1) All citizens shall have the right

(a) to freedom of speech and expression."

As no civil liberty is an absolute right, this apparently unlimited freedom is restricted by the constitutional provision which states:

"(2) Nothing in subclause (a) of clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the state from making any law in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of Court, defamation or incitement to an offence."

It may appear to a casual observer that a number and variety of restrictions are contemplate in this provision, while a Constitution, like that of the United States, guarantees, to all appearance, unrestricted freedom, when it states:

"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

The apparent difference disappears when one finds that the United States Supreme Court invented the doctrine of the police powers of the State and applied it in relation to the civil rights. This doctrine lays down the principle that the State has inhereant powers to impose such restrictions on civil liberties as will be necessary to preserve the community from injury.

The Indian Supreme Court, on the other hand, inclined to the opinion that it was not necessary to develop any doctrine similar to that of the police powers of the State, in view of the fact that the Constitution of India specifies the permissible restrictions on the civil rights after having guaranteed

them. The trend of judicial opinion in India has gone so far in upholding the liberty of the citizen that the Courts have often expressed themselves to the effect that since the exceptions to the absolute freedom of speech and expression (for instance) are specifically and expressly laid down in the Constitution, there can be no other limitations than those which are so specifically and expressly mentioned in Article 19(2). Under the police powers of the State, it has been judicially held in the United States that the right to freedom of speech and of the press may be restricted to protect the State from external aggression or internal disorder, to protect individuals from defamation, to protect the community from the dissemination of obscenity, to safeguard the administration of justice from interference and to guard against incitement to crime. The restrictive clause in the Indian Constitution has adopted these classes of restrictions from the judicial decisions in the United States, but has added to them a category, namely, 'in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States' and also altered incitement to crime to incitement to any offence. The difference therefore between the right to freedom of speech and of the press guaranteed under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution as interpreted by the judiciary, and that guaranteed by Article 19 of the Indian Constitution pertains to those reasonable restrictions permissible under the latter Constitution in relation to incitement to any offence and in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States.

It may also be mentioned that the expression 'reasonable restrictions' in the clause has given ample scope for judicial review of any restrictive legislation. The Courts consider that the determination of

the legislature as to what is reasonable restriction is subject to their supervision. They think that a restriction to be reasonable must be reasonable according to the average reasonable man. This, in practice, would mean 'reasonable' according to the notion of reasonableness of the individual judge or judges concerned.

In spite of this general guarantee of the right to freedom of speech and expression in the Constitution, here are a few laws on the Indian statute book which seem to impinge on the guaranteed right. Most of these laws are a legacy of the British regime, which considered it necessary to have powers to restrict freedom of expression with a view to protecting the "government established by law" from inconvenient adverse criticism. The law of sedition in India is a clear example. Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code provides:

Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards the Government established by law in India, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added or with fine.

* Explanation 1. The expression 'disaffection' includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.

Explanation 2. Comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt, or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section.

Explanation 3. Comments expressing disapprobation of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section.

This comprehensively-worded section may bring within its purview a multitude of acts and words considered quite justifi-

able according to the standards prevailing in a democratic society. Since the words used in the section are "the Government established by law" the penal sanction of the section can easily be brought to bear upon a political opponent of the Government who may choose to criticise the policy of the Government in such a manner as would appear to bring it or attempt to bring it into contempt. Considering that the people of India have given to themselves a Constitution with a view to constituting India into a sovereign democratic republic and to securing, among other things, liberty of thought and expression for all its citizens, it is time that the republic of India took measures to repeal this section or to amend it in such a manner that only expressions which incite persons to alter by violence the system of government with or without foreign aid are penalised. If it is pointed out that no political opponent is at present prosecuted under the section for adversely criticising the Government, it may be answered that the citizen's basic rights should have better safeguard than the merciful protection afforded by the forbearance of the Executive to prosecute.

In case the section is not repealed or amended in the way suggested, one may hope that the Indian Supreme Court would declare it **ultra vires** the Constitution.

The provision made in the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, by an amending Act of 1960 to the effect that the printer as well as the publisher of a newspaper should make a declaration before a Magistrate that he is the printer or publisher (or printer and publisher) of the newspaper "before a newspaper can be published" calls for consideration. It is true that a recommendation to this effect was made by the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference as early as 1947. Nevertheless, it is a prior restraint, and a prior restraint which does not appear to be necessary or reasonable. If all the purpose that is sought to be served by the provision is to obtain information and keep records regarding the newspaper, this may as well be done by a provision of law which requires

that a statement containing the necessary information should be sent to the government within, say, three days after the publication of the first number of the newspaper.

There are a few other provisions on the statute book, which seem to encroach upon the guaranteed right to freedom of expression. In this brief article, it is not possible to mention all of them.¹

The above comments are not to be interpreted to detract from the fact that in practice the Indian citizen enjoys as much freedom of expression as his counterpart in any other democratic country. Neither the Premier nor his colleagues nor the government established by law is considered immune from adverse criticism. It is not seldom that the government and its policies are severely criticised in the press, at public meetings and at private gatherings. But, as has been said above, much of this freedom depends on the forbearance of the Executive to prosecute. With a change in the Executive, the executive policy in this regard may change. It is, therefore, necessary that all statutory provisions which impinge upon the citizen's right to freedom of expression be so amended as not to affect adversely that highly valued right guaranteed by the Constitution.

This constitutional guarantee of free-

1. For these provisions, see Minattur, *Freedom of the Press in India*, (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1961).

dom of expression in India may be brought to bolder relief by a comparison with the guarantee contained in the Netherlands Constitution. Article 7 of the latter declares:

"No person shall require previous permission to publish thoughts or feelings by means of the printing press, without prejudice to everyman's responsibility according to law."

This Article which seeks to protect the freedom of the press in the Netherlands appears to be restricted in its application. It prohibits prior censorship. It does not prohibit the National Parliament from making any law which it considers necessary or expedient to make restricting to any extent the right to freedom of expression, other than a law imposing prior censorship on printed publications. As the courts cannot strike down a statutory provision made by the National Parliament as constitutionally invalid, even this prohibition against pre-censorship may have only an emotional value, though, in practice, the Parliament is scrupulously hesitant to pass a law which infringes a constitutional provision.

What is attempted to indicate here is that, in spite of the fairly long list specifying categories of permissible restrictions contained in Article 19(2), the Indian citizen's right to freedom of expression guaranteed by the constitutional provisions and fortified by his right to challenge a legislative restriction before an independent judiciary, appears to be considerably well-protected.



THE ARYANIZATION OF ANCIENT CAMBODIA

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

In the October Number of the Modern-Review, references have been made to the Mission of the Sage Agastya—in deessimating the Aryan Religion and the Cult of Shiva—in the island of Java and in the Malaya-Penisula. Several Years ago, Louis Finot, a great French Scholar, published inscriptional evidences proving the Aryanization of Ancient Cambodia (Tchen-la) through the great Mission of another Bramhinal Sage Rishi Kaundinya, who was the first Indian Missionary to visit Cambodia—in a ship across the sea; the tract was then ruled by a dynasty of Primitive tribes—referred to as the Nagas. When Kaundinya visited this tract—carrying a Javelin (**Shula**) said to have been obtained from Asvathama, son of Dronacharyya, the Indian Missionary was received and welcomed by Soma, the daughter of the reigning King, whom Kaundinya accepted as his Saha-dharmini, for the purpose of observing religious rites.* The Naga-King gave as a dowry to Kaundinya,—a portion of his Kingdom, which he was asked to demarcate by throwing his Javelin—of magical potency.

The dynasty founded by this marriage—came to be known as the **Soma-Kaundinya Vamsa**. Their issues came to be recognized as Kshatriyas, who assumed Indian names e.g., Srestha-Varman, Bhava-Varman, Surya-Varman, Yaso-Varman and others. Subsequently the dynasty became divided into two branches—namely, the Lunar dynasty and the Solar dynasty. Their Kingdoms came to be designated as Vyadha-pura, and Sambhu-pura. Later inscriptions confirmed in ancient Chinese records which refer to the Bramhin—in the Chinese form—KUEN-

TIEN. In the later Cambodian records the sage is referred to under the Cambodian name Prah Thom. In another local record, the famous King Bhava-Varmana, I, is referred to as a direct descendant of Kaundinya.

Another name famous in the History of Kambuja (Cambodia)—is referred to as Maharshi Kambu Svayambhuva—in a famous inscription at Bakesi Camkron. Like, Kaundinya, Kambu also had married a local princess named Apsara Mira. This dynasty later designated as Solar Dynasty—imparted the title of Kambuja-desa—to the tract now known as Modern Cambodia. Later inscriptions refer to an inter-marriage between the two dynasties. The Kingdom founded by Kaundinya was known as the Tchen-la of the Up-land, and Tchen-la of the Sea—was the name assigned to the tract ruled by Kambu.

A string of French Scholars have been investigating into the sources of the history of this Hindu colonization of ancient Kambuja-Desa—digging up new data,—which are divided into three branches—(1) the Reports of Chinese Authors and travelers, (2) the Dynastic Legends recorded in a number of Inscriptions, (3) Modern Cambodian Legends—the latest investigator, Monsieur E. Porree-Maspero has discovered the Ms. of a Royal Chronicle—preserved in the Palace by the reigning King Norodom.

This ancient history formerly regarded as **Legends**, has received confirmation—from many later documents discovered in the neighbouring Provinces of Siam and of Champa—and the Legends are now accepted as authentic historical traditions.

The Nagi-Soma described in the inscriptions:—as **Vamsa-Kari**, the “Foundress of the Dynasty,”—is said to be visibly

*Asit bhujagendra Kanya Someti sa vamsa-kari prithivyam Kaundinya namna dvija-vungavene Karyvartha patni-tvam anayi Yapi II.

Third Inscription at Mi-son (Champa)

portrayed—in the forms of two Monumental Balustrades—across the bridge leading to the famous Temple of Angkor-Vat—in the form of two many-headed Serpents—exquisitely carved,—and, are admired as great masterpieces of monumental sculpture.

In several separate inscriptions—the foundation of the two Indian dynasties of Soma-Kaundinya, and of Kambu-Mera,—by marriage, with a local Princess are alluded to. But in an inscription of the reign of Rajendra-Varman found at Baksei Chamkron dated 869 Saka (947 A.D.) both the dynasties are referred to. The passages in the inscriptions as read by French scholars (*Journal Asiatique*—1909) are cited below :

Sri Rudra Varmana—nripati—pramukhastatas Sri-Kaundinya-Soma—duhit—prabhavah Ksitindrah I Jata jagattraya—Vikirna—yasah—prakasa Daksah praja—viracane sruta-salinoye II. (XVI).

(Translation) :

"Thereafter from the daughter of Sri-Kaundinya and Soma—were born King Rudravarmana and others whose fame in Kambu."

raising offsprings skilled in the Vedas and governing their subjects—spread in three worlds."

Svayambhuvan-namata Kamvum udirna—Kirtim Yasyarkka—Somakula—Sangatim; apnuvanti Sat. Santatic sakala-sastra—tamopa—hantri Tejasvini mrdukara kala-yabhi-purna II (XI).

(Translation) :

"Honoured Kambhu Svayambhura—endowed with eminent glory; whose celebrated line obtained the alliance of the Solar and Lunar dynasties—whose achievements in the Sciences and in the Arts—dissipated the darkness of ignorance."

Meram udara—yasasam sura-sundari—nam Ide triloka—gurunnapi Harena nita Ye daksa srsty—atisayat—sanaya Maharser Aksi—trayadarvata mahisitvam uccaih II (12).

(Translation) :

"The highly respected Mera the most glorious of the Apsaras, whom Hara, the guru of the Three Worlds—desired, in his three eyes to make a perfect creation—bestowed as a wife to the great Risi Kambu."

ANTIQUITY OF ANGKOR

By DR. MANOMOHAN GHOSH, M.A., Ph.D.

THOUGH, it is usually believed that the date of Angkor is definitively known, a closer enquiry into the matter may give one altogether a different view. And the re-examination of the whole question should rightly begin with an enquiry into the origin of the name of the city as we have it at present. Almost all writers on Cambodia, know for certain that "Angkor" is another form of "Nokor" which is derived from Sanskrit *nagara*. But there is a great difficulty in accepting this etymology. For the word *nokor* from Skt. *nagara* is still in use in the same region in the name of the village Nokor Kraou near the Angkor Thom. One fails to understand how the Sanskrit loan-word *nagara* could assume two different forms

in such close proximity. It is nothing short of a linguistic miracle. But this apparent miracle will cease to trouble our logical sense, if we take notice of the older form of the name, "Angbor" mentioned by Adhemard Leclere in his *Cambodge : fetes civiles et religieuses*, Paris, 1917 (page 337). "Angbor" is evidently a developed form of Angapura, the intermediate forms being 'Angabura' and 'Angabora.' There is no bar to assuming that this name was given to the place by emigrants from the ancient Indian kingdom of Anga, who settled in Cambodia. This at once pushes back the antiquity of Angkor as well as that of Cambodia beyond 600 B.C. when Anga ceased to exist as a separate state. For it was at this date that

Anga was conquered by Magadha and was made its integral part. Our assumption is supported by the *Jataka* according to which (ed. Fausboll, Vol. VI. p. 34) traders from Champa, capital of Anga, sailed to Suvarnabhumi which has been located by scholars in Trans-Gangetic India of Ptolemy (200 A.D.). This Greek geographer mentions also one Aganagara (=Anganagara) which can be compared with Kalinga-nagara in the Kharavela inscription. This Aganagara has, however, been identified with Hanoi (North Vietnam) by some scholars, and it was a different city. In Cambodia there is also another "Angkor" in Angkor-borei. It is probably in comparison with this, that Angkor has been called Angkor Thom or 'the Great Angkor.' The name of Anga occurred also in personal names of Cambodians. For example, several Cambodian kings were named Ang Chan, i.e., Anga-chandra (the Moon of Anga).

While writing my *History of Cambodia*,

Saigon, 1960, I did not come across the information mentioned above. I wrote then as follows: 'According to Rawlinson, "Commerce between the mouth of the Indus and the Persian gulf was unbroken down to Buddhist times, while we have direct evidence of early trade by sea between Phoenicians of the Levant and Western India as early as 975 B.C." These facts give us an idea of the antiquity of western India's contact with the other parts of Asia, and there is no reason why the antiquity of eastern India's contact with the countries of South-east Asia should not be much higher than it is usually believed.' From the conclusion made above, it is now possible to say definitely that India's cultural relation with the Suvarnabhumi including Cambodia, Champa, etc., began much earlier than 600 B.C. when Anga was a powerful state of Eastern India, which sent out traders to countries of South-east Asia by sea.

THE SCHOOL CITY

(Contributed)

LITTLE old New York wasn't really little, of course, even in the second decade of this century. And many New Yorkers were horrified to think that a new, raw little upstart of a steel town out in the Midwest should tamper with any of their time-honored customs.

So they rioted in the streets and schools; they formed anti-Gary leagues; they called for grand jury probes; they fought it out in the newspapers. And they finally chose a mayor of New York largely on the basis of whether the candidates were for or against—of all things—Gary, Indiana!

The battle was over a question being asked in many places in the U.S. in 1917: should the public schools be "Garyized?"

The man behind it all was William A. Wirt, whose revolutionary ideas on education had molded the Gary schools into a national showcase. As the first superintendent of schools in the "City on Sand" which U.S. Steel had founded in 1906, Wirt had been given the oppor-

tunity to install a radically different approach to education—the "work-study-play" school.

Wirt's system was at the same time complicated and simple. It was designed to serve a rapidly growing industrial town already populated with citizens who spoke three dozen languages, were mostly working people and craftsmen, and whose children, by and large, would go into the labour market without attending college.

Wirt wanted the Gary youngsters to learn trades and crafts in school. He wanted them to speak English well. He saw school days as their best chance for "enrichment"—learning something of art and music, drama and the social graces. And he wanted to make many of the same things available to their parents. At the same time, he held out for well-built schools staffed with good teachers, yet costing as little as possible to construct and operate.

His solution was ingenious, to say the least. Instead of packing a school building with tradi-



Auditorium-cum-lunch counter-cum-Social Centre

tional classrooms, he left roughly half of it in much larger units—auditorium, gymnasium, shops, laboratories. At a given time during use, half the pupils could be found in classrooms, the other half in the larger quarters or outdoors, where fewer teachers could supervise many more students. (Several classes at a time gathered in the auditorium, where planned programs featured speech development and therapy, drama, music and other activities.)

Came the hourly break between periods, and every class got up and trooped somewhere else—giving rise to one of the many names for the Vort plan, the “platoon system.”

The system had drawbacks, not the least of which was considerable confusion. The classroom teachers specialized in subjects which they taught

to successive classes even in the lower grades; the result was less personal contact between teacher and pupil. And the teacher-pupil ratio was in poor balance in the large assemblies.

Yet the plan succeeded so well in many of its goals that schools all over the country were soon studying it. Visitors began arriving in such numbers that the school board had to restrict them to special visiting weeks. Gary-plan schools were set up from Portland to New York. In modified form, they were installed in Seattle, Detroit, Newark and points between.

Just about every American educator had his say about the system. Comparative tests were given pupils of Gary and other cities. When the earliest students became adults, they were studied. *Collier's* and the *Literary Digest* published major

articles about Mr. Wirt's unusual schools. An *NEA* (National Education Association) *Journal* writer spoofed them with a fictional account of a boarding house run on the platoon system.

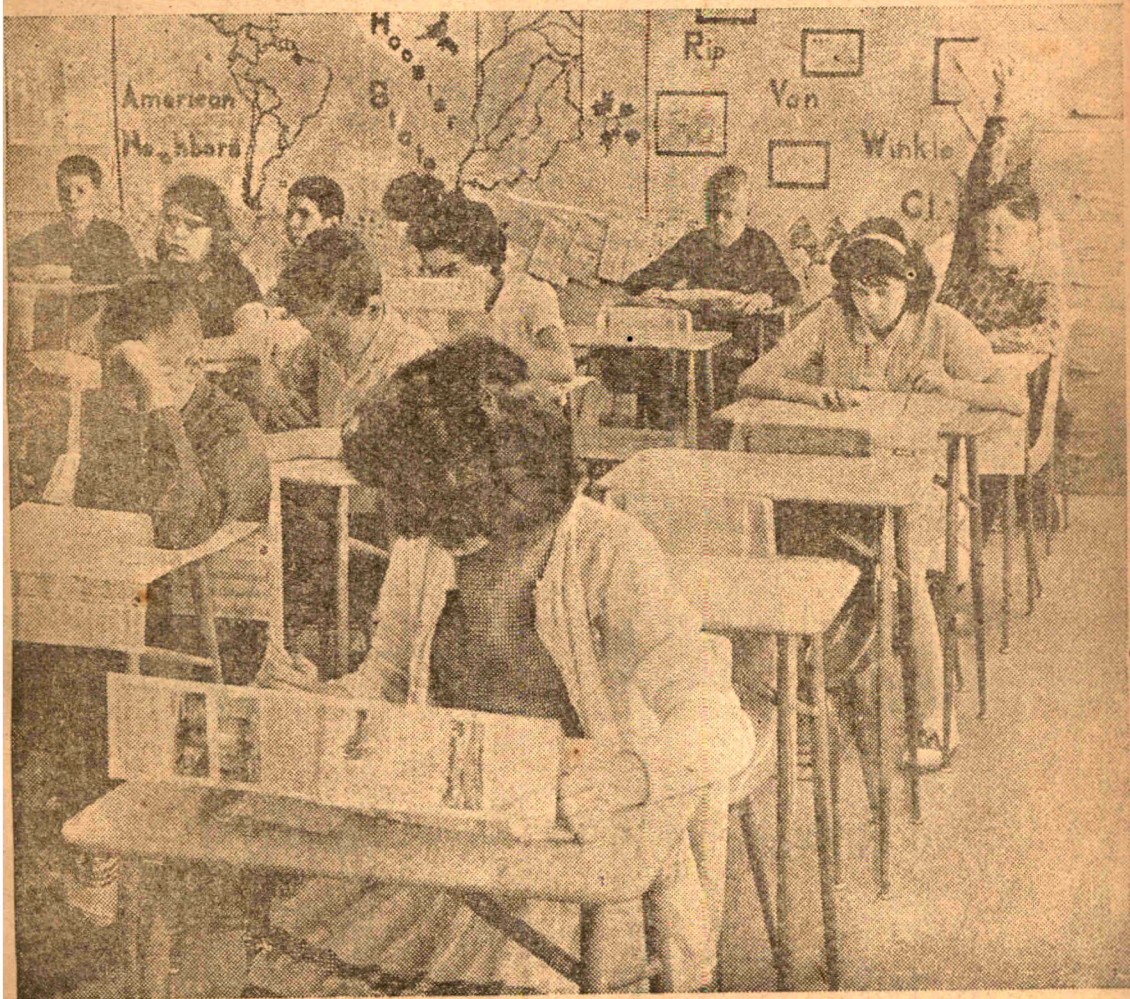
Yet today, hardly a grade or secondary school in the United States is not "Garyized" to some extent. On the other hand, there probably is not a school anywhere (including Gary) which incorporates the entire Wirt plan.

But the Gary schools have preserved many of Wirt's innovations, and local citizens still proudly call this the "School City." It now is Indiana's second-largest municipality, with 46 public schools, and is growing at a rate that requires 100 to 150 new classrooms annually.

The strong imprint left by Wirt's ideals can be seen readily in two new secondary schools that went into service early this year. At the Bailly and Beckman schools there is less scrambling around than in former times, to be sure, but the students are still quite mobile. The emphasis on crafts, culture and physical fitness is still strong.

Machine shops and foundries, mechanical drawing rooms and home economics facilities are spacious, well equipped and well used. Down the hall, students put ranks of easels and music stands to work. Multi-purpose gymnasiums handle anything from single classes spectator-sport crowds of 1,500.

Now serving double duty as cafeterias, the



A class room in action

auditoriums remain the schools' focal points in some respects. Students pick up their centrally distributed airline-type lunches and consume them there in unusually informal and social fashion; the gleaming surroundings would have been a revelation to Superintendent Wirt.

The Gary schools' operations are highly centralized, and hark back to the emphasis on economy that marked the early days. But the goal remains to achieve quality and efficiency without cutting corners, and a unique system of administration, purchasing and distribution has been developed for the purpose.

When out-of-town school delegations show up in Gary these days—and it still happens frequently—they often divide their time between the system's scholastic and logistic wings, both of which are headquartered in the big Gary Schools Service Center.

On the one hand, they hear about the widely emulated educational program now administered by Supt. Alden H. Blankenship, who previously was instrumental in setting up the model school at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Among the things they learn about the Gary schools are such unusual aspects as the book-rental system, secondary school ROTC (Reserve Officers Training Corps) training, and the highly organized Instructional Materials Center maintained in each school.

On the other hand, the visitors also learn how a multitude of necessary items get where they're needed.

For the most part, these are sent out from a huge warehouse that is part of the service center. About a quarter of a million dollars' worth of supplies and equipment are on hand there regularly, and each item is listed and priced in a catalog kept up to date by Paul V. Fegey, the schools' director of purchasing.

From the mechanized warehouse, a small

truck makes a daily 65-mile (104-kilometer) run to all 46 schools with mail and small parcels. A larger truck makes the rounds with bulkier cargo, delivering to each school once a week.

Fegley keeps a running inventory of everything, and when the supply begins to run short he sends out a bulk purchase order to service the entire system. It may be for 4,000 gallons (152 hectoliters) of floor wax, for example. (Traditionally, the schools provide pupils with paper and pencils. Fegley may order as many as 150,000 pencils at once—and so realize a healthy quantity discount.)

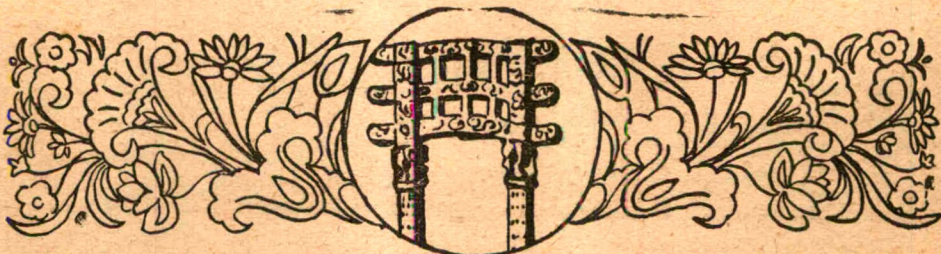
The visitors also see how, through competitive bidding, long-term contracts and bulk storage facilities, the Gary schools have found a way to hold down costs and still offer practically all the added services to the community that Mr. Wirt instigated.

Finally, if they're fortunate, the touring delegates may have a chat with Mrs. Lela Plant, general elementary supervisor. As a very young teacher, Mrs. Plant was part of the original Wirt plan when it was in full bloom.

"Schedules were our greatest problem," she remembers. "Each of us had to have a complete one, and they were terribly complicated. It took several days to draw up the entire school's daily program, and then if something went wrong revisions could be just as difficult. Some children had trouble learning their routines, and others found it all too easy to stray off on their own for a period or two. But for the most part, the plan worked remarkably well."

Then, with a smile, Mrs. Plant is likely to add, "We all felt like pioneers. I wouldn't want our schools to go back to the original system, of course, but those certainly were exciting days."

As a matter of fact, things are far from dull in the School City even now.



THE ROLE OF A MODERN STATE

BY SISIR KANTI BHATTACHARJEE,
Lecturer, Maharaja Manindra Chandra Collège

THE problem of state interference may be said to be as old as human history. From time immemorial there had always been a conflict between authority and liberty—between the head of the family and the other members, between the tribal chief and the members of the tribe, between the king and his subjects, between democratic governments and the citizens. The nature of government has changed completely from the personal rule of the Pharaohs to direct rule by the people as in the Swiss cantons; but the problem of the proper sphere of government and of the individual has remained undissipated nonetheless and according to some, like J. S. Mill, the problem is more acute in democracy.

No fixed principle of state interference can be applicable for all ages, but for our age we may consider some principles about the way the state should act for the establishment of common good and for the best realisation of the potentialities of man.

Our general position is that the state cannot fulfil the various hopes which a twentieth century citizen has for the state without the latter's assuming the role of a welfare organ. There is no need to raise the state to the mystical height as the Hegelians do, nor any necessity to assign to it the ignominious role that Spencer selected for it and that too grudgingly. It is better to utilise it as best as we can for our good, keeping always in mind that we can never dispense with its service even if it fails at times to live up to our expectation. In this respect we fully agree with J. S. Mill's contention that the "proper end of the government is to reduce the wretched wastes due to neutralization of the best efforts and talents of men to the smallest possible amount by taking such measures as shall cause the energies now spent by mankind in injuring one another or in protecting themselves against injury, to be turned to the legitimate employment of human faculties, that of compelling the power of nature to be more and more subservient to the physical and moral good." We would like to emphasise on

Burke's argument that the state "is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature."¹ It should aim at much higher moral attainment.

It is argued by some that the state should not interfere at least in the following fields viz., (1) exclusively personal affairs, and the likes and dislikes of individuals, (2) family relations and the domestic life (3) ecclesiastical and religious affairs, (4) morality.

Regarding the first point we may say that there is hardly any activity of the individual which will not have a bearing directly or indirectly on others. J. S. Mill is criticised for his arguments to separate self-regarding actions from other-regarding actions. In spite of the atomistic theory of the utilitarians and the individualism of Spencer we find that we do not live in isolation in society.

As regards family matters the state has to interfere to settle disputes arising out of succession to property, compulsory education for the children, enforcement of sanitary regulation in case of epidemics and so on. One may raise serious doubts about the possibility of enjoying any amount of liberty when the state wants to regulate the number of children a man and a woman may have. In one sense the idea of family planning and state support for it, takes away from the people their liberty in their private affairs and no limitation, it is held, can be placed on state interference if even this right is not enjoyed smoothly. But this argument misses the vital point, viz., that one should not take the responsibility which one cannot carry out properly. The parents who go on adding to their number of issues without caring for their maintenance and education, create social problems by giving rise to delinquency and other problems. These underfed, uneducated urchins who develop as half men are great social cancers and the state which has to be responsible for the general welfare or common good of the people cannot take an indifferent attitude. J. S. Mill, though a great champion of

the sacredness of self-regarding actions, did not give this right of multiplication to the irresponsible father. This problem has assumed tremendous importance in underdeveloped countries like India where whatever effort is made by the country to improve the standard of living by increased production, greater employment facility and social security is neutralised by the disproportionately large number of mouths produced in a given period. If the state is charged with the responsibility of providing better life it should be given the power to take means to achieve this end. One need not get frightened at this, as we shall later argue that the state should undertake only those measures which are supported by the democratically elected legislature and by a free, frank public opinion. Anyway, the state's abstention from the major area of family precincts does not mean its inability; rather it can interfere whenever it thinks fit to achieve some common interest.

But in the religious field we believe that the state should keep its hands off from it mainly. Belief in God or non-belief in any religion are things which do not affect the life of the state. (Sir James F. Stephen had a different opinion).² No state can prove beyond doubt that there is a God or that disbelief in a particular religion is a great hindrance to good citizenship.

Regarding morality we accept MacIver's view that to turn all moral obligations into legal obligations is to destroy morality. The state as he says, is a clumsy instrument to perform certain functions which need individual spontaneity like those duties in a man's life which he performs because of his moral urge.³ Yet we can say with Greer that the state cannot be a non-chalant on-looker while the morality of the people takes a downward course. In modern times it is not wise for the state to wait and see till a morally degraded man commits some crime which would fall within the province of law and only then take measures to set him right. For the morality of the people is linked up with their social values. Many moral crimes are not legal crimes but they may be social crimes, e.g., hatred, jealousy, intemperance or loose moral character, against which the state should take indirect action by education, by the creation of a healthy atmosphere, by giving economic security to life and possession and so on. If one has no faith in a particular religion one is not a great problem to a state on that

account alone. But if one has no moral scruple, he is a menace to both society and the state. It is difficult to make a good citizen out of a bad, immoral man. A few examples of a Socrates or a Gandhi where a good man is a bad citizen are only exceptions. A good man may be considered a bad citizen in a bad state for the time being but ultimately his moral principle would have great impact on public opinion and laws making them good. So a good state depends on good citizens, but a good citizen can be created out of a good man only. But a man who attaches no importance to moral values can never be an asset to the state in the ultimate analysis, for, as has been well said "morality lies without the constitution but within the state."⁴

The state has the right of censorship and is justified in disapproving obnoxious literature and obscene pictures though it should not always lay down rigid ideas of what constitutes obscenity. The notion is bound to change with the change of time and vary from person to person. Though it is true that those who are on the Board of Censors should not be considered the best judges or guardians of morality in the country yet the men who run the affairs of the state—legislative executive and judicial—must have power to introduce some uniformity. This is because if there is social degeneration and political insecurity results therefrom it is these people who will have to share the major part of the blame. Moreover in a democracy if there is a strong public opinion and a truly intelligent and representative legislature, no branch of Government can act in a cavalier fashion. The danger is that morality may be linked up with social vices like polygamy, untouchability, colour bar or suttee. While prohibiting all these, the state officers should generally act under the broad principles laid down by the legislature allowing the officers to use their good sense and intelligence. But in all cases they must be controlled and regulated by that body and whenever needed the censors themselves should be censored by the people's representatives.

It must however be remembered that in all these fields, viz., the individual sphere, family or morality where the state is to interfere the better method would be to adopt peaceful means of persuasion and education but not the method of force or compulsion. A wise policy would not seek unnecessarily to impose laws that will clash

with custom, beliefs or traditions of the people as is done in an autocratic state. Too much use of force without moral education and understanding will make the people hostile to government activities.

Today we do not consider the Government as a necessary evil because with the passage of time it has transformed itself into an indispensable welfare organ. Moreover, the gradual transference of power from the one to the many has also helped to change its nature and role. Suffering and discomfort, unhappiness and want are seen on every hand. Some of these are undoubtedly inseparable from the imperfections of human nature as it exists in its present fallen condition. Yet it has been proved in many welfare states (e.g. Britain, the Scandinavian countries etc.) of our time that conscious actions of the individuals may do much to lessen particular evils. Aristotle was advanced for his time when he prescribed in his *Politics* that a permanent plan should be set up not only for the relief but also for the prevention of economic privation. Government acting in the name and with the united power of the whole community, has a much greater capacity to grapple with such evils than the simple citizen can ever have. The extreme forms of individualism and socialism suffer from exaggerations. The right attitude towards the state should be that the individual finds his sphere to be no narrower than the state itself, while the sphere of the Government may be logically extended to embrace almost all the interests and actions of every man and woman. This is the theory of organic unity according to which it is absurd to draw a line between two things whose essential nature lies in their connection with each other. The socialistic and the individualistic approaches are in the political world what the forces of attraction and repulsion are in the natural world. They seem opposed, yet neither could exist without the other. The two may be described in the words of Kant as the "unsocial sociability of man"—the fundamental contradiction of human nature which forces man to seek one another's society, and yet cause each one to endeavour "to direct everything merely according to his own mind."⁵ While nothing is suffered to remain outside the state, proper provision must be made for every individual to enjoy a full free life within it.

This is a theoretical answer no doubt but it

is not easy to give any more detail in a theoretical study like ours. We can only say that the actual province of any government is just whatever is entrusted to it by the sovereign legislature as the source of positive law and as the mirror of the demands and wishes of the people. It is not true to argue that the welfare state, planning and democracy are incompatible and that if there is too much planning, democracy cannot function. For, we can cite the examples of Sweden, Denmark and also Britain to a certain extent where planning and welfare works organised by the Government have not led them to the "road to serfdom." Rather these plans have enabled the citizens not only to enjoy life and liberty in a real sense but also to contribute to the strength and progress of the State. Mutilated, deformed and half-fed men are more liabilities than assets to a state.

It is no good to brood over the failures and defects of the democratic system and castigate it. For there is no other system so far discovered which is as good as the democratic. We do not claim that democracy has absolute virtue. Our contention is that we may cure it of its drawbacks. We should not kill it because of its failures. If we ride a motor car, sometimes we are put to much inconvenience by its mechanical defects. But on that ground we do not give it up for ever and travel by the bullock cart. We should make the motor car more perfect and avoid breakdowns. Whatever change is brought in the life of a nation—politically, socially or otherwise—the process must be democratic and physical coercion should have a very limited area of action. Men must always endeavour to improve their condition according to the demands of a new age to which ideal they may approximate but whose total realisation may never be attained because the concept of perfection has no fixed content.

In the early part of the nineteenth century factory legislation was resented but with the change of time public opinion became conscious of the vices of the factory system and people's representatives in Parliament passed laws giving greater scope to the workers.

Similar is the case with private property. Though this institution was considered sacred and inviolable from the time of Aristotle down to the first half of the last century, it is not considered so now. It is held that the state has

every right to take away property from the people who have it in abnormally greater amount and use it to establish more equitable standards of life. Even in the USA whose constitution guarantees the right to property to the citizens (Amendment XIV), the state has had recourse to such doctrines as the "power of eminent domain"⁶ and the "police power of the state"⁷ in using private property for the common good and the country's protection. In the communist countries this acquisition of private property has been done by outright confiscation whereas in some other countries like the U.S.A. it has been done by giving owners adequate compensation. Perhaps outright confiscation without compensation would make the state an instrument of coercion. It carries with it the odium of force.

We do not support the argument that if the state punishes a citizen for forcefully taking away the neighbour's property it itself should not create the impression of a mightier robber by coveting people's property. This argument is not convincing as there is a fundamental distinction between the state acquisition of property and an individual's grabbing of his neighbour's property. The former is motivated by the desire to promote a common good, the latter by private good. But our objection to this method is that this method apart from giving the state huge powers, may alienate the sympathy of a minority permanently and no democracy can be virile if there is always in it a hostile, revolting minority. We think it is better to control the property, business or industry of the citizens through laws and taxation and to establish state's own factories on as wide a scale as possible to give employment and other benefits to the people. Nationalisation with adequate compensation is also no good as it would mean huge drainage from the state treasury to the owners of property without augmenting the total wealth in the country. But if on the other hand this huge sum is invested by the state to found new factories, schools and hospitals and at the same time laws are passed to regulate the present owners of property, factories or business so that they may not exploit the labourers and consumers, the result would be more beneficial than any doctrinaire method of appropriation. Moreover the mind must be prepared to accept the socialistic system of communal life which can be done only by a

gradual process. Miss Follett has rightly argued that "socialisation of property must not precede the socialisation of the will."⁸ As we have already said we believe in the democratic process and hence the imposition of socialism by violent, abrupt means does not appear to us right because force perverts aims and does not care for the means. This much we can say that as things stand in the political and economic fields in our time the state has to take the responsibility of providing full employment, education and other social benefits to the citizens because the isolated efforts of the individuals are quite inadequate to tackle the mighty problems of modern life. A wise Government will always see that in the process of doing this it does not transform itself into a totalitarian oligarchy. For, in that case all the good services rendered will be valueless as the people will be reduced to the category of automats. We must remember that men do not live by bread alone.

The best security to check the natural tendency of the power to become corrupted is to grant freedom of thought and expression and a democratic machinery. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty the citizen must be ready to sacrifice himself for it. There may be many attacks on freedom of thought, the citizens must face it squarely. To build up that sturdy independence of character and a critical mind there must be freedom of expression. But it is needless to say that this right as also the other rights cannot be absolute. Apart from checking everyone against using indecent or defamatory utterances, no state can guarantee freedom of speech which would create chaos or overthrow the very set up which grants freedom of speech. "Free and frank discussion", said Right Hon. Lord Justice Denning of England, "and criticism of matters of public interest must in no way be curtailed. But there comes a point at which 'every country' must draw the line; and that is when there is a threat to overturn the state by force." "Every society must have the means to protect itself from marauders."⁹ In India all the seven rights to freedom under Article 19(1) of the Constitution are subject to "reasonable restrictions" to be decided by the court. Even in the U.S.A. the Supreme Court on various occasions had to curb the right of freedom of expression by establishing maxims like the "clear and present danger" (Schenk V. United States 1919) declared by Mr.

Justice Holmes. This was supported by Mr. Justice Black while giving judgment in *Bridges V. California* in 1941.¹⁰ Whereas though not fully agreeing with the Holmes formula of "clear and present danger" Mr. Justice Brandeis gave greater weight to the formula of "reasonable ground" in *Whitney V. California* (1927). In other words according to Mr. Brandeis, "to justify suppression of speech there must be reasonable ground to fear that serious evil will result if free speech is practised" and instead of "clear and present danger" he emphasised on "imminent" and "serious" danger.¹¹ Generally speaking we have no objection to accept the opinion expressed by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Gitlow V. New York* (1925), "that utterances inciting to the overthrow of organised Government by unlawful means, present a sufficient danger of substantive evil to bring their punishment within the range of legislative discretion, is clear."¹² But we think that in the ultimate analysis if the state becomes so corrupt and the majority in the legislature so tyrannical that in spite of appealing through all constitutional means no effect has been produced the citizens must have the right to preach the removal of the government directly and may defy the law of such a government. Here incidentally we may distinguish between the state and the government and without denying allegiance to the state a conscious citizen in this rare case may refuse obedience to the particular law of a particular government. But this is a very dangerous right and should be used very rarely after exhausting all the other means of redress and this disobedience to the laws of the government should not generally be a violent one.

A government can and should allow very wide freedom of expression which may be used to criticise the government but it may not allow that much of freedom of action because an anarchistic idea, for example, may not create much disorder so long as it travels from person to person but it may cause irreparable loss to the stability of social and political life if allowed to materialise in practice. In this regard certain conditions may be laid down : (i) The dissenting individual or party should be allowed freely to plead every argument against the disputed measure and check ought to be applied only when freedom of discussion has been used as an instrument of obstruction. (ii) The majority should always take sympathetic attitude towards the minority before

overruling it by sheer force of numbers and attempt should be made to convert the minority by persuasion. (iii) When force is applied it should be minimum and as the last resort. (iv) The minority ought to acquiesce when fairly beaten ; accept the conclusion arrived at as its own ; and work for its success, thus rendering coercion unnecessary.¹³ There should be always supremacy of the laws and not of the individuals.

Apart from this political question of majority and minority which always presupposes that the two sides are on equal footing in their mental and moral development and that their relation is that between brother and brother, we have to take into account quite a number of citizens who, it should be admitted frankly, are not sufficiently equipped intellectually to be their own guide. It is difficult for a sick man to pursue the good life, it is no less difficult for an uneducated or intellectually backward man to do the same. Without becoming a Carlylean it may be submitted that the state has to play the role of the father in these cases and in addition to the sympathy and the love of a brother there may be the need of the affectionate guidance and care of a father. But on that ground we do not support the Platonic conception that the ordinary man has neither the knowledge, nor the self-discipline to enable him to exercise the powers of Government. Supporting the democratic theory of government we pointed out the exceptions when guidance may be needed temporarily.

Certain factors are responsible necessitating the state to assume greater responsibilities of the citizens which in a sense mean more interference in and control of their lives and liberty. Apart from the need that arose to check the undesirable forces of the Industrial Revolution there are at least three other important factors which have become significant in the twentieth century. They are : firstly, frequent rise of emergencies like (a) internal discontent, (b) economic crisis, (c) external danger from war or threat of war, etc. Secondly, the concept of welfare state and the impact of socialism after the successful revolution in the U.S.S.R. Thirdly, the defeat of democratic tradition at the hands of totalitarian dictatorships in many parts of the world. In the nineteenth century Spencer accepted very reluctantly even the policing duty of the state whereas in the twentieth century Hitler went to the extent of fixing the menu for the dinner table in

every house.¹⁴ We cannot deny that in our day too many emergencies occur too often calling for the attention and control of the state. Sometimes the state has to take measures before-hand so that they may not take place. Total war obliterating the old distinction between the combatants and non-combatants is taking place demanding sacrifice of life, liberty and property of the citizens. Only by a colossal effort of the entire nation managed under a powerful governmental leadership can the nation be saved from complete disaster.

With the passage of time people are becoming conscious that only the state can bring the prospect of a good life and so it is thought desirable not to waste the limited resources of the country in cut-throat competitions, advertisement or over-production. Better to plan them economically according to the requirements of the people. Planned society may mean curtailment of liberty in its abstract sense but if freedom from hunger is the most important freedom, we should not lament the loss of a little abstract liberty whose enjoyment is of dubious value if the stomach is constantly empty, if the mind is uneducated, if the body is exposed to the cold, rain and sun.

We know that too much planning of life will surely land us in the domain of Stalinism or Hitlerism which, instead of developing the latent faculties of citizens, would make them barren. That is why we have laid emphasis repeatedly on the importance of creating the democratic tradition, on legislature and on the necessity of a strong, vigilant public opinion. Planning and welfare state do not automatically bring a curtailment of real liberty. Care must be taken to regulate the planners and the executors of plans. And instead of restricting the real liberty these systems will herald the dawn of a new age of well-being, real liberty and good life. By giving these the state can justify its continued existence. Political democracy will be an empty phrase if it is not based on economic democracy. There is no gainsaying the fact that by a steeply graded income tax, an excess profit tax, death duties and estate duties, the huge income of a few has been brought down and there are now fewer millionaires say, in England today, than those before the 2nd world war. Yet it cannot be denied that this loss of a few has been more than compensated by the general prosperity and security of life and

liberty that the state in England has given to all classes of citizens in the form of Old Age Pension, Unemployment and Health Insurance Benefits, free education, state scholarships, medical aid, legal aid and so on. One may argue that this is the price the rich have to pay to the poor for their security. In a sense it may be contended, as Laski has pointed out, that "it is a proof of the Hegelian thesis that history is the revelation of freedom that constantly widens."¹⁵ Moreover as there is no end to what the state can do, specially in the material field for the betterment of the people, its service is constantly being extended in newer and unexplored spheres with the march of time.

The significance of free democracy is not linked up with the laissez-faire theory or individualism. Historically speaking modern democracies arose after the breakdown of mercantilism and the growth of industrial capitalism. At that time democracy and laissez-faire stood for each other. But the nature of democracy is such that it can "if the trend of opinion ran long enough and strong enough in that direction," said MacIver, "change gradually from capitalism to a thorough going socialism."¹⁶

The most effective criticism against a planned society is that it creates mediocrity as there is less initiative and imagination in state managed affairs and every thing is done as a routine affair. But this argument has lost much, though not all, of its force today because of the astounding discoveries in science needing exceptionally brilliant brain and imagination as they are in the most planned society of the world, the Soviet Union. It is true that by the order and force of the state only poor quality of literature was produced under the Stalin era. But somehow the Soviet Union has passed that era and proved that at least in science and technology they are in no way behind the achievements of the most affluent society of the world (i.e. U.S.A.). They have done all these in a surprisingly short period unaided by the advanced knowledge of the West except at the initial period after the Revolution of 1917 and at the beginning of the First Plan in the late twenties and early thirties. We do not like to be blind to the coercive aspect and the regimentation, the brainwashing that prevail in a totalitarian state like the U.S.S.R. Our main aim is to combine planning

with freedom and pave the way to progress, material and moral.

Regarding the state's role in the cultural functions of the people it may be pointed out that there is no harm in the state patronising them. Athens in the best period of her life organised and superintended a considerable variety of cultural functions of her citizens. These functions were part of the way of life of the Athenians and what the state did was to promote them and to give them dignity. At the same time, as Pericles is stated to have remarked, care was taken so that no orthodoxy was clamped on the free cultural life of the people. But these Athenian constitutional provisions as recorded in Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution*, differ sharply from the constitutional provisions of Plato's *Republic* and the *Laws* where Plato wanted to "co-ordinate" the life of the citizens under a rigorous cultural code. He prohibited all arts, philosophies and poetry and opinions which were against his own ideas. Modern dictators find an easy support for their interference in the freedom of opinion of the people in Plato's *Laws* where poets and writers are asked to submit their works to the magistrates who are to decide if these works are good for the spiritual health of the citizens. When Stalin asked the writers to write novels and plays glorifying the Revolution of 1917 and praising the system of collective farming and other aspects of the new system he only succeeded in drying up the wonderful source of Russian literature. Therefore we fully realise that art and culture to be creative must come out of the depths of the heart of the people, they can not be created by an executive order. But on that account we do not find any reason why the state should not help a needy artist or a poet or render whatever assistance it can in building up a richer culture of the people, and help them to share the heritage of mankind. But we must stress the point that the state should not impose its own views everywhere, it can disallow only such views as can create immediate, not remote, social or political disorder.

There are three different ways by which the state can interfere, viz., (1) state ownership, (2) government administration, (3) legislative control. They may be secured using different techniques. (a) The state prohibits this and that; (b) it compels persons to do this and that positively and punishes them if they do not do

this; (c) the state encourages by giving protection (physical, legal) or help (financial) to those who do certain acts or refrain from doing certain things; (d) the state does something and prevents the people from doing it or competing with the government (e.g. the setting aside of a certain field in economic activity for the "public sector" exclusively as in India); (e) the state does something and gives freedom to individuals to do similar things and thus compete with it (e.g. the "common sector" in economic activity); (f) the state may indulge in propaganda (by publishing news, articles, pamphlets, or broadcasting news through radio or giving financial help to associations to do these things for it) for creating the necessary motive in the individuals etc., etc. We think that in modern times the state cannot give its citizens various opportunities and blessings of modern life unless it takes up more or less socialistic or at least welfare programmes of development. Though socialistic or welfare state means greater state control and interference, the converse is not always true—greater control by the state does not mean socialism or welfare, it may be naked regimentation under a totalitarian dictatorship.

Anyway, of the three types of interference state ownership and legislative control appear to us to be better than administrative control and regulation. In administrative control there is every possibility of arbitrariness and the personal interest may influence the step to be taken to secure the general well-being. Mere legislative control of private business enterprise and institution is also not sufficient, for this method can interfere in a negative way through "Do's" and "Dont's". But as we have already argued, in a welfare state the state has to take the great burden of providing employment, medical benefit, education, social security, etc., to the citizens. All these cannot be achieved unless the state begins to establish its own institutions and undertakings. In these state undertakings authorisation for such activity must come from Parliament and not from the administrative department. But it is to be noted that we support Parliamentary control and authorisation but not Parliamentary management of state undertakings. The folly of this policy was proved when the Long Parliament in Britain after its open breach with king Charles tried to take the reins of administration into its own hands.

State activity is to be carried in such a way as not to affect private initiative, and the imagination and the will to work of the people. The general nature of state interference should be medicine-like and like good food. Medicine is not needed when the body is fit, but good food is always needed to keep the body fit. Hence sometimes indirectly and sometimes directly the state has to help the individual to stand on his own feet. But the state will defeat its aim if in the process of helping, it allows the feet to grow weaker and weaker and provides stronger crutches to rely on. Perhaps with the gradual progress of civilisation there will be less and less interference in the intellectual and moral field of human activity. Interferences would be restricted to the sphere of material well-being only. On the whole the state is to adjust its means to attain the true end embracing the most despised of individuals and the remotest posterity as essential parts, and embodying social, moral and spiritual interests as well as material ones. It must recognise too its obligations to other states and to humanity as a whole.

If the state assumes larger numbers of responsibilities there is a grave potential danger that those who are in charge of the machinery of the state may use it for their own benefit and deprive the people of their legitimate share. Hence we think, the human element is the most decisive factor in a welfare state. Whether a law passed following certain good principles of state interference will have good effect on the people ensuring them greater well-being or not, will depend vitally not on the substance of the law but on the nature and character of those who enforce and administer the law. In India there is the much hated and criticised Preventive Detention Act by which a man may be arrested before he has committed any actual crime and may be kept behind the bars without trial, because of his questionable and anti-social character. Theoretically the aim of the law is not so bad; for, it may be found sometimes that the authorities are not in a position to give any direct or concrete proof of a man's crime yet at the same time may consider him a menace to social peace for his past or present behaviour. So before he causes any damage to society he is put under custody as a preventive measure. But there will be a serious danger to the liberty of the people if the police officer or the party in power taking

advantage of this law uses it to satisfy personal vengeance or party interest. Then instead of achieving social peace and harmony it will destroy them along with the liberty and security of the people. The state will gradually move in the direction of mediæval despotism.

On the other hand the deficiency in the words and aims of a law can be made up considerably if the judge while trying cases takes a progressive and humane attitude to social problems and gives verdicts accordingly. The success or failure of a particular principle of state interference will depend sometimes on the explanation and administration of law as these are done by those who are in charge of the law. If they stick to the old outdated notion of right and political opinion (as was the case with the U.S. Supreme Court judges who nullified one by one all the progressive measures introduced under the New Deal by President Roosevelt, until 1937 when fortunately new judges were appointed and the New Deal became operative) the citizens can never gain in a dynamic world. So what is important is the training of mind and character giving importance to certain social and individual values. This education should be provided by the state without however closing the doors to the adult educated mind of gather knowledge and information from the wide open world. Now what will be these values according to which education is to be imparted will be decided democratically by the people through organised public opinion and through their representatives in the legislature in accordance with the demands of a particular age.

The problem of the role of the state is so difficult that it is not easy to tell with certainty whether a course pursued by the state will be best suited to meet the hundreds and thousands of intricate problems that the officers of the state have to face every day and every hour. Nevertheless the state cannot sit idle or keep quiet. The officers of the state are to use their conscience, reason and initiative while discharging their duties under some broad principles of state interference laid down by the democratic legislature or wanted by the public opinion. Administrative discretion should not be wide and there should be effective checks on the powers of the administration. We cannot ignore the fact that without special knowledge and experience

modern government cannot be run by ordinary people as it was in ancient Athens (the system of election of magistrates being lottery there). Hence some aristocratic and bureaucratic element is bound to come into every efficient government and some more powers than those possessed by ordinary citizens are sure to devolve on these officers of the state. But at the same time every one must have the right to invoke the law of the land in his defence against the highest in the land and no official of the state is to be given any chance to oppress the citizen with impunity under any pretext except as directed by the laws passed by the Parliament of the People. In this respect the example of the British cabinet system of government can serve the double purpose of (a) specialised knowledge supplied by the permanent civil servants and the (b) democratic control imposed on these civil servants by the democratically elected ministers who are in their turn responsible to the people's Parliament.

We would like to make the point clear that even this Parliamentary check is not sufficient unless the people themselves are conscious of their rights. As we know even in a highly educated and advanced country like Germany Hitler became a dictator using the democratic machinery. We should remember Lord Acton's warning that "power always corrupts and absolute power absolutely corrupts. All great men are bad." To make its policies effective the democratic government should utilise all modern methods of feeling the pulse of the people, should sense the current of opinion and formulate its principles accordingly and after implementing its policies should record the reaction of the people and again reformulate the policies if needed in the light of people's reactions.¹⁷

In conclusion we may say that state interference should be directed to those fields (1) where private efforts would involve great human and material cost, (2) where the powers and resources of private organisations are too inadequate or where the profit is not sufficient to induce private agencies to work but the need is great, e.g., scientific exploration into the space or the establishment of huge industrial plants. Apart from these we have already said that we do not see any harm if the state without suppressing private organisations establishes its own institutions side by side with the private institutions with the sole intention of doing good to the

people. Moreover we cannot deny that the state has the "primary responsibility of safeguarding the whole against the part, and in our world of organised interests this responsibility of safeguarding the whole against the part, has grown ever more comprehensive and more complicated."¹⁸

We have tried to prove that it is neither possible nor desirable to be guided by any rigid formula of state interference either of individualism or of socialism. It is better to regard the state as a welfare organ and use it for the benefit of the people as a whole without giving special favour to this class or that except on merit or worth. That the state has made mistaken interferences in the past is no proof that it will err again in the future or that its defects are incurable. The past failures may be due to imperfect machinery, arrogant and corrupt bureaucracy or to the inadequate information and statistics on which the state had to base its policies. But we believe, with the progress of our civilisation in science and human understanding many of the gaps in the past policies may be filled up by the experience and knowledge gained, by adopting a humanistic approach to solve any problem and by making the administration more responsible to the people through Parliamentary and other checks. The question of ultimate value cannot be decided by arguments, it will vary from man to man. Even great logical minds like Aristotle and Locke could support slavery and the exclusion of the Roman Catholics respectively from citizenship and Hitler did the same thing in the case of the Jews though to a modern impartial mind all of them are unjustified. It is then a matter of personal conviction and so there will be doubts in this or that mind about the ethics of each and every act of the state. Yet we cannot help living in the state except in the association of others and therefore we have to find out a workable method by mutual give and take and ask the state to take measures so that our life may be richer, fuller and more beautiful.

1. Burke, E., *Reflections on the French Revolution*, P. 143.

2. Stephen, James, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, Chap. III.

3. MacIver, R. M., *The Modern State*, Bk. II, Sec. I.

4. M. Kechnie, W.S., *The State and the Individual*, P. 96.

5. Kant, *Principles of Politics*, translated by Hastie, P. 10.
6. According to Prof. Willis the "power of eminent domain is the legal capacity of Government to take the private property of individuals for a public use upon the payment of just compensation. Eminent domain is the superior dominion of the state over all the property within the state. Eminent domain differs from Police power in that the police power is not a taking of any right, whether of property or a person from people, but a limitation on the exercise of such rights by the people, although the police power may result in making people lose their property" — Willis: *Constitutional Law of the United States*, Pp. 224-25, 716-17.
7. The police power under the U.S. Constitution is very comprehensive. It means the power of the state "to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education and good order of the people and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the state, develop its resources and add to its wealth and prosperity"—Barbier V. Connolly, *Supreme Court of the United States*, 1885, 113, U.S. 27.
8. Follet, M.P. *The New State*, P. 74.
9. Denning, *Freedom Under the Law*, Pp. 44, 5.
10. Strong, *Ibid.*, Pp. 853-54.
11. Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, Pp. 941-46.
12. *The Supreme Court of the U.S.A.*, 1925, 268, U.S. 652.
13. M. Kechnie, W.S. *The State and the Individual*, Pp. 315-16.
14. Laski, H.J., *The State in Theory and Practice*, P. 100.
15. Laski, H.J., *The State in Theory and Practice*, P. 75.
16. MacIver, R.M., *The Leviathan and the People*, P. 161.
17. MacIver, R.M., *The Web of Government*, P. 330.
18. MacIver, R.M., *Ibid*, P. 350.

THE CLASSICAL CONCEPTION OF THE POET IN INDIA AND THE WEST

BY SARBESWAR DAS

THE classical ages in India and in ancient Greece and Rome saw a unique flowering of literature, both creative and critical. Apart from the great writers who produced masterpieces of literature there were many who thought on the nature and functions of the different branches of literature, on the poets and dramatists, their duties, purposes and equipments. A comparison of the views of these thinkers of the east and the west would be most fruitful, for it would reveal how men separated by thousands of miles and numbers of centuries often thought alike in many respects, how they strove in almost similar ways to build the edifice of literary art. The poets, the weavers of magical musical words, cast their spells on them, and so they set about looking for the springs of poetry, set about thinking on the nature and the function of the poet.

In India, from the earliest times, there have appeared one after the other works on poetics that have dealt with this topic. Bharata's *Natya-sastra* is, no doubt, primarily a work on drama-

turgy, and yet it has to be remembered that Bharata held poetry as an inevitable aid to the art of drama and recorded some modes of poetical ornament as also some metrical patterns. Thus his views on the dramaturgists may as well be taken as his views on the poets. In Ch. I. vv. 23, he says "The sages (muni) who know the mystery of the Vedas and have fulfilled their vows, are capable of maintaining and putting this into practice." Thereby he has identified the dramatic poets with sages who have attained wisdom. He holds that "there is no wise maxim, no learning, no art or craft, no device, no action that is not found in the drama,"* that in drama "meet all the departments of knowledge, different arts and various actions,"† and thus it is obvious that he expected the dramatic poet to acquire mastery over all these, an understanding of the state of the three worlds which the drama represents.

* *Natya sastra*, Ch. I. V. 116.

† *Ibid*. Ch. II. V. 117 & 118.

Aristotle in ancient Greece, too, thought alike and held that poetry being an imitation of life, the poet must be aware of life in all its variety. It will be seen later, how the writers on poetics, too, enjoined such learning and such experience on the poets.

Bhamaha, one of the earliest writers on poetics in India, states that "composition of good poetry produces ability in (or makes one able, or capable in the pursuit of) Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha : also in arts. It also confers joy and fame." It is the poet alone, he thinks, who creatively utilises his knowledge, for "The knowledge of Sastras possessed by one who is not a poet is like the pauper's charitableness, the eunuch's dexterity in arms, and the fool's self-confidence." Poetry is not the product of learning but of an inborn talent, a natural genius. Even the dull-witted can learn sastra (science) with the help of a teacher. Poetry, however, is to him who has a natural capacity and that too not invariably." Immortality is assured for the poet. Even to those who have passed away to Swarga (the other world) but who have composed good literary works there surely exists (here) a body consisting of their works which is both beautiful and free from disease (or decay)." "Further as long as his imperishable Fame continues to last in (beseige) this and the upper world, so long does he, the blessed one, continue to occupy a place among the Devas." Then Bhamaha enjoins on the poet to acquire mastery over grammar, the science of metre, the nature of words in their primary and secondary senses, the meanings of words, the stories of Itihasas, the ways of the world, logic and the arts." This even is not enough. He requires the poet to serve the masters, study other kavyas. Not being an author means nothing, "but being a bad author is, according to the wise, nothing less than death." Thus we find that while Bhamaha recognises natural talent or प्रतिभा as the prime fount of poetic art without which all learning is fruitless, he holds that it must be aided and supplemented by learning and by the study of poetical models of the past.

Next we come to Dandin, the author of "Kavyadarsa." He holds that "an inborn genius, clear or flawless learning and no slight application" as the causes of the excellence in poetry. This inborn genius or नैसर्गिकी प्रतिभा is further described as पूर्ववासनागुणानुबन्धि अद्भूतम् प्रतिभानम् i.e., as the extra-ordinary genius based on the

earlier latent impressions,—in other words, the lingering impressions of the previous birth. Though this natural talent is first stated by him as being at the root of all poetry he subsequently modifies the idea when he states that even in the absence of the natural genius,

श्रुतेन यत्नेन च उपासिता वाक्

i.e., "speech cultivated with study and effort certainly grants her own favour." And this idea is further enforced when he says that "those seeking fame should put away sloth and persistently cultivate speech. For even though the poetic power be meagre, yet people who have made effort are able to hold their own in the assemblies of the wise. So he enjoins through a question that "the poet to be must learn the Sastras and know the distinction between excellences and blemishes." Thus Dandi does not seem to lay as much stress on natural talent or प्रतिभा as Bhamaha does, greatly as he values it.

Vamana in his Kavyalankara-sutra-vrtti writes कवित्वबीजं प्रतिभानमै The seed of poetry is which is explained by the commentator as जन्मान्तरगतसंस्कारविशेषः कश्चित् Obviously by प्रतिभा the same as what was meant by Bhamaha, i.e., the impressions carried on from the previous birth. Again later he states that "the world, the science and the miscellaneous are the elements of poetry" meaning thereby that one has to master them to be a poet in the true sense. By world he means worldly usage, tradition of words, lexicography of meaning; by science he means metres, doctrines of art, science of love and politics; by miscellaneous he means perception of aim, i.e., acquaintance with other poets, application, i.e., exertion in composing poetry, attendance upon seniors, i.e., listening to those who are authorities in teaching poetry, trial, i.e., adoption and rejection of words. Thus he seems to have developed upon Bhamaha further elaborating upon the training necessary for a poet. Fancy he considers to be the very seed of poetry. Concentration of mind is viewed as indispensable. A solitary place and the fourth watch of the night, he considers, as particularly suitable for composing poetry.

Rudrata, in his "Kavyalankara" states that शक्तिः, व्युत्पत्ति and अभ्यासः or natural genius, culture and practice make a good poet. By the faculty of natural genius शक्तिः he means "that whereby there is constantly in concentrated mind

a flashing of ideas in various ways and unlaboured words present themselves." He speaks of fancy of two types, the natural and the created, and holds the natural fancy as superior to every thing. Through culture the secondary fancy is created. By culture or व्युत्पत्ति: he means knowledge of metre, grammar, arts, the world, words and meanings, discrimination of the suitable and the unsuitable. Culture is omniscience for in this world there is no matter, no expression that cannot be the subject-matter of poetry. These are to be acquired under the guidance of a good poet. Besides, constant practice—practice day and night—is necessary for acquiring proficiency in poetry.

Anandavardhana in his "Dhvanyaloka" refers to the अलीकसानान्यप्रतिभाविशेषम् of the poet. From time to time he mentions the प्रतिभा of the poet. Besides the poet according to him is a तत्त्वज्ञः. He is रसादिमयः. His प्रतिभागुण is at the root of artistic virtues.

Bhattatauta states in his "Kavyakautuka," प्रज्ञानवनबोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता । तनुप्रणानाजीवद्वर्णनानि पुगाः कविः ।

He further points out that "the poet has the power to observe beauty and convey it in appropriate language."

Bhoja in his "Saraswatikanthabharanam" describes the poet as रसवत् who by composing kavya attains glory and pleasure. The poet attains सहृदयत्वम् i.e., his mind becomes a spotless mirror as it were of every thing in the world. Through practice of poetry his heart develops such sympathy as makes him fit for identifying himself with the matter described. He develops सामाजिकत्वम् i.e., he becomes a discerning critic in relation to his own works.

Manmata says in his "Kavyaprakasha" that "natural genius, skill arising out of the study of the world, the sciences and the works of the previous poets, learning through education and practice are at the root of poetry."

The poet is a creator. In the invocation Manmata says, "Glorious is the poet's speech comprehending a creation ungoverned by Nature's laws, pleasurable in its entirety, independent (of accessories) and agreeable through ninefold poetic sentiments."

"Vagabhatalankara" of Vagbhata states that प्रतिभा is the prime cause of poetry. Vagabhata de-

fines प्रतिभा as प्रतिभाप्रसन्नपदनव्यर्थं पुक्त्युद्बोधविधायिनी स्फुरन्ती सत्कवेर्व द्वि प्रतिभा सर्वतोमुखी प्रतिभा is the finishing intelligence of the good poet that is directed on all sides and is responsible for the coining of pleasant words, new meanings, and the power of reason." व्युत्पत्तिः or culture is no other than "unusual intelligence, based upon instructions in the doctrines of words, morals, action, love and so forth." In this he is but echoing the previous rhetoricians, अभ्यासः or practice is "incessant devotion to poetic composition under a senior." Vagbhata is against plagiarising but holds that "taking of another's poetry for verse filling may be a merit in a poet."

Acharya Hemachandra in his "Kavyanusasana" states that the main cause of poetry is vivid imagination or bright conception. प्रतिभा he explains, as the genius that has the characteristic of creating new things and is of two types e.g., सृज प्रतिभा which reveals itself when obstacles like ज्ञानवरण are removed. And artificial and conditional प्रतिभा is secured by muttering the words of sacred works or mystic incantations. The सहज प्रतिभा is the superior virtue, the prime factor underlying poetry. Now these two types of प्रतिभा are developed by व्युत्पत्तिः and अभ्यासः

Most of the writers on poetics have given those virtues necessary for a poet under the heading "Kavyahetu". But as times passed by, some thought of including a section called "Kavi Siksha" Kshemendra, Rajasekhara, Nemikumara, Vagbhata belong to this latter group.

Rajasekhara in his "Kavya Mimansa" says, सा (शक्तिः) केवलं काव्यहेतुरिव यायावरीय and elsewhere says, व्युत्पत्तिप्रतिभे इति शक्तिः. Thus he holds natural talent as the primary cause of poetry. It is this natural talent or प्रतिभा which according to यायावरीय gives rise to प्रतिभा and व्युत्पत्तिः. He divides प्रतिभा into two types, कारयित्री or creative and भोयित्री or discriminative. He broadly divides the poets into three classes, e.g., Sastrakavi, Kavyakavi and Ubhayakavi, and further sub-divides each of these classes. In the tenth chapter he deals with कविचर्चा wherein he gives a number of instructions and in the following two chapters he points out to what extent and in what manner a poet can appropriate the words and thoughts of the predecessors.

Kshemendra in his "Kavikanthabharana" states that two impulses underlie poetic creation. They are Divine help (दिव्यप्रयत्नः) and individual effort or personality पौरुषः and he believes that the capacity of creating poetry is given to the fit and the few. He divides the poets into three classes. He gives elaborate instructions for the regulation of the life of the poet and gives a long list of subjects to be studied by one aspiring to be a poet, e.g., Tarka. Vyakarana-Bharata-Chanakya-Vatsayana-Bharata-Ramayana, Mokshapayatnamagnana-Dhatuvada-Ratna-Pariksha-Vaidyaka, Jyotish-Dhanurveda-Gajaturaga-Purushalakshmana, Dyutendrajala, Prakirna Kavi-Samarajyabharana.

He describes five modes of imitation. Vagbhata son of Nemikumara, and Rajasekshara too, give elaborate instructions with regard to the methods of imitation.

Vagbhata the author of Kavyanusasana in his own commentary "Alankara-tilaka" states :—

प्रतिभैव च कवीनां काव्यकरणकारणम्

व्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासौ तस्या एव संस्कारकारकौ न तु कोव्यहेतुः

Thus, broadly, प्रतिभा, व्युत्पत्तिः and अभ्यासः are held to be the prime factors of poetry. Some like Jagannatha, Vamana, Vagbhata hold प्रतिभा to be the primary cause while others hold अभ्यासः and व्युत्पत्तिः to be equally important, but with this broad difference all recognise the practical aspects of the art of poetry, the need of pursuing it as an art governed by certain laws and not depending simply upon natural genius or spontaneous inspirations.

We can now profitably consider the views of the classical critics of the west on the poet and his equipments.

The term 'poet' itself philologically means the 'creator' and how similar is the idea found in the invocatory verse of Manmata's "Kavya-prakashā", or in the statement of Anandavardhana in his Dhvanyaloka—

अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेव जापतिः । यथास्मे रोचते विस्वं तथैदं परिवर्त्तते

The ancients in India invoked the aid of Vag Devi or Saraswati or the presiding Deities of their families for poetic inspiration. Bharata in his "Natyasastra" described that the Natyaveda was composed by Brahma himself. Thus the hand of Divinity was recognised at the foundation of literary art. Kshemendra expressly speaks of

दिव्यप्रयत्नः or Divine help. Jagannatha traces प्रतिभा to God. In Greece Homer appealed to the Muses for inspiration. Hesiod in his Preface to 'Theogony' stated that "Muse breathed into him the art of Divine music." The Indian conception of शक्तिः or प्रतिभा—natural genius, in-born unusual power of imagination as the basis of poetic art, has its counter part in the theory of inspiration as the basis of art found in the West during the classical times. Inspiration is independent of knowledge ; it is the natural talent in the really good poet. Pindar, the Greek writer of Pastoral odes, holds inspiration or natural genius as the prime basis of poetic art. He distinguishes between 'the man who knows by nature' and 'the man who learns' and holds the former superior. Art is a necessity but inspiration is of greater importance.

Georgias defines poetry as nothing more than material speech, but elsewhere refers to it as "the inspired chants that bring pleasure and remove pain"; "their power" he says, "charms, and persuades, and transforms (the soul) by its magic." Thus he traces the magical property of poetry to its inspirational origin.

Socrates refers to the poet as "wise and inspired." Plato too considers 'inspiration' as supreme in poetry. He looks upon poets as "Children and Prophets of God". He believes that the poet depends upon natural genius, on Divine inspiration which cannot find a national justification. The poet is thus distinct from physicians and others for whom technique or craftsmanship counts more. Poetry, he says, is based on a kind of madness, which is a "divine release of the soul from the yoke of custom and convention". And from this standpoint he holds that prophets, poets and lovers are of one class. Thus the stress is laid by him on प्रतिभा.

But like Pindar he does not ignore art. Rather he insists on a cultivation of the art for keeping the expression of inspiration within the bounds of propriety—a thought that hardly occurs in the writers on poetics on India. Aristotle in his "Rhetorics" says, "Poetry is a thing inspired." But the inspiration varies from person to person with variation of temperaments. He holds that there are "Great wits"—men of great natural ability and there are others touched by a divine frenzy and both have "sensitiveness of soul" and "a capacity for strong feeling". He recognises two permanent types of poets, i.e., the plastic

poets of great natural gifts and many-sidedness of talent and the enthusiastic poets who are dominated by strong feelings. Aristotle recognises the value of inspiration but he values art greatly and so the "Poetics" has come about. Like most Greeks, he, too, thinks that poets need careful training to be worthy of their roles and so he stresses exercises and skill to be attained through practice or अभ्यासः as the Indians term it. He stresses the knowledge of artistic principles even as most of the Indian poeticians do. Poetry according to Aristotle is cathartic for the poet too and in this his views are similar to those of Bhamaha, as revealed in vv. 2. Ch. I of his book relating to the good effects of poetry on the poet himself.

Isocrates, too, recognises natural ability as the supreme basis of poetic art without which the technique by itself can do so little and in this his ideas are similar to those of Bhamaha (Ch. I verse 3). But he (Isocrates), too, insists on constant practice and a knowledge of the resources of art, in other words on अभ्यासः and व्युत्पत्तिः as Bhamaha puts it. Like the Indian poeticians he, too, insists on the study of models.

Neoptolamus in his "Poetics" also states that technical skill is not enough though it is necessary. The true poet is endowed with natural gifts. Thus he subscribes to the school of poeticians stressing on प्रतिभा or inspiration of Jagannatha and others in India and Plato in Greece.

Thus, as the Indian Poeticians consider the relative values of प्रतिभा on the one hand and व्युत्पत्तिः and अभ्यासः on the other, the classical Greek masters too consider the relative values of natural ability or inspiration on the one hand and art that depends upon practice and acquaintance with the technique of poetry and study of the ancient models on the other. But rarely has anyone of them chosen to ignore the value of either of them.

The first of the great Romans to write on poetry was Cicero, more famous for his "De Oratore". He holds the poet as closely akin to the Orator in many respects and for the Orator he prescribes sound knowledge to be acquired in "the groves of Academy". He demands that "all the emotions of the mind which nature has given to men must be intimately known", "... men and women in all their varied natures must be

known". In this he seems to echo Bharata. Like Plato he expects of a good orator natural capacity or genius, a sound technical training and a liberal education, or प्रतिभा and व्युत्पत्तिः in the language of the Indian authority on Poetics. He stresses on the need of following models even as the Indian Poeticians and more particularly Kshemendra and Rajasekhara do in their work on Poetics, but he insists on avoiding obvious artificiality. The theory of औचित्यम् prescribed by Kshemendra for poets has its parallel in the theory of propriety that Aristotle and Theophrastus in Greece started and Cicero and Horace developed under the name of Decorum.

Horace in his "Ars Poetica" from LL. 29 onwards deals with poets. He writes on the duty of the poet in preparing himself for his function. He also gives the picture of the perfect poet and contrasts it with the picture of a bad poet given towards the end.

Horace accepts in a way the theory of inspiration but he holds Art to be more important and he is led to that view by the practices of the contemporary poets who produced poems bizarre and absurd in the name of inspiration. He considers the poet as engaged in a creative activity. The perfect poet's aim, he thinks, is to afford profit and delight. The poet is the Priest of the Muse who through him confer immortality on those he writes about. The poet, according to Horace requires, besides inspiration, a strong imaginative power and a noble language. He must be an expert in his craft. Genius is necessary but not the most necessary factor nor an indispensable one. The idea that a poet is less a product of inspiration and more one of proficiency in the art of it was gaining ground and Horace was the most remarkable mouthpiece of this idea. Even as the Indian Poeticians urge the persons aspiring to be poet to study the earlier models of poetry, Horace too, insists on the study of Greek models, but he wants re-creation and not mere imitation. He expects the poet to learn "the art to blot" to attain fine workmanship and to pursue artist labour. The poet must ever be self critical. He wants the poet to remember that if a poem has not excellence in it it is definitely bad. Like the Indians insisting on व्युत्पत्तिः he insists on the poet having a deep knowledge of the world, life and

human nature in all its variety and of the philosophy of Plato. He, too, like Cicero, emphasises the principle of decorum or औचित्यम् Kshemendra names it.

Persius refuses to accept the theory of inspiration and gives practical advice to the poets.

Petronius who like the writer of "Dhvanyaloka" holds that the poet writes in a suggestive and twisted language, believes him to be in a divine frenzy when he writes. In an age of insistence on the craft of poetry and cynical suspicion of inspiration, he continues the idealistic Platonic tradition of inspiration and claims for the poet an unusual quantity of passion and imagination because the poet, he believes, lives in a higher world of his own far from the world of prosaic reality.

Paterculus lays stress on the natural genius, but holds that "imitation" helps and stimulates genius and raises it to a higher level.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus holds the view that for political oratory as also for all arts and sciences the three things most helpful are "A gifted nature, accurate study, and laborious practice," in the words of the Indians प्रतिभा व्युत्पत्ति and अभ्यासः

Though primarily a rhetorician, he is of keen poetic sensibility and he holds that imitation with the help of some principles is very helpful for an aspiring poet. Beautiful models stir the soul and evoke high imaginative powers and so every literary artist including the poet must ever have before him the models of poetry culled from the greatest of poets.

Longinus is again primarily a rhetorician and yet his advice in "On the Sublime" is equally applicable to the poets and has influenced numerous poets who have come after him. He has, in fact, laid down the fundamentals of great literary art as it were. Of the five elements which he considers necessary for achieving sublimity, he traces the grandeur of conception to natural genius. The rest he assigns to art. He wants the poet to cultivate grand style. Thus, like Horace, he is for both nature and art. By his famous statement "great utterance is the echo of greatness of soul," he suggests that a great poet has necessarily a great soul as otherwise he could not have been so. Just as Jagannatha in his "Rasagangadhara" says that natural genius may

come from great men so also he holds that the grandeur of conception and the dignity in language associated with it may be acquired by intimate acquaintance with great masters. Thus the idea of practice with the great poets serving as models found in the eastern poeticians is found in him also. But while many believe in the theory of careful copying as do Kshemendra and Rajasekhara and while Horace advises assimilation of earlier techniques of poetry, he is for imbibing something of the creative vital spirit of the earlier masters. Amongst the Indian Poeticians, except for the few who give elaborate instructions with regard to the mode of imitation, most of the poeticians suggest by their instructions that by studying the earlier models the new poet would improve both in spirit and art.

An exhaustive treatment of the subject has not been possible within the short span of a paper like this and the views of all the known poeticians or rhetoricians of the east and the west in the classical age have not obviously been considered in detail. But the views of the most eminent of them stated above indicate fundamental similarity, for all seem to have felt the necessity of प्रतिभा, व्युत्पत्तिः and अभ्यासः or natural genius, learning and proficiency in art, and constant practice though emphasis on any one of them has changed from person to person. No doubt, the Latin critics seem to have directed their attention more to the "other harmony" of prose. But they ever held poetics as closely related to rhetorics and their remarks on rhetorics were to a considerable extent applicable to poetry. The controversies between the theories of inspiration and imitation and the theories of nature and art had their bearing not merely on rhetorics but on all provinces of art including poetry. In India except for Bharata who subordinated poetry to drama, the rest of the critical thinkers on literature wrote only on the art of poetry and stated their views on the poet, his duties and his virtues. What marks out these ancient critics of the east and the west from most of the later literary critics is their sense of art which is often intenser than their sense of natural genius and which they seem to have pursued with a religious sincerity. The poet was to most of them a seer and a prophet, a blessed being who had deeply drunk at the fount of Mt. Helicon or Parnassus, or had received the benediction from goddess Saraswati herself and

in him lay the power to immortalise any thing he liked and to invest all the paths of our life with ineffable charm. A Kalhana in the east sang out in fulsome enthusiasm "Homage we pay to the innate wonder of the poets' art without whose favour are forgotten even those mighty kings in the shadow of whose strong arms the earth girdled by the ocean lay secure as under the forest trees," and in the west a Cicero said with regard to the works of the poet

that they were "the food of youth and the delight of old age, they adorn prosperity, offer to misfortune a refuge and a comfort, at home they give pleasure, abroad they are no hinderance, they pass with us the night, they accompany us on our travel and they share our holidays." But these poets "the children and the prophets of the Gods" in the words of Plato have ever been viewed by most of the classical critics of India and the West as primarily Artists.

A FORGOTTEN KINGDOM OF THE HIMALAYAS

By AMIYA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY, M.A.

He have plenty of books by different scholars regarding the Cultural History of India of the Vedic and post-Vedic periods; but we have indeed very few dealing with the Political History of the periods. Except for a few remarks here and there, most of our historians are, unfortunately, silent about these ages, and have thought fit to mark them as "dark ages" or "pre-historic periods." Their silence about, or their timidity to probe into, the so-called dark ages, is deplorable. Silence is, of course, golden sometimes; but this golden silence has cost the country a lot. It has failed to give the country a cogent or coherent history of ancient India. It was the boldness of Dr. Hem Chandra Roy Choudhury of the Calcutta University, that gave the country a "*Political History of India from the birth of Parikshit to the accession of Chandragupta Maurya*." Pargiter's "*Dynasties of the Kali Age*" and "*Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*" are two other epoch-making treatises, though not very favourably looked upon by some scholars. The contributions of Dr. R. L. Mitra, Dr. Bhandarkar, of R. P. Chanda, and others, may also be gratefully remembered in this connection. Their labours have shown that it is possible to construct something tangible and valuable out of so-called hopeless materials, provided there is a courageous will. It is indeed encouraging that some scholars in modern times have devoted themselves to the task of unearthing the closed chapters of our history, on the basis of the Sanskrit and Pali Texts, and we wish them all success.

The present article is only an humble attempt to trace something about the dark ages of our history, which have remained practically neglected so far, but which, nevertheless, offer vast possibilities for constructive work. The Brahmana literature of the *Vedas* supplies plenty of names of ancient kings and emperors of India, who once ruled vast kingdoms and empires, but whose names have now been almost forgotten. One such king or emperor was Prajapati Daksha of the *Rig-Veda* and the *Brahmanas*, whose name has been casually mentioned along with Aditi and the Adityas in many places. The *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* all contain narratives of this Daksha, reputed to have been the first father-in-law of Shiva. His title, Prajapati, "Lord of subjects," indicates his social status. The *Brihaddevata* of Saunaka, a book evidently of the 6th Century B.C., briefly narrates the story of Daksha and his 13 daughters, who were all married to Kashyapa, a *Rig-Vedic* seer (IX-114). Although a work primarily dealing with the names of the Devatas (gods and goddesses) worshipped in the Hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, the *Brihaddevata* abounds in narratives regarding the gods and the Rishis, which are termed "Itihasa" (history) and "Akhyanas" (narratives) by the author. These narratives, according to Prof. Macdonell, constitute "the earliest collection of epic matter which we possess, dating as it does from a period when the *Mahabharata* could only have been in an embryonic stage." (Introduction to *Brihaddevata*, page XXII.) The narra-

tive or itihasa concerning Daksha is thus of very special significance to us as being the oldest of its kind in writing. In chapter V, the *Bṛihad-devata* says :

Prajapati's son was Marichi, and Marichi's son was the seer Kashyapa. Kashyapa had 13 wives, all goddesses, and daughters of Daksha. These were—Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kala, Danayu, Sinhika, Muni, Krodha, Vishva, Varishtha, Surabhi, Vinata and Kadru. Daksha gave them in marriage to Kashyapa. Kashyapa begot many offsprings by these wives, who came to be known as Gods, Asuras, Gandharvas, Rakshasas, Pishachas, and other varieties. The one, Aditi, gave birth to 12 sons, namely, Bhaga, Aryama, Amsha, Mitra, and Varuna, Dhata, Bidhata, Vivashvan of great brilliance, Tvashta, Pusha, and Indra. The twelfth son was Vishnu. Of these 12 sons, Mitra and Varuna were twins.—(Verses 143 to 148.) These 12 sons of Kashyapa by Aditi came to be called the 12 Adityas, very often mentioned in Vedic literature as such.

Now we come to the question :—whether this god Daksha, as many as 13 of whose daughters were given in marriage to seer Kashyapa of the Rig-Veda, was really a king or an emperor (Lord of subjects) in flesh and blood, or merely a symbolic person or figure. The answer is perhaps supplied by the Shatapatha Brahmana of the White Yajurveda,—Madhyandina Recension—Kanda II, Adhyaya IV, Brahmana 4, chapter on Dakshayana Sacrifice. In the preface to this chapter, Prof. Julius Eggeling thus remarks :—

“This peculiar modification of the new and full-moon sacrifice seems to have been originated and generally to have been performed among the Dakshayanas, a royal family which was evidently still flourishing at the time of our author.”

Some of the statements (mantras) relating to this Dakshayana sacrifice, are given below as being relevant to our subject :—

1. In the beginning, Prajapati, being desirous of offspring, sacrificed with this sacrifice etc.

2. Now he was indeed Daksha, and because he sacrificed in the beginning with this sacrifice, it is called Dakshayana sacrifice etc.

3. Now that same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Pratidarsha Shvaikna ; and he indeed was an authority to those who emulated him. An authority, therefore, he will become, whosoever knowing this, performs that sacrifice ; etc.

4. Him Shuplan Sarnjaya approached for sanctity, and accordingly he was taught that sacrifice, and another (Sautramani Sacrifice),; and having learnt it, he went back to the Srinjayas. Now they knew that he was coming to them after studying the sacrifice for their sake. They said, “Verily, with the gods he has come to us, who has come after studying the sacrifice”; thus he was called Sahadeva Sarnjaya ; and even now the saying, “Lo, Suplan has taken another name.” He performed that sacrifice ; and what race and prosperity of the Srinjayas was thus produced through his performing that sacrifice. etc.,

5. That same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Devabhaga Shrautarsha. He was Purohit (priest) to both the Kurus and Srinjayas. Now a very high position (is held by him) who is the Purohit of one kingdom : how much higher, then, is the position (of one) who is the Purohit of two kingdoms etc.

6. That same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Daksha Parvati, and even to this day these (descendants of his) the Dakshayanas are possessed of the royal dignity ; royal dignity, therefore, here obtains, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice etc.

From the above mantras or statements, it becomes evident that Prajapati Daksha, originator of the Dakshayana sacrifice, was also the founder of a royal family, which continued till at least the time of composition of the Shatapatha Brahmana. Unfortunately, the genealogy of Prajapati Daksha is not given here or anywhere else, except for a later descendant of his, namely, Daksha Parvati, who was unquestionably posterior to Rishi Devabhaga Shrautarsha, the principal priest of the Kurus and the Srinjayas after Sahadeva Sarnjayas. Dr. S. Das Gupta of the Calcutta University, seems to have mixed up Daksha Prajapati, the founder of the family, with Daksha Parvati, his later descendant, in his book, *Bharater Sakti Sadhana O Sakta Sahitya*—page 28. In the interval between these two persons, we meet at least 3 different sages, Pratidarsha Shvaikna, Sahadeva Suplan, and, after his death, Devabhaga Shrautarsha. This last-named sage is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana of the Rig-Veda (8[39]9), wherein he is stated to have died early, before being able to communicate the secret of his knowledge to any disciple. He was thus a dead man when the Aitareya Brahmana was being composed. He was also dead when the Shata-

patha Brahmana, a later work in all conscience than the Aitareya, was in course of composition. He was, therefore, a very early sage. The names of the Kuru and Srinjaya kings on whose behalf he acted as principal priest, are also not found. Otherwise, it would perhaps have been somewhat easier to make some guess as to the period when he might possibly have flourished. Daksha Parvati, of the Daksha royal family, followed sage Devabhaga, and his descendants were on the throne of the family when the Shatapatha Brahmana was being composed.

The principal seer or Rishi of the White Yajurveda was the famous Yajnavalkya. The Shatapatha Brahmana does not appear to be his composition. Probably some disciples or grand-disciples of his were responsible for its composition, as the two recensions, Madhyandina and Karva, seem to indicate. Sage Yajnavalkya flourished after the Bharata War, he being a grand-disciple, originally, of Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa (he was originally a disciple of Vaishampayana), and perhaps lived till some time after the death of King Shatanika, grandson of Parikshit of Hastinapur, according to the evidence of the Brihadaranyakopanishad (3|3 :—discourse between sage Artabhaga and Yajnavalkya in king Janaka's court). The Daksha or the Dakshayana royal family must, therefore, have been ruling till at least the time of Shatanika's son, Ashvamedhadata, or the time of his grandson, Adhisimakrishna. According to the tradition of the Puranas, the interval between the birth of Parikshit and the accession of Mahapadma Nanda, was 1010 or 1050 years. The Nandas reigned for a total of 100 years, after which came Chandragupta, founder of the Maurya Dynasty (B.C. 325 or so). The date of Parikshit's birth (hence of the Bharata War) was thus $1015 + 000 + 325 = 1440$ B.C. or $1050 + 100 + 325 = 1475$ B.C. approximately. Taking an average of 30 years per generation, the approximate date of the death of Parikshit's grandson, Shatanika, comes to about $1440 - 90 = 1350$ B.C., or $1475 - 90 = 1385$ B.C.

The title of Parvati, attached to the later Daksha king, appears to be of special significance. The simple meaning that suggests itself, is that he

was king of a mountainous region. Puranic traditions unanimously connect the founder of the dynasty, Prajapati Daksha, with Kankhal, a suburb of modern Hardwar on the Ganges, at the foot of the Himalayas. It is thus quite possible that the dynasty ruled all along from Kankhal. Perhaps, due to pressure from the neighbouring powerful kingdoms of Kuru and Srinjaya (Panchal of the later ages), the dynasty was later unable to extend its sway over the Gangetic plain, and hence its absence in the genealogical tables of the various dynasties of Northern India given in the Puranas, where we find mention of some holy places only of the Himalayas. It is, therefore, not known when exactly this family ceased to exist as a ruling family at Kankhal. There may be various surmises in this connection :—the family might have moved further inside the Himalayas in course of time ; the family might have become totally extinct as a result of attack by some powerful adversary ; and so on. The later history of a very highly respectable ruling family, founded by a Rig-Vedic God or Devata, is thus shrouded in mystery. That the dynasty maintained some connection with the Neighbouring states of Kuru and Srinjaya, can be easily surmised. Its family priests trained up at least two disciples, who later became very famous as priests among the Rishis of Kuru-Panchala.

I have not been able to find the genealogy of this family in any work so far. If any scholar happens to find the same, he will indeed do a great service to the cause of unfolding a rather closed chapter of the history of ancient India, hitherto regarded as mythical.

The ruins of old palaces shown by the inhabitants and Pandas of Hardwar, as belonging to Prajapati Daksha, are evidently not his. Even those erected very much later, that is, long after the days of Yajnavalkya, must have gone underground long ago. The present ruins, if they at all belong to the Daksha family, must have been erected very very very much later ; or, what is more probable, is that they might be the creation of a different dynasty ruling at Kankhal in subsequent periods.

TRENDS IN INDIAN BANKING

By SANTOSH KUMAR ADHIKARI

The economic development of an undeveloped country like India depends on successful planning for the industrialisation of the country. We have already completed two successive five-year plans and now we have to face the third five-year plan which envisages an investment of funds of not less than twelve thousand crores of rupees. The Banks in India have been particularly asked to share the onerous responsibilities of successfully carrying out the plan, and the most important task the Banks have to face at this juncture is to increase the lending power—the capacity to finance the growing need of the country, in its efforts towards industrialisation.

So long this power to lend was limited. The Banks could provide only short-term loans against raw materials and finished goods, which proved to be inadequate. The need for providing loans to all industrial activities including small industries, for longer periods on machinery or documentary export bills has become necessary. And this increasing demand for money requires **rapid mobilisation of deposits** by Banks. This is the most important task that faces the banking industry at this moment. To quote Sri Tulsidas Kilachand, Chairman, Indian Banks Association, a 20 per cent growth in deposits per annum would be necessary.

To achieve the goal the Banks in India decided to work in co-operation. The banks under the Indian Banks Association entered into an agreement to offer maximum rates of interest on deposits, which was higher than previously allowed. It is believed this higher rate of interest has attracted depositors and checked diversion of deposits to other sectors.

But it was evident that the first and

the foremost problem was to restore confidence which had been shaken by failure of banks even in recent times. By several Acts the Reserve Bank of India was given wide powers and the system of licensing of banks was introduced. The Reserve Bank was also empowered to proceed for compulsory amalgamation of weaker units with stronger units and this led to a new era in the history of banking in India.

The most important of the steps taken by the Government of India, was the decision to set up a Deposit Insurance Corporation which came into being at the beginning of 1962. All commercial banks in the country have been covered by this scheme which proposes to pay upto Rs. 1,500 to each individual depositor within a period of five months in case of winding up of a bank.

The banks individually took various steps—first came by way of expansion of branch network, in order to tap all sources of deposits. The total number of branches in India of scheduled banks increased to 4630 as at the end of year 1962.

All these helped the growth of deposits and during the 2nd Five Year Plan ending on December 1960 the deposits increased by 602 crores of rupees. The deposits increased by 11 per cent in 1961 and at the end of 1962 the aggregate deposits came upto 2037.93 crores of rupees as against 1825.30 crores in 1961.

The Banks have been accepting long term deposits upto five years at present and yet it has been difficult for them to extend the lending power in respect of term loans or medium term financing to industries. We have no industrial bank in this country and the commercial banks have to take the responsibility of catering to the growing needs of industrial expansion.

without jeopardising their position and lowering the liquidity ratio of their assets. The Govt. of India has been conscious of the needs of the country and has set up the under mentioned institutions to finance the capital expenditure of various industries either directly or through banks.

- (1) Industrial Finance Corporation of India established for the purpose of granting long-term loans to large-scale industries.
- (2) Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India established for the purpose of granting long-term loans or guaranteeing loans, and providing equity capital to any limited liability undertaking engaged in manufacturing goods.
- (3) Refinance Corporation of Industry established for the purpose of giving assistance to such commercial banks which have undertaken long-term financing of industries.

The more important in the history of our banking development is the introduction of the guarantee scheme by the Reserve Bank of India. Under the scheme the Reserve Bank guarantees the liabilities of small-scale industries to commercial banks. The small-scale industries under the scheme have been defined as manufacturing concerns wherein capital investment does not exceed five lakhs of rupees. Previously it was difficult for the businessmen engaged in small industrial productions to get financial help from the banking sectors. The introduction of the scheme has been therefore a welcome feature.

The success of our five-year plans depend on our being able to promote exports. The commercial banks have an important role in this respect. They have to supply finance to the exporters on long term basis. Some of the major Indian banks have taken the initiative, though the others are yet shy. The establishment of the Export Risks Insurance Corporation will encourage such banks to extend their lending on export bills.

Banking in India is undergoing rapid transformation and an allout attempt is being made for development. The individual banks are now eager to carry on the responsibilities laid on them and find out means to improve the system. The branch expansion met with a hindrance from dearth of trained personnel. Hence some of the branches have established training centres and are trying to increase the general efficiency of the staff. Mechanisation of the accounting system is another forward step. The Reserve Bank of India has emphasised the importance of maintaining a higher liquidity ratio at 25 per cent exclusive of the cash balance, and strengthening the capital fund by transfer of at least 20 per cent of the profits every year to Reserves.

Lastly, the future of banking appears to be very bright. The third five-year plan has intensified the need for mobilisation of savings on the one hand and expansion of credit facilities on the other. Some of our bankers have been thinking of the American method of granting term loans to Industries for a fixed term of 3 or 5 years. The British method of hire-purchase financing and granting of personal loans are also under study. It has also been proposed that banks should move into the rural areas and extend loans on farming and agriculture at a cheaper rate.

At the end I must confess that the capital market reflects a pessimistic trend since the last budget was formulated and the reactions have adversely affected the general economy of the country. Due to budget levies costs are rising and our exports have dwindled. The increase in tax-burden and the introduction of the C.D.S. Act have caused an atmosphere of uncertainty as a result of which the confidence of the people is on the wane.

The banks are, however, developing a progressive outlook and have come forward to adopt their policies to the changing needs of the country.

HOW TO PLAN A BETTER CALCUTTA

By SOM NATH CHATTOPADHYAY, M.A.

No better words can express the present pitiable condition of Calcutta than what Poet Kiping described long ago :

“Thus the mid-day halt of Charnock—more
is the pity, Grew a city ;
As the fungus sprouts chaotic from its bed,
So it spread—
Chance directed, chance erected, laid and built
On the silt.
Palace, myre, hovel—poverty and pride
Side by side ;
And above the packed and pestilential town
Death looked down.”

Yes, “palace, myre, hovel—poverty and pride—side by side” is the true picture of Calcutta. And to make the city of Job Charnock beautiful seems to be an impossibility because “it spread as the fungus sprouts chaotic from its bed.” This fungus-like growth of Calcutta perhaps inspired Dr. B. C. Roy to observe that ‘in planning a better Calcutta, it is necessary to tackle the bottlenecks which is no easy matter.’ Dr. Roy drew our attention to the peculiar features of the City : that all important Government and non-Government offices are concentrated in Central Calcutta while 90% of the centres of higher education were in North Calcutta. An equally important task is to think ahead, “at least 100 years ahead,” and always guard against the slightest possibility of concentration either of men or of institutions. About the magnitude of the problem, our late Chief Minister only cited a simple example :

“There was a time when many including myself thought that Central Avenue had a lot of space with its continuous 70 ft. width. Little did we apprehend then that in 1962, the space for moving vehicular traffic would be cut down to 40 ft., the parked cars being the intruders.”

To make Calcutta beautiful, the tasks before the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization

(C.M.P.O.) are manifold and varied in nature. The question is to which scheme shall it give priority? For our discussion, it is better to divide Calcutta into three parts : (1) old Calcutta under the original jurisdiction of the High Court, Circular Road being its boundary ; (2) Calcutta of the Corporation with its suburban area and (3) greater Calcutta, consisting of the Corporation area and the suburban municipalities of Cossipore, Tollygunge, Garden Reach and Howrah.

Any discussion on the city's improvement must be based on the fact that Calcutta is always growing. Besides that, when we talk about this city's future, we are compelled to consider greater Calcutta with all the suburban municipalities as the unit. To be exact, Calcutta has grown up practically at haphazard manner and then when affairs were found to be intolerable, sporadic improvements were effected. And this has been possible because in spite of the city being originally bounded by Circular Road, long ago she outgrew those limits and no single authority was constituted to control that cancerous growth.

At present, Calcuttans suffer from congestion because of two main reasons : (a) growth of population mainly as a result of partition and (b) lack of facilities for movement from one part of the city to another, specially from the circumference to the centre. One must admit that the roads once built for Palkis cannot serve for tram cars and motors. The trams and motor buses require broad roads if they are to use their proper speed. The sad state of narrow Strand Road is a grim reminder in this regard. *The City Planners must not forget that as a city grows business tends to grow at one or more centres and so they have to be transported from and to their homes every day.* Now, the quicker the journey, the farther they can afford to go. Therefore, quick transport facilities is requisite number one for Calcutta's improvement. I think it wise to quote Mr. Bompas, I.C.S., an expert on Calcutta's development, in this connection :—

“The extension of a city means cheap rents and cheap living : for it is only excessive

competition for land which forces up rents; thus the extension of a city not only counteracts the tendency to overcrowding but also reduces the cost of living. But the existing roads in Calcutta were of course made without any regard to the needs of modern transport and without any reference to the fact that Calcutta might ever extend beyond Circular Rd. It is a plain necessity that roads must be made having regard to both these factors and thus roads should be constructed with an eye to the needs of the future as well as for the present."

Calcutta is always growing. It is growing rapidly. Its plague spots viz., the slums, are also correspondingly growing. And in what condition these slum-dwellers are living? In short, they live in sub-human conditions. Horrible indeed is the condition of these bustee-dwellers. They are deprived of the minimum amenities that civilized men can expect: they cannot expect even the bare necessities even from hygienic point of view. Readers will therefore be not surprised if I term the bustee-dwellers having separate latrines for their own use as "fortunates" in these circumstances. But these "fortunates" even may be counted on finger tips. Bustee forces a man to live a community life—no individual choice, taste or liking. These slum-dwellers are forced to wait in queues to fill their water pitchers or for using latrines as if society always ignore the importance of their physical existence and the necessities of their lives.

It is of little use to improve the present slums if simultaneously new slums grow up all round. True, there are fairly adequate building laws in Calcutta. True, when new buildings are erected, these laws are rigidly enforced at times. But the difficulty arises in applying these laws in case of suburban municipalities. As there are not adequate building regulations, it is in these uncontrolled suburban municipalities the growing population of Calcutta tends to settle. Building laws alone cannot create wonders: they are not sufficient for our purpose. *What the C.M. P.O. should bear in mind is the fact that as a city grows, it must extend towards the Suburbs with adequate roads and open spaces.* This must be stressed not only to develop the handicapped areas of Calcutta but also to relieve congestion on an area which was once sparsely populated.

PARKS AS BREATHING SPACES

The need for the provision of open spaces should also be discussed here. What the Calcuttians feel, and feel very strongly, is that the C.M.P.O. must provide some open areas—be that squares, boulevards and parks—as their breathing spaces. We are appalled at the rate at which the present Calcutta has spread. The result has been that people living in Central Calcutta are virtually miles away from any open space where green things grow, where one can breathe free air and where there is sufficient space for outing or healthy outdoor recreation. U.S.S.R.'s example is quite relevant here. In America, at present the need for staying the onward flow of bricks and mortar by interposing a ring of parkland round a city when it has attained a moderate size is greatly recognized. That is why they have taken up large parks and connected them by a broad wooded parkway. *The lessons of Europe* is that the parks have been mostly secured there by accident; through acquisition by imperial rulers for building up forts. Calcutta is also no exception. Her Maidans have been so designed for military exigencies. Can we dream of any Maidan in Calcutta except under military compulsion? And rightly Mr. Bompas argued: "What chance did in the past, foresight now has to do for the future." The need of the hour is to spend proportionately on the Calcutta parks for our future generations. Priority must be given to preserve some green parks or scenic beauty in any event.

PROBLEM OF LAND PLANNING

The population density in Calcutta is 124 persons per acre as against 43 of London, 34 of New York, 55 of Madras and 85 of Bombay per acre. Naturally this makes the land value of Calcutta extremely high because her land resources are limited. Acute scarcity of developed open land in the suburbs further aggravates the position. This problem can only be solved if the use and development of all land within the city and suburbs is regulated and controlled by the State. It is indeed satisfying to note that to enquire into the problems of land planning and to recommend suitable legislation for the above purpose, a Town and Country Planning Legislation Commission has already been set up by the State Government. We can reasonably hope that in the near future suitable legislations will be enacted and suitable

Town and Country Planning Organizations set up in West Bengal.

SEVERAL PROJECTS TO RELIEVE CALCUTTA'S CONGESTION

Steps have already been taken to make dispersal of population possible from Calcutta. Reclamation of North Salt Lakes is a very right step in this direction. This scheme will relieve Calcutta's congestion, provide dwelling accommodation in better surroundings by making available 20,000 household plots and will accommodate a lac of low and middle income group people.

The West Bengal Development Corporation has further drawn up Kona (Howrah, West of Dasnagar) township development scheme for a population of about 30,000 and also at Purba Barisha (south of Behala) for a population of about 60,000. These two new townships will establish Industrial Estates in their industrial zones and thus provide all possible amenities for industrial workers.

The Calcutta Improvement Trust is also not lagging behind. The C.I.T. and Housing Board of the State Government have devoted all their energies to draw up subsidised industrial housing schemes. The C.I.T. aims to frame Bustee Rehousing Schemes in Manicktala and Ultadanga areas and further rental housing schemes for low income group people. Even the Calcutta Corporation has in mind plans to construct tenements for their Harijan employees. And lastly, the C.M.P.O. is seriously considering a self-sufficient slum-clearance scheme—"Work-shelter Scheme"—to provide accommodation and place of work at the same place for the bustee dwellers.

The lack of open *breathing space* I have already referred to. To meet the crying need of sufficient play grounds and parks all over the city, C.I.T. has already drawn up schemes for a few small parks and a lake, viz. "Subhas Sarobar" in Narkeldanga (Beliaghata area). This area will further offer recreation facilities in the form of playgrounds, parks, well-laid-out gardens, swimming pools, etc. South Calcutta is fortunate enough to have a fine stadium at Rabindra Sarobar at present. It is expected that a composite stadium at Maidan will be constructed by the Government at a very early date.

RECLAMATION OF NORTHERN SALT LAKE

The existing land of the city is quite insufficient to provide accommodation for the increasing population. So, schemes in the nature of Salt Lakes reclamation have already been taken in hand to provide breathing space for the city-dwellers. This scheme is welcomed because of the two main advantages : (1) the extended units will be nearer to the heart of the city and will enjoy all the amenities of the city life, and (2) the immediate eastern environment of the city comprising of swampy land mostly covered with reed fields, sewage drains and ill-maintained fisheries will be wiped out for good.

The experts are of opinion that such an extension is advisable from technical points of view. Thus, they hold that by this scheme the low lying area of the Northern Salt Lakes will be raised to (+) 110 PWD. This level will be a bit higher than the contiguous part of the city.

This scheme is now in progress. Dredging and pumping operations of the scheme has been allotted to a Yugoslav firm, Messrs. Invest Import. This firm has already laid pipelines for transport of the dredged soil. In order to start the proper work, all the preliminaries are on the way to completion with the aid of mechanical equipments like Cutter Suction Dredger, Reclamation Dredger, etc. It is interesting to note that the estimated cost of dredging and pumping work is fixed at Rs. 734 lakhs. This scheme after being completed will offer all the civic amenities like water-supply, electricity, underground sewerage and drainage systems, etc.

THE PROJECTS OF CALCUTTA METROPOLITAN PLANNING ORGANIZATION

The C.M.P.O. has also come forward with its schemes to rebuild Calcutta. The cardinal goal of CMPO is to create a new greater Calcutta which will cover an area of about 400 sq. miles—a new Calcutta which will provide amenities and opportunities for a healthy, happy and economically stable existence for the entire population as it may have by 1986.

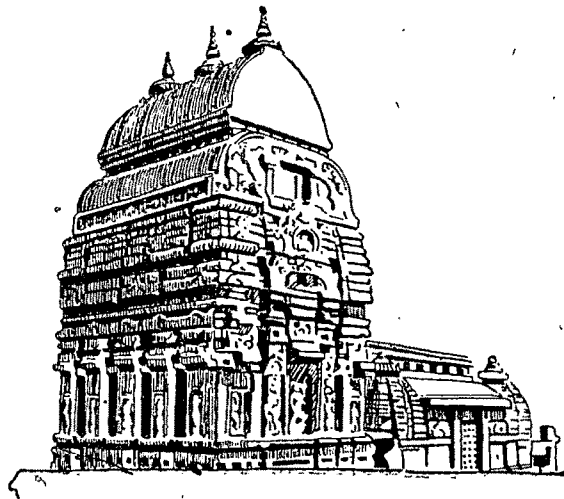
The objectives of CMPO may be grouped under two heads : (a) short term and (b) long term. Its *short-term* objectives include emergency water supply, second crossing for the Hooghly, emergency drainage, proto-type work—

short-term shelter housing and slum improvement. Its long-term objectives are : deconcentration of the central city, development of self-contained urbanised areas for population of 2,50,000 each, better communications and transport, better housing in better residential areas, community facilities in the shops and schools, libraries, parks and health and recreation centres, supply of adequate drinking water, abolition of unfiltered water supply, underground sewers, abolition of service-prives and open-surface drains, prevention of street flooding, prevention of smoke nuisance, slum clearance, development of industrial and commercial centres and Haldia Port township.

The importance of better means of communication for a better Calcutta has not been lost sight of. That is why CMPO has included in both its short and long-term objectives schemes for

(i) a second crossing for the Hooghly and (ii) better communications and transport to make a network transport possible from the City's central position.

To sum up, "Better Calcutta" is neither a myth nor a misnomer. But before getting a better Calcutta, we must know exactly what we need, what our wants are and we must be armed with suitable legislations to clear the debris, dead wood and the slums that stumble in our way. Here again is needed our united effort. This united effort of town planners, economists, sociologists, public health authorities, neighbouring municipalities, etc., is all the more needed to find out a policy of dispersal and decentralization to attract people out of Calcutta and beautify Calcutta at the same time. Because then and then only we will be able to carry out this Herculean task.



NEW TRENDS IN ECONOMIC POLICY

By KARUNA K. NANDI

In course of an unscheduled policy statement in the Lok Sabha on December 16 last, which does not appear to have attracted the measure of public notice that it would seem to deserve, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Finance Minister, announced Government's decision to abolish present price controls on 16 commodities, mostly industrial raw materials, but which also included such consumer commodities as washing soap, tubes and tyres, sheet glass and paper boards. The Finance Minister, likewise, announced the relaxation of controls in respect of industrial license for units with capital upto Rs. 25 lakhs and raised the minimum level of control on capital issues from the present Rs. 10 lakhs to Rs. 25 lakhs. These are important announcements in themselves, but what is more important and of far-reaching significance in this connection is the indication of the trends of his thinking that the Finance Minister incidentally disclosed on the occasion.

While Mr. Krishnamachari made no secret of the eventual further addition to taxes in his next-year's budget because of the "continuously increasing needs of defence and development," especially in the context of the continuing inelasticity of public borrowings and the urgent need to keep deficit financing within severely restricted limits with a view to keep prices under reasonable check, he also indicated the Government's determination to ensure that the massive investments in the public sector were able to earn a reasonable rate of return to enable them to make the measure of contribution to national development that was expected of them. What, however, he added *inter alia* that "it may well be that the profits of the public sector enterprises can be raised, in part at any rate, **only by an adjustment of their pricing policies**", is not quite so reassuring. Indeed, such a view of the matter, officially expressed by the Finance Minister would seem to be materially at variance with his earlier statement in course of this pronouncement, that the "related problems of rising prices and inadequate growth" had been causing a great deal of concern in recent months. If public sector enterprises, despite the massive investments that they have called for, have, so far been unable to make their appropriate contributions to the growth of the economy in an adequate measure, the reason in most cases must be held to have been their low production-yields as well as correspondingly low productivity in relation to the performances of the private sector of a like order and the remedy should not be sought in revising pricing policies in respect of the former's products as the Finance Minister seems to warn that it may be necessary, but in ensuring their production performances to conform to expected norms of productivity and gross production-yields. This is a matter which would, we feel, bear a far closer examination than the rather perfunctory treatment given to it in the Finance Minister's policy statement, and which would call for a clearer enunciation of the norms of managerial efficiency and production performances which do not so far appear to have been sought to be applied to these public sector enterprises. What should be most important to realise in this context is the fact that the present system of fiscal, monetary, price and other controls, a great deal of which would seem to have been designed to cover the inadequacies of performance of the public sector enterprises, have been as they were bound to do, reacting sharply on private sector behaviour also, generating a continuing pressure on overall national production efficiencies and correspondingly on the price structure.

While one does not quite disagree with the Finance Minister in respect of the need

for a measure of continuing economic discipline in the present stage of the economy, it is heartening to note that Mr. Krishnamachari has been endeavouring to break hitherto neglected ground when he says that a reasonable measure of restriction in the context of the needs of development may be a continuing necessity, so far as conspicuous consumption was concerned, the real remedy was not so much these restrictions as the need to stimulate the growth rate and expand production, which alone could bring into force those requisite balances in the economy which would take care of both prices and supplies. This would seem to me a complete departure from the policies of his predecessor who invariably seemed to find in restrictions and continuous exhortations for decreasing consumption as the only panacea for all our economic evils. It is true that the present Finance Minister does not altogether cut away the mooring strings from a necessary measure of restraint, but he emphasises that he has "no doubt whatever that (we) shall succeed in solving our complex and difficult problems only so far as we succeed in fixing our eyes steadily on expansion and higher production even as we seek to contain our demand within reason at any given time." It is in such a view of the matter, that he explained his recent decision regarding credit expansion to have been taken. The supply of

credit, he warns, must be adequate to meet the needs of growth, a thesis with which no reasonable person should have any quarrel. But bearing in mind the operations of the very large unorganized sector operating in the money market, who account for a great deal of the unaccounted money and the very large measures of tax-evasions in the country, it is very necessary, we feel, to be extremely cautious and circumspect in making such credits available so that they may not join forces with the very largely extant speculative pressures and add to the sum-total of the already heavy pressure on the price structure, especially in the essential consumer sectors.

By and large, the Finance Minister's new economic policy statement should be welcomed as a very needed and timely re-orientation of the Government's policies in the needed direction. Given cautious application and wholesome employment, this should contribute to a stimulation of the twin purposes of growth and price stabilization. But it is the application of the policy which is of the greatest moment for one is not quite sure that the present administrative machinery at the disposal of the Government, which would have in very large measure, to be responsible for its appropriate and wholesome implementation is adequately qualified in terms of both efficiency and rectitude, to serve its needs.



BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. *Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati :*

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

POVERTY AND UN-BRITISH RULE IN INDIA : *By the Late Dadabhai Naoroji, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, D/8vo. Pp. 597 (with indices). Price Rs. 10.*

Published in the Publications Division's series Classics of Indian History and Economics, the volume under review is a cohesive collection and presentation of the innumerable speeches, papers, pamphlets, correspondence with officials, evidences before Committees and Commissions, of the late Dadabhai Naoroji, all of which serve to highlight the utter misery and depthless poverty of the Indian people of his times which derived from the despotic system of Government carried out in this country which, the Dadabhai maintained, was not merely destructive to Indians but was, moreover, suicidal to Britain herself.

This pioneering work in the condition of the people on the basis of a realistic assessment of the economics of British rule in India and the political reactions that flowed therefrom as an inevitable result has, as the publishers claim, two major aspects, economic and political and contains a great deal of indispensable foundation material for researches in the constitutional and economic history of this vast sub-continent. The work covers such varied grounds as production and distribution, taxation, railways, foreign trade, income and wages, currency and exchange public debt and the drain of wealth from India as far as they related to the purely economic aspect of British rule in India.

It also deals with the goal of British rule in this country as propounded from time to time by the highest Official and political authorities of the ruling country and the proven failure by the

Indian administration to fulfil the commitments and honour the pledges made from time to time to the Indian people by the British Crown and Parliament. Both in respect of the economics of the country as well as in her political structure, the one dominant note in all the Dadabhai's pronouncements would be found to be his earnest pleadings for associating, by the rulers, the representatives of the natives of the country at all levels of the administration. He seemed to believe quite sincerely that given such a policy and its inevitable natural fulfilment, a glorious common future awaited both India and Britain.

An ardent admirer of the British political system and a sincere believer in the British race and its good faith with the Commonwealth of nations that constituted the British Empire, Dadabhai Naoroji was one of those outstanding political leaders and economic thinkers of the last century who never visualized nor even desired an end of the British political connection with India. He was a firm believer in the ultimate goodness of the Parliamentary system of democracy that distinguished the British political system at home and believed that its gradual and progressive extension to individual units of the empire to make them progressively self-reliant and self-governing, would eventually build up the strongest confederacy of nations in this world, cohesive, interdependent and closely bound to one another by ties of not exploitation and deprivation as, unfortunately happened, so far, to be the case as far as India was concerned, but common ideals, goals and interests.

It is, perhaps, not merely historical coincidence, that the concept of the British Empire has, over the years, and especially under the impact of the great political and social changes that have

emerged since the end of the Second World War, gradually yielded place to one of a Commonwealth of free, self-reliant and self-respecting nations as so earnestly visualized by Dadabhai Naoroji more than three quarters of a century ago and, if the British Empire has virtually ceased to exist today, the Commonwealth of nations that has now replaced this old and outmoded empire is, perhaps, no less closely knit together by bonds of common ideals and goals which, one may hope, would prove far more enduring and eventually more closely integrated than the old empire. In a sense, therefore, the wishes of the late Dadabhai Naoroji who had dedicated a whole life time to the service of his country and her people, may now be said to have been realised in very large measure.

Unfortunately, however, the poverty of the people against which the Dadabhai had waged a life-long and relentless war is yet a long way away from being eliminated from the land. The publishers claim that this book "forms the background to the *planned development* (emphasis my own) which Free India has undertaken" which, on a realistic analysis of cause and effect would, however, be found to be very far, indeed, from fact.

Poverty in Free India and under development planning, it can no longer be denied, has been progressively deepening to a degree which has never before been touched in this country, poor as her people have always been traditionally over the centuries. And the exploitation of the poor by the microscopic handful of the favoured rich who seem to have been dictating the directions that the processes of governance must follow in *Free India*, has never before been quite as barefaced as it seems to be now. To claim, therefore, that the Government of the Country have only been pursuing the ideals and goals that the Dadabhai had spelt out more than half a century ago, is both wrong and prevaricative.

However, that may be, there is not the least question that the book under review is one which is not merely grippingly interesting in almost all its varied facets of expression, but is truly one which would provide valuable, even indispensable foundation material for the serious student of modern Indian political and economic history.

KARUNA K. NANDI

AN ALBUM OF SIXTEEN PICTURES : By *Khitindra Nath Mazumdar illustrating the Gita-Govinda*, Published by Indian Press Publication Private Limited, Allahabad. Price Rs. 25/- only.

It is an opportune publication with reference to the controversy as to the relative merits of Modern Indian Paintings and the Modernistic Paintings imitating the "Ism" Paintings of Europe. A group of Moderns is repudiating the great traditions revived by the Tagore School. Khitindranath is a direct disciple of Abanindranath, has demonstrated the high merit of these illustrations interpreting the mystic verses of Jaydev in appropriate forms and designs and rhythmic colour scheme.

The Publishers deserve great praise, for their expensive ventures.

The Album should find its way in all households in Bengal.

O. C. GANGOLY

A SHORT HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY (From Bacon to Hegel) : By *Subodh Kumar Ghose, M.A., LL.B.* Published by Bookland Pvt. Ltd., 211/1, Cornwallis St., Calcutta. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 10.

"A Short History of Western Philosophy (from Bacon to Hegel) is professedly a work of restricted compass on the part of a young entrant into the field of present-day philosophical literature, of the status and standard of excellence sponsored by the University Tutorial Series of all progressive Universities. Having already made his mark through his "Hand-book of Philosophy of Religion", Prof. S. Ghose embarks upon this second venture of his with a remarkable self-confidence, well-deserved and well-preserved. Through self-restriction in claim and denial, this creditable production of his (as scrutinised by me in manuscript) ensures objectivity of presentation by means of what may be called the 'case History' method, coupled with clarity of critical evaluation and, above all, evinces a characteristic sense of proportion which provides the much-needed safeguard, in a task of this kind, against failure to see the wood for the trees. May this venture be attended with that measure of success which it so eminently deserves !

SAROJ KUMAR DAS



Indian Periodicals

Process Of National Integration

Writing under the above caption in the **Jagriti**, what Shri U. N. Debar has to say should be of especial interest :

The problem of National Integration, it is now acknowledged practically by all, is one of those problems which the country has to meet whether it is for maintaining its liberty or for its progress and development. For the last three years, therefore, we have been concentrating our attention on this problem. From debate and discussion we have passed on to positive action. The seminar is meeting at a time when our Parliament is discussing a measure of supreme importance, a measure which will be put on the statute book of the country, a law requiring that the candidates at elections should take an oath of loyalty to the integrity of the country. A happy reaction of the step is already on the way. You will cease to hear any more a demand for separation in this part of the country (Madras). The process is not confined to legislative measures. It has entered the school room and the college theatre.

National Integration, A Process

National Integration in one sense is a process. On the 22nd last the President of the United States of America, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was assassinated. It is difficult to know exactly the cause of this hasty act. But the preliminary reaction throughout the world seems to be that he fell a martyr to the cause of integration, as did Abraham Lincoln fall about a hundred years ago.

The American nation has to their credit great contributions to the cause of human liberty and even greater to the cause of human well-being. It was however irksome for President Kennedy that America which is loved so much, should be a defaulter in the cause of human equality. He staked his career on the Civil Rights Bill to make up for the shortfall. Little was it realised that it was not going to be merely staking his career but his life also. That after 170 years of freedom, after the progress of education and science to the extent the American nation has achieved, an American President would be required to stake his life on the issue of equality amongst the American people, shows how

difficult and tortuous is the working of the process of integration. It shows that factors independent of education, independent of economics, independent of religion and politics can affect the process of integration. Sometimes education etc., only deal with symptoms and not the source.

Kennedy, Lincoln, Gandhi, Christ, Buddha are martyrs who have tried to give their lives for the integration of their society. They are in a sense the milestones on the road on which the nations have moved to secure integration. Anyone who has studied the lives of these great men will realise that the mainsprings that motivated their actions were different in quality and content. The essential factor that moved them into action was their sterling faith and conviction in the essential equality of man, whatever the colour of his skin, his religious denomination, his political label or his social rank and position. The thought that a human being can think in terms of another human being as an unequal of himself, as anything less than his brother, as anything less than a co-partner in the great enterprise of building up something was an anathema to them. This faith and conviction about the equality of a human being, about the common brotherhood and co-partnership in the great enterprise is the foundation, on which integration has been accomplished in the world wherever we find an integrated society.

In India we have a different picture. We are a society divided by castes, creeds, religions, social and economic disparities and now by political labels. To substitute these disintegrating influences by this sterling faith and conviction about the essential equality of every citizen in the land about the common brotherhood and about the co-partnership in the great enterprise of building up this country is a colossal task. It is not sufficient to tell the citizen that he should discard castes, etc., on the ground that they are not suited to the ethics of the twentieth century or that these distinctions belong to the Dark Ages. Nor will it be sufficient to tell him that these are inconsistent with the spiritual belief of the Indian Society in the universality of the soul. These are negative approach. Human mind cannot tolerate a vacuum. If a belief is to be substituted by another belief, social leadership has to convince the society about the necessity for such substitution.

Society has never been reformed by sermons. History shows that faith or conviction have been transmitted successfully only through action based on faith or conviction. The martyrdom of the great sons and daughters of humanity has this effect and value that it has moved multitudes into changing their past simply by the touch of action based upon faith and conviction. Transparent activity based on transparent faith ignited the new lamps of lights in the hearts and minds of the simple and trusting people as nothing else could do. The distinction between man and man that has torn India into compartments cannot be obliterated on grounds of expediency. It can only be obliterated when the people are convinced that it militates against the faith they must bear. We should reach the sources of faith and love in their hearts for the country. We should water the tree of India's integration at its roots, which lie imbedded in the minds of Indian people in relation to their nation about relationship between an Indian and an Indian.

Human mind, because of its past associations, has been accustomed to work in small circles. The limited circles in which limited perspective of the world and sets also a limit to its perspective of individual interests. Whereas nature functions at a universal level a dichotomy thus develops. Unless there is a deliberate effort to relate the functioning of the human mind to the functioning of nature the contradictions that flow from this dichotomy multiply. In the process human mind is left far behind and soon becomes complacent and static. Indian mind has to realise that there is a constant necessity for a dynamic mutual approach to the building of the life of the nation, if the nation is not to remain static. It is the price which has to be paid by every one thinking in terms of liberty and growth. India is a land of great spiritual traditions and equally of great social, economic and political divisions. This contradiction only shows that the word has spread but not the spirit behind it. "The world is one family" has thus remained a mere slogan and "Everyone is a part of the Universal Self" has remained another slogan. In spite of spiritual traditions our mind has thought in terms of the world limited to one's family or group and interests of the family or the group have inevitably over-riden the interests of the community by and large.

The problem before us is how to remove this dichotomy; how to treat the mind so that it could continuously struggle against getting stuck up in the quagmire of limited interests; how to treat the individual citizen so that he can be a part of a dynamic human family which is forging ahead with the assistance of science and technology. It is a problem of transmitting one's faith to others that the good of the individual is best secured by working for the good of the society as a whole.

Leadership's Role in Developing Faith

People in India are not different from the people in the rest of the world. If they have come to repose trust in working for limited aims or group interests, it is because they have been led by their leaders to believe in social, political and economic fields that that is the best way of preserving their interests. There are still bodies in India which believe in the cult of factionalism and try to perpetuate limited urges which have brought the nation to utter ruin. The tragedy of the situation is that they are ignorant of the suicidal character of their game.

India, therefore, needs a leadership that is capable of looking at the problem of India in a comprehensive manner free from social, religious, political and cultural egoisms. India needs a leadership with faith that diversity is best nurtured in a climate of equality and cooperation rather than in a climate of competition and hostility.

Need for Self-introspection on the Part of Leadership

This new trend in the thinking of leadership is not possible unless there is first of all ample self-introspection on the part of the leadership and effort on its part to cleanse itself of the distortions of limited urges. This alone can revive in the minds and hearts of the Indian people the regard for human equality. When I am speaking of self-introspection, I am speaking principally of the men in charge of the political destiny of the country and those in the educational field. The former function on an extensive basis and the latter on an intensive one. The nation has to be fortified by the clear conscience of these two media if the nation is to march step by step towards fuller and ever fuller integration.

Two other Aspects—Religious and Economic Factors

Two more things I should like to emphasise apart from what is being attempted through legislation and education in the social-cum-religious field as well as the social-cum-economic field.

So far as religion is concerned, Indian religions have a three-tier system: ritualistic religion, speculative or metaphysical religion and what is termed as the spiritual side of religion. The leadership at the religious level would be demonstrating its bankruptcy if it mistakes the shadow for the substance and clings to ritualism and speculation. What is of importance is the content of the religion to be imbibed by the devotees of that religion. Tendencies of hate and malice, or greed and fear, whatever be the name tagged on to these tendencies, are a negation of religion. Religion in that limited sense has not only outlived its use but has become a positive menace to the existence of Indian humanity.

Ritualism and speculative philosophy have had a free field in this land. But for the cultural balance given by saints and seers, India would not have survived. Nothing but debris in the form of social degradation would have been left with us. Five crores of untouchables can have no sympathy for a religion that could treat them as sub-humans and deny to them elementary rights of freedom of worship and freedom of activity. Nor can the womanhood of India be grateful for many things which were perpetrated upon it in the name of religion. Religious leadership has even more to come with a clean conscience before the Indian people if it has to serve the cause of religion.

Similarly Indian politician functioning through parliamentary democracy, cannot be held wholly responsible for the socio-economic malaise that endangers process of integration in the country. The leadership in the economic field must share the responsibility in a great measure for it. The democratic apparatus cannot remedy all the imbalances that prevail in the economy of the country unless the leadership in the economic field cooperates at least in a few matters without mental reservation or thought of personal interest. In the first place come the seven crores and fifty lakhs of human beings, the Harijans and the tribals who have been denied, one because

of religious ostracism and the other because of political isolation, a proper share in country's wealth. There is no possibility of complete integration so long as these seven crores and fifty lakhs of people remain alien to the economy of the country. Next come about a sixth of the rural population that is landless. They are as yet surplus to the economy of the rural areas. The leadership in the economic field has to work in co-operation with Government to assist these large masses of people to occupy a place of honour in the country's economy so as to give to them a stake in its sustenance and functioning.

Education and its Content

The education of the citizens in all these three respects must begin from childhood till the end of one's life and must proceed from generation to generation. In the world of human beings, the two processes of integration as well as disintegration will work simultaneously till there is an occasion when the forces of disintegration are completely annihilated which is a mere speculation. The art of social, economic and political leadership therefore lies in evolving continuously measures which would enable the people to check and control the forces of disintegration whenever they become active. Their leadership should realise for all times that nothing is static in this world and the forces of evil, being always present, in every nation that complacently or ignorantly forgets its duty to resort to dynamic activity by facing these forces of evil, the latter will unfailingly raise their heads and bring harm and travail in their wake. It is in this sense that people of India have to understand the great maxim that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Eternal vigilance is demanded not only against the enemies that endanger their liberty from outside, but enemies that endanger their security from within. The forces of disintegration constitute one such enemy.

In this sense, the process of integration is a continuous process. The task of the leadership is to instil faith in the minds and hearts of the people in the essential equality of all the people in the common good of all. This has to be achieved through the process of education principally not only in the class room but in the field of politics, religion and economics. Responsibility for this is wholly of the leadership in the particular field.

Foreign Periodicals

The Legacy of Konrad Adenauer

William Henry Chamberlin writing under the above caption gives an estimate of Konrad Adenauer in the resurgence of modern Germany which is of unusual interest :

It has been widely observed of Konrad Adenauer, who last week retired as Chancellor of the German Federal Republic, that he may well be the greatest German statesman since Bismarck. In some respects, however, *Der Alte* fulfilled an even more difficult task than the Iron Chancellor. Bismarck led from strength, Adenauer from weakness. Ultimately, the forging of a united Germany around a hard Prussian core was a less demanding job than rebuilding the morally and materially shattered Germany of the postwar years into its present position as an equal partner in the Western Alliance.

The German success story, the most striking of the postwar era in Europe, would not have been possible with a man of lesser stature and ability than Adenauer possessed. Nor could it have been brought off if the Chancellor had not met the psychological needs of his age. Adenauer's personal qualities, his perseverance in giving a Western orientation to his nation's foreign policy, his self-confidence and ability to provide strong leadership to a broken and demoralized people, are among the chief factors that have contributed to Germany's astonishing recovery.

After World War I, Germany was seething with agitation for revenge and filled with both Right- and Left-wing extremism. But the aftermath of World War II was profoundly different. I saw a good deal of Germany during the period of the Weimar Republic, and I have visited the country 10 times since the end of World War II. The contrast, on almost every count, has impressed me as being very sharp and seems to warrant confidence in the stability of the free institutions which prevail in the larger and more populous part of Germany that escaped Soviet occupation and the imposition of Communist tyranny.

Today, scarcely a trace remains of the Ger-

man dream of necessary regeneration through revolution, either of the racist-nationalist or class-warfare type. Nazism is discredited, if only because it brought on ruin and desolation unequalled since the time of the Thirty Years War. Communism is equally discredited, because it is identified with the imperialism of a foreign power and because of the sorry fruits it has produced in East Germany.

To a people that had seen its past dreams turn to dust and ashes, that wanted above everything else to get back to normal living, that was sick to death with propaganda and ideology, Adenauer's kind of leadership was welcome. His paternalism (stern at times, benevolent at others), his old-fashioned conservatism, his contempt for personal demagoguery—all had their appeal to a shellshocked people.

There is much truth in the criticism of *Der Alte* which one hears in Germany, especially from intellectuals. The old man is brusque and domineering. He has been so sure of the rightness of his goals that he has often been willing to cut corners and resort to sharp practice to insure victory at the polls. He does not suffer fools gladly, and his lack of esteem for politicians, including many of his own party, is no secret. Asked for his opinion on the Chancellor, an editor of one of Germany's leading newspapers replied : "A great man, Yes. A good man, No."

Adenauer may be relied upon to look out for his own reputation. His memoirs, announced for early publication, should be one of the most interesting works of its type. He is known to believe that a meeting held at his home after the first postwar German national election in 1949, in which he successfully opposed the "big coalition" with the Social Democrats favored by some of the more Left-inclined members of his own party, was important in paving the way for later close collaboration with the conservative United States of Eisenhower and Dulles. Far more important, though, is the fact that he has handed over to Ludwig Erhard, chief architect of the German "economic miracle," a political situation that has difficulties and problems, but no visible major crises.



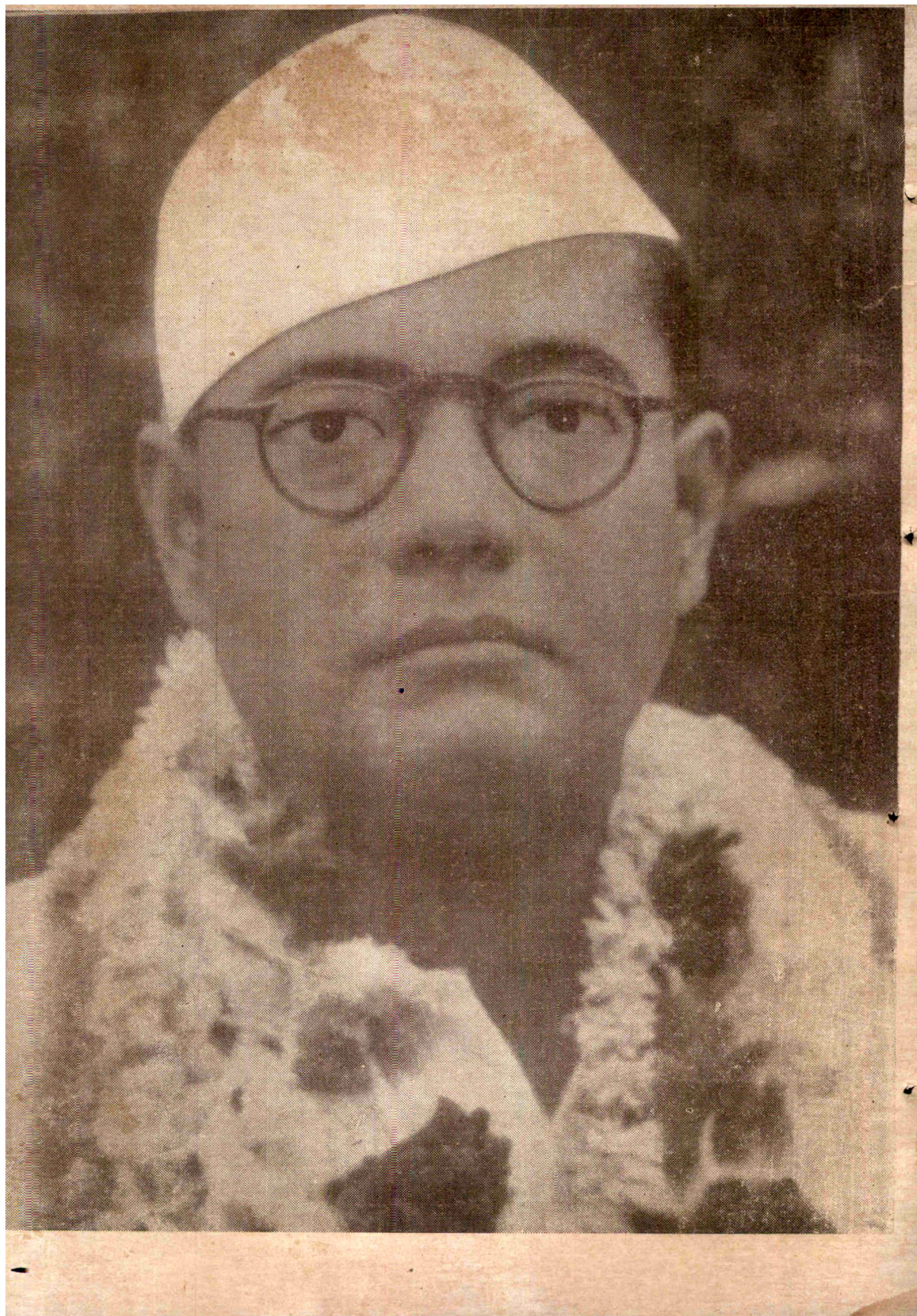
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TWO KERALA LADIES

A Rare, Old, Tanjore Painting, on glass. In the Collection of Sri T. D. Meenakshisundaram Pillai, Registrar, Annamalai University.



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NOTES

The World

In the major spheres of World Politics there was a lull for some time past. The only new departure in the field of alignments amongst the major powers was the recognition by De Gaulle's France of Red China. This distinct divergence by France from the policies held by the powers of the Western Bloc aroused mild reactions from some and little comment from others. Washington termed the French decision "unfortunate" and reaffirmed the USA's determination to stand by the regime of Nationalist China in Formosa. Moscow just expressed satisfaction at the French announcement and complimented the French Government for its realism. But it did not miss the chance to remark on France's stand on tests ban by noting that "it would be gratifying if the same realistic approach prevailed in the French attitude to other international problems." Belgrade's expression of approval was similarly qualified by a reference to Peking's negative policies.

Britain made no comment on this move. It should be noted that Britain accorded recognition to Peking before 1950, that is before Red China sent its troops into Korea in defiance of the U.N. thereby causing the intensification of the Korean War. India also has diplomatic relations with Peking, which has been maintained despite the open aggression by Red China on the Himalayan frontiers of India. There was no comments

from New Delhi though it is reported that authoritative sources there, have expressed "regret" at the timing of the French move and expressed some apprehension at the possibility of China being able to secure arms and strategic materials from France.

The Formosa Government has evidently taken this new development seriously as the Nationalist Cabinet went into session to consider it. The result is a denunciation of France's move, but Formosa does not intend breaking off diplomatic relations. The theory of "Two Chinas" will receive substantial support thereby and a few more anti-Communist nations may accord recognition to Peking. De Gaulle has stated that his government has arranged with Peking so that he can maintain relations with the Nationalist government of China at Formosa.

Pakistan of course is delighted that her new patron has moved up in the comity of nations. A Pakistani Foreign office spokesman has excelled himself by stating that "France's action was in the interests of the maintenance of peace in South and South-East Asia"! He forgot to add that it might go a good deal in furthering the "peace efforts" of Red China and Pakistan in these areas.

Peking has received recognition from 49 nations out of a total of about 119 States. This by itself of course does not mean that Red China's entry into the U.N. is assured, as it means a support from about 40% of the

members if all of them back China's entry. If a large number maintain a neutral attitude then the situation will alter. That really would mean tacit support to the "Two Chinas" theory.

Strangely enough De Gaulle's formulation of the "Two Chinas" stand has received its strongest opposition from Peking itself. According to the Chinese Government's view-point Taiwan (Formosa) is a part of Chinese territory and as such "any attempt to detach Taiwan from China or to create" Two Chinas "is not acceptable to the Chinese Government and people." This was clearly expressed in the statement issued to correspondents.

The statement said the Government of the People's Republic of China had entered into negotiations with France "in the capacity of the sole legal Government representing all the Chinese people".

It went on: "According to international practice recognition of the new Government of a country naturally implies ceasing to recognize the old ruling group overthrown by the people of that country."

"Consequently representatives of the old ruling group can no longer be regarded as representatives of that country to be present side by side with the representatives of the new Government in one and the same country or international organization.

"It was with this understanding that the Government of the People's Republic of China reached agreement with the Government of the French Republic on the establishment of diplomatic relations and the exchange of ambassadors between China and France".

The French Foreign Ministry countered this through a statement by one of its spokesmen to the effect that the agreement between the two Governments had been reached "without any condition of any sort" and by affirming that Paris had no intention to break off relations with the Nationalist Government at Taipeh. Indeed President de Gaulle had sent a special emissary to General Chiang Kai-Shek at Taipeh (Formosan Capital) to urge him not to close his country's embassy in Paris.

At the time of writing these the position

was unqualified support for the move was from France itself, Pakistan and one or two of the declared pro-Chinese Communist Governments. China herself has laid a condition precedent to her acceptance and the Soviet Group of Eastern European States has followed the lead of the Soviets in giving qualified approval. It remains to be seen whether Pakistan—who has outstripped China in its approval of the French move—has any second thoughts on the Two Chinas "Theory".

President Johnson of the U.S.A. has sent a personal emissary in the person of Mr. Robert Kennedy, the U.S. Attorney General and a brother of the martyred President, to see whether anything could be done to unravel the deep political tangle caused by the determined opposition of Indonesia and a somewhat milder opposition by the Philippines to the formation of Malaysia. Mr. Robert Kennedy has had long talks with President Soekarno, firstly at Tokyo and then at Djakarta, and has also used his powers of persuasion on President Macapagal of the Philippines and on Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Premier of Malaysia. Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia also visited Kuala Lumpur at the time of Mr. Kennedy's visit and he desired that the meeting of the three heads of States involved in the Malaysian crisis be held in the Cambodian Capital. Mr. Kennedy had suggested Bangkok as the venue of the tripartite talks.

Mr. Robert Kennedy seems to have been successful in persuading the three heads of State to meet and negotiate directly in a neutral country. He has likewise been able to ease the tension somewhat by persuading the most belligerent party, Indonesia, to call off the military demonstrations and guerrilla raids at the borders of Sabah in North Borneo for the time being. The conditions laid down by President Soekarno regarding his acceptance of the proposal for direct negotiations lay stress on the withdrawal of British troops from Borneo. Nothing was known at the time of writing about the results of Mr. Kennedy's talks with the British Premier and his advisers regarding that condition. London

has to be convinced about the wisdom of pulling out British troops from Borneo, before these negotiations can proceed any further.

Pakistan has again taken the "Case of Kashmir" before the Security Council of the U.N.O. This present request by Pakistan is on the basis of rehashed "facts" that contain rejected and stale arguments bolstered up by the pot-pourri of mendacious statements spiced with malice and hatred that is the stock-in-trade of Pakistan. This time the application has been rendered further stringent by a threat of adoption of other measures "if the U.N. does not accede to Pakistan's demand for other people's territories. A military adventure on the part of Pakistan is not unlikely, closely associated as she is with another totally unscrupulous and militarily strong country like Red China. Let us hope our Defence department has taken steps in time.

India's reply to the Pakistani letter written by her Foreign Minister Mr. Z. A. Bhutto requesting a meeting of the Security Council, as given by Mr. B. N. Chakravarty, India's Chief U. N. delegate, contained a warning that the discussions in the Council with charges and counter-charges will only enhance the tension of the communal situation. India charged Pakistan with making these moves for the purpose of diverting attention away from the tragic occurrences of the recent large-scale disturbances in East Pakistan which had inflicted heavy losses in life and property on the minority community in that territory. Further it was a propaganda move in concert with Pakistan's campaign of malice and hatred against India.

Pakistani complaints about the integration of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union were dismissed with the statement that the inter-relationship between the Union and the State was purely an internal matter. Mr. Chakravarti referred to earlier Indian replies to similar Pakistani complaints and said that nothing had happened in the matter of constitutional arrangements between the Union and Kashmir to support even remotely the Pakistani allegations

about a tense and critical situation. It was further stated that the relationship between Kashmir and the Indian Union was purely an internal matter and was governed by the Indian constitution and any change within the framework of the Constitutional arrangements would make no change in the status of Jammu and Kashmir as a constituent State of the Indian Union.

Pakistan had been seeking opportunities during some months past for creating difficulties and an atmosphere of crisis in Kashmir. The Chaknot incidents and the cutting off of water supplies to Baramulla which fed the hydel generators at Poonch were typical examples. In both of these the U.N. observers had awarded the decision of violations against Pakistan.

Similarly the disappearance of the sacred relic of the Prophet from Hazratbal in Kashmir, which caused serious concern all over the Indian Union, was used in an attempt to incite communal tension and violent anti-Indian propaganda. The demonstrations in Kashmir which demanded that the Government of India should take charge of the investigations into the theft and help in the recovery of the relic were made out to be anti-Indian demonstrations in Mr. Bhutto's letter. The truth was that despite all attempts by Pakistan to exploit the incident to stir up the people through malicious and mendacious propaganda, the communal amity between different religious groups of the Kashmiri population remained undisturbed.

Pakistan's mischievous attempt to give the theft a communal trend was centred on attributing the theft to non-Muslims had not an iota of truth to back it. But carried away with the eagerness to vent their malice on India, the Pakistani leaders, even at the highest level, made the wildest statements which were amplified by the Pakistani Press and Radio which poured out torrents of venomous lies against India and the non-Muslim communities. This had disastrous consequences the letter stated, in East Pakistan, which alone of the two wings has a substantial population belonging to the minority community.

The Indian letter quoted a Reuter re-

port from Dacca, attributed to authoritative sources such as an American Peace Corps nurse and some diplomatic persons, to the effect that 1000 persons had been killed in Dacca alone in the communal riots. The letter further said :

"The immediate pre-occupation of the Government of India—and we feel that should equally be the main preoccupation of the Government of Pakistan—is to control these communal disturbances and give full protection to the life and property of all its citizens. Despite the tragic happenings in East Pakistan, the Home Minister of India and the Chief Minister of West Bengal have more than once affirmed the determination to protect all citizens of India irrespective of religion and creed from vandalism and organised disturbances".

India is a secular State and a home of 50 million Muslims as well as of several million citizens professing other faiths—Christianity, Buddhism, Sikhism and Zoroastrianism—all of whom enjoy complete equality of rights under the Constitution of India.

"The Indian Government is determined, irrespective of what happens in Pakistan, that there shall be no violation of rights and of security of person and property anywhere in India of any citizen to whatever religious or minority group he may belong and has taken and will continue to take, wherever necessary, sternest measures required to enforce this policy and to prevent any further repercussions in India.

"The Government of India hopes that the Pakistan authorities will, by their policies and actions in their territory, assist in this effort", the letter said.

The Indian letter then noted the Indian Government's appeal to the Indian Press and the mass media in reporting the news from East Pakistan and their response "in the most responsible manner" to this appeal, and the moderation and restraint shown by East Pakistan's Press of late and contrasted it with the hate-India campaign in the West Pakistan Press and its most reckless and irresponsible headlines depicting completely a false picture of alleged disturbances in India.

"The Government of India deeply regret that the Government of Pakistan do not appear to have made any effort to restrain the West Pakistan Press", the letter said.

The letter said that unfortunately, Pakistan's response to the Indian President's message had been negative and the Indian Government's most practical and constructive suggestions had been ignored by the Pakistan Government.

Mr. Chakravarti said :

"Instead of responding positively to the constructive suggestions made by the Government of India, the Government of Pakistan have chosen to adopt an agitational approach.

"The primary need of the hour is harmony and peace between the two countries which can only be settled in a climate of peace. India stands by its offer that the two Governments should put their heads together to devise ways and means to bring about an atmosphere of communal amity. Once a better atmosphere prevails, it may be possible to discuss the differences which have bedevilled the relations between the two countries. India has no desire but to live at peace and in friendly and co-operative relations with Pakistan and will, despite provocations, continue to work to this end", the letter added.

The Security Council is meeting, nevertheless, at the beginning of February.

In Africa there was trouble and bloodshed in several of the newly freed States, particularly in Zanzibar, The Congo and the State of Rwanda. In Zanzibar a coup led by a Cuba-trained and Uganda born African styled "Field-Marshal" Okello with his 600 man army toppled over the Government established barely a month back. The Sultan Seyyid Jamshid bin Abdulla fled out of the country in a yacht. The new Government had not really settled down at the time of writing these, though a whole host of Communist countries have accorded recognition to it, inclusive of Moscow and Red China. In the looting and bloodshed that followed the coup in Zanzibar, the sufferers were Arabs and Indians. In the Congo a new revolt, said to be also Com-

munist inspired and equipped, broke out in the Kwilu province about 250 miles east of Leopoldville. Government troops reinforcements are in action there against the tribal guerrillas. In Rwanda ancient tribal animosities have broken out in a savage massacre of over 6000 men, women and children of the former ruling tribe who were in a minority, numbering only 250,000 to the majority of 1,500,000 of the other tribe. The two tribes are the Bahutu who were numerically superior to the extent of six to one but being more primitive were ruled for centuries by the Watutsi a picturesque tribe of giants whose average height was above 6 ft 6 inches. In 1960 the Belgians, who had colonised the area, held elections by which the Bahutu wrested power from the Watutsi and turned the table on their former lords and masters. After Rwanda got independence in July 1962, over a third of the Watutsi migrated into Tanganyika, Uganda, Burundi and the Kivu province of the Congo, to escape the savage reprisals of the Bahutu. But the warlike Watutsi were not subdued by their misfortunes and they thirsted for revenge.

Bands of raiders attacked Bahutu villages at night. Just before the end of 1963 large scale incursions by thousands of Watutsi from three neighbouring countries took place. They penetrated to within a few miles of the Rwanda Capital, Kigali, and a bloody battle had to be fought before they were finally repulsed. Then started the tribal massacre by hordes of Bahutu warriors of those Watutsi, men, women and children, who had not migrated. The massacres are being carried on with the brutal savagery of primitive Africans.

The heads of twelve other Arab States met in Cairo for a prolonged meeting and discussion in response to a call from President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The call was for all the 13 Arab States to discuss and determine a course of unified action against the Israeli plan for the diversion of the Jordan River into the Negev desert for irrigation. But prior to the determination of the plan of action a tremendous amount of accumulated ill-will and animus as

between these Arab States had to be eliminated. Long private sessions followed and to the surprise of foreign observers that seemingly impossible task was accomplished. There was agreement between Nasser and his erstwhile bitter enemies, King Saud of Saudi Arabia and King Hussein of Jordan, much to the delight of President Sallal of Yemen; Morocco's king Hassan II and Algier's Ahmed ben Bella agreed to settle their boundary dispute through mediation and so on and so forth. A unified plan of action, with a unified army under the Supreme Command of Egypt's Lieut. General Ali Amer, has been settled for the diversion of the head waters of the Jordan by regulating the flow of four tributaries of the Jordan that flow through Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Israel has received the news of this decision with defiance, and an armed conflict is not impossible.

In Central America, the Panama Canal Zone has been witnessing disturbances and bloodshed by American forces, the victims being mostly panamaians. It started with Juvenile delinquency on the part of pampered American school boys and now the U.S. is in a morally awkward impasse.

The Riots

It is difficult as yet to present a coherent picture of the disturbances in Calcutta and the areas in neighbouring districts of West Bengal. The official "press notes" issued from time to time contained no final summing up for obvious reasons. Indeed the problem before the administration in West Bengal is to control the reaction of the local people of those areas, which have large numbers of "refugee settlers", to the stories of atrocities in East Pakistan perpetrated by the majority population and to the visual evidence of the unfortunate sufferers that are coming into West Bengal. It is evident that the possibilities of repercussions—on a minor scale though they might be—cannot be completely ruled out.

What our friends in the other provinces are possibly unaware of is that in Calcutta, both in the metropolitan and the industrial areas, there is a very large immigrant popu-

lation who have come into the City and the mill-areas to earn their livelihood. Together with them have come a fairly considerable number of **goondas** and **budmashes** who have a considerable following amongst the casual-labour population. And then there are the root-less peoples who had to leave East Pakistan under duress and nurse the resentment generated thereby, who have settled in large and populous "Colonies" on the outskirts of Calcutta and in the neighbouring districts. Lastly of course there are the tens of thousands of unemployed youth, who are always ready to indulge in rowdy and undisciplined demonstration on the least provocation. All these, particularly the last two sections of the population, are highly inflammable material and likely to react violently under circumstances like those that prevailed when streams of stricken people, in hundreds and thousands, started coming into West Bengal, to seek shelter and refuge, from East Pakistan.

There has been a lot of criticism of our police forces for their inability to control the rioters and their lack of firmness in pinching out the disturbances right at the beginning. But to the best of our knowledge there is not a single unit of riot-trained police with proper equipment at the disposal of either the Commissioner of Police or the Inspector General of Police. The police forces even in normal times have their work cut out to control and direct the straggling traffic channels, to keep law and order amongst the very large rowdy elements amongst the immigrant population and to keep in check those whose actions and reactions are not guided by reason. So in the case of a sudden outburst of rioting over a large and scattered area the police become helpless unless large reinforcements are available. The move for an augmentation of the armed police force is probably based on the consideration of such emergencies. Considering all these the police deserve more credit than has been given.

The riots this time consisted in the main of arson and looting. In many areas where large scale conflagrations took place the arson did not follow mass mob action.

It was rather the surreptitious work of incendiaries. It was hinted that some of the incendiaries. It was hinted that some of the bustees being on lands that are worth any—depending on the locality—these nefarious "fire-bugs" might have been employed by interested parties. In a few spots the mob attacked shops and then after looting spread destruction and fire. The fire-brigade fought these sudden conflagrations with great determination and devotion to duty, despite handicaps of insufficient supply of water in certain areas to which was added a grievous shortage of machines and personnel. To this force the administration and the citizens owe a debt of gratitude.

The army took over eight of the twenty seven police areas of Calcutta proper. There is no doubt that the firm action and close watch instituted by the army was instrumental in cutting short the frenzy of the irresponsible elements and thus extinguishing the riotous disturbances. They released large sections of the police who had the onerous job of apprehending the **goondas** in thousands and searching for and the recovery of loot.

The actual amount of material damage is not very great, if the scale and the widespread nature of the disturbances be taken into consideration. But the psychological damage seemed to be very great at the beginning. Luckily the firm and stern measures taken to put down lawlessness has had its effect on the panicky sections of the people. There are signs of normalcy returning in respect of confidence in the attitude and the capacity of the administration in respect of such disturbances.

Lastly it must be pointed out that both with regard to looting and attacks, on innocent citizens and their families, the sufferers belonged to all sections of the community, particularly in such areas where habitual miscreants tried to break down law and order to satisfy their greed for loot.

But as has been remarked at the beginning, the full story cannot be narrated, for the simple reason that Pakistan is still trying to fan communal flames with total disregard for consequences.

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

THE SIXTYEIGHTH ANNUAL CONGRESS

Ms. Nehru's Illness

What would seem to lend more than ordinary significance to the Bhubaneswar session of the Indian National Congress was not so much what has been described as the self-balancing feat of the Party there—remarkable though it undoubtedly was—but the unmistakable although admittedly tragic manner in which it demonstrated to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru what his immediate next step should be. It was really Panditji's health which, understandably enough, was found to have caused far greater concern to most of those who had assembled for this plenary session of the Congress, than even the future of socialism in the country which caused such unprecedented controversy and a measure of bitter bickering between different wings of the Party leadership. To the dispassionate observer with a sense of history, the most crucial lesson of the Bhubaneswar Congress is for Mr. Nehru to take the most difficult, almost the most heroic decision of his life, that of stepping aside from his pedestal of office and not to continue any longer to let things just be. The decision, one recognizes, would not be an easy one and would call for the utmost courage of dispassionate self-analysis. Nevertheless it should not be impossible for Shri Nehru to admit to himself that he can do no good to himself but a world of harm to the country and her people he claims to so passionately love, by continuing to carry the burdens of office upon his shoulders which, in the inescapable process of natural wastage, has inevitably lost a great deal of its wonted resilience and strength. He could still continue to guide the destinies of the nation without having to carry the dead weight of the administration upon his visibly weakened and inevitably deteriorating physical resources. The nation, on its part, owes it to itself, to provide him the rest and the relaxation which he must be acknowledged to have earned so well and which he now so richly deserves.

That he has not seemed so far to have realised this urgent need may well be for the reason that he has not yet had adequate time after his recent bout of illness to gather together his mental and moral resources necessary for arriving at a final decision and, perhaps, not so much because he may consider himself indispensable to the Government. For no one with a sense of history would consider any human being, however highly placed, as indispensable. There is likewise the equally difficult decision on the question of succession. The redrafting of Lalbahadur Shastri to the Central Cabinet so soon after he had left it in obedience to the demands of the Kamraj Plan—as speculated upon by certain sections of opinion both within and outside the country—may or may not have been done with deliberate intent to making him ready for the succession, but that a possible successor should have to be found with due expedition if Mr. Nehru has to be spared for continuing service to his people for yet awhile, is a decision which should brook no avoidable delay.

The Congress proceedings

The proceedings at this session of the Congress were admittedly somewhat unusual and of which forebodings were already available during the preceding session of the All India Congress Committee held in Jaipur in November last. The Jaipur Session of the A.I.C.C. proved quite a controversial one on the Party's concept of democratic socialism which made the High Command cautious enough not to have, contrary to traditional practice, finally formulated its resolution to be placed before the ensuing plenary session. All that the Jaipur A.I.C.C. meetings did was to adopt a note on the subject leaving the task of framing the official resolution later.

The Draft Resolution

The Draft Resolution on the subject, which was actually framed by a sub-committee of the

Working Committee in New Delhi on New Year's Eve and was headed by Mr. Nehru himself was, more or less, a reiteration of the Jaipur Note, except for the addition of four new points, which set before the country the goal of providing the masses with their basic needs in respect of food, clothing, housing, education and health, by the end of the Fifth Plan period. The new paragraphs added included, first, a demand for a limitation of private property and income, secondly, control of credit, thirdly for the taking over by the State of agricultural produce and processing industries and, finally, for administrative reforms. Of these additions to the resolution, the second one, relating to the control of credit caused, perhaps, the longest and the most bitter controversy. In the actual draft it was cautiously worded to the effect that the Government should be in a position "to more effectively direct the means of credit and investible resources along the lines of national priority and (our) social purposes" but this obviously did not wholly satisfy the opposition in the Subjects Committee who demanded that the resolution should categorically demand outright nationalization of Banks. The clauses in the resolution, first to advocate the fixation of a ceiling on private property and income, especially inherited wealth and urban property, and suggesting that the State should "secure a larger share of capital gains and appropriate a much larger proportion of unearned income than at present" and, secondly, the one calling upon the State to take over the operation of rice mills and other units to process agricultural produce progressively, seemed to have caused a spate of opposition from the group who are generally described as being in the 'right' of the Party.

What is significant in this context is that the measure of controversy over these clauses in the resolution although unprecedented as indicated by some 64 amendments originally proposed in the Subjects Committee including a parallel draft resolution to replace the official one, it was nevertheless adopted unanimously at the end and was presented as such to the later plenary session. Of the 64 amendments all but one were withdrawn by the proposers and the only one that was actually moved failed to find even one single supporter to second it. Nevertheless the controversy over these clashing points of view raged long and bitter and it was indeed a

self-balancing feat of an unusual character that enabled the Committee to get through its original official resolution without any change or mutilation whatsoever. This may, in a sense, be said to have shown up in sharp relief both the strength and weakness of the Congress Party thinking, more than anything else had done during the recent past. There was, however, a concessional gesture, if one were to regard this as such, in that the High Command agreed to an amendment of Art. I of the Congress Constitution to incorporate the achievement of socialism as the primary objective of the Party which was, perhaps, a sop to those who wanted to move far faster in this direction than has so far been possible and whose impatience in this behalf caused all the controversy and bitterness—happily resolved in the end—over the official resolution.

The strength of the Party High Command was also demonstrated in ample measure in another manner, that is in the election of seven members to the Party Working Committee. The Working Committee consists of 21 members including the President, of whom 7 are elected by the A.I.C.C. at the plenary session and the rest nominated by the President at his discretion. Originally seventeen members filed their nominations for these seven offices but the eve-of-polling withdrawals reduced them to thirteen. The seven actually elected cannot be said to be either of the extreme "right" or the "left." Thus Morarji Desai and K. D. Malaviya have both been ruthlessly eliminated and if S. K. Patil may be held to belong to the dead "centre" with rather a "rightish" hue, so can Bijou Pattanaik be regarded to be one in the "centre" with a distinctive "left" colouring. In fact Bijou Pattanaik it was who was most vociferous in his demands for the straightforward and outright nationalization of banks and it seems to be mainly at his instance that the clause relating to the proposal for the State to take over rice mills and other agricultural processing industries was included in the resolution.

Strength or Weakness?

One is not quite sure, however, judging from the ultimate and happy fate of the official resolution on democracy and socialism, if it really indicates any basic weakness or strength of the

Party as such. On the face of it, it would seem, that counsels of moderation prevailed and the official resolution, although it contained at least two crucial clauses of highly questionable wisdom, could be made to be accepted in the form it was originally presented. But judging by the apparently overwhelming measure of opinion on the extreme left as indicated by the many originally suggested amendments including a wholly parallel one of an extreme nature—which has been quite unprecedented throughout sixty-eight years of Congress history as Morarji Desai so aptly pointed out—one is not quite sure what all this may ultimately portend. It is obvious that the present official leadership of the Party is yet organizationally strong enough to be able to effectively suborn the opposition, however vociferous or numerically strong, but it does not seem clear enough as yet as to how far their present rather stale and static thinking may be able to keep down the growingly robust hold that is visibly being increasingly taken of opposition thinking by the modern jargons of so-called revolutionary socio-economic thinking. If their so-called thinking is, in most part, an amalgam of mere catch phrases and slogans without much of a constructive content, the thinking of the official leadership, likewise, would seem to be a mere battery of counter-catchwords and shibboleths without any very deep content of constructive thinking as well. It would seem almost obvious that the present Congress leadership on either side of the centre has been suffering from a paralyzing thought-famine which, perhaps, is the only reason why the so-called self-balancing feat of achieving unanimity on a resolution despite irreconcilable view-points on its contents was at all possible.

External Policy

In sharp contrast to the controversy over the manner in which a majority of speakers in the Subjects Committee expressed their impatience and, sometimes, even anger over the contents of Congress socialism, which even the amendment of Article I of the Constitution of the Party declaring the objective to be the establishment of a socialist State based upon parliamentary democracy, to replace its earlier constitutional aim of establishing a socialistic co-operative commonwealth, failed wholly to appease, the

Party's resolution on international affairs proved to be a comparatively tame affair and caused no controversy whatever even when a speaker sought to interpret non-alignment as mere non-involvement. It is true that the steering committee took over two and a half hours before it could agree upon the draft resolution that was ultimately brought up before the Subjects Committee, but most of the differences were reported to have centred only around the phrasology of the draft and not around its spirit and not even in respect of its emphasis. One significant fact so far as this resolution was concerned was that while Morarji Desai from the far "right" moved the resolution, it was seconded by V. K. Krishna Menon who is generally supposed to belong to the farthest "left" of the Party leadership. What this may really auger it may be difficult to assess at this juncture; it may very well mean that both the right and left wings of the Party are at least in full accord with one another in this field or it may equally be that strategy of the left wing was to concentrate all its fire upon the framing of the Party's policy so far as its socialist objectives were concerned and extend its fullest co-operation to the other wing so far as matters of lesser importance to itself were concerned.

Congress Socialism

The principal features of the programme for attainment of the socialist objectives of the Congress that have to be "fully implemented" are, according to the resolution, the achievement of "an economy of abundance, equal opportunities for even one and a just share in the fruits of progress and elimination of privilege, disparities and exploitation." A modern apparatus of production, planned economic development without widening existing income disparities and a national minimum comprising the essential requirements in respect of food, clothing, housing, education and health, as speedily as possible, are among the other important postulates of the resolution.

The resolution also calls for a *limitation of incomes and property in private hands*, the State to *more effectively direct the means of credit and investible resources of the country* along lines of national priorities and the *progressive growth of the public sector*.

Workers' participation in management, successful operation of controls to check prices, incentive to farmers, State take-over of rice mills and other agricultural processing units and speedy implementation of land reforms schemes, have also been included as features of the resolution.

It is significant that although Shri Bijou Pattanaik, who seconded the official resolution of the Party on democracy and socialism in the Subjects Committee, declared that nationalization of banks "was essential for socialist development of the country," the text of the resolution itself does not include any specific provision in this regard except for the rather wide and vaguely worded directive that the "State should more effectively direct the means of credit and investable resources of the country along the lines of national priorities and the progressive growth of the private sector." It is significant, however, that Mr. Pattanaik's other important thesis that the creditworthiness of a small entrepreneur should be assessed not on the basis of his assets but on that of his capacity for production, appears to have found place in the text of the official resolution finally adopted by the Party.

Inocuous and humdrum?

On the face of it, the official resolution on democracy and Socialism, as finally adopted, would seem to merely more or less reiterate its traditional stand on the subject and, but for a few important additions here and there, would seem to be quite as innocuous and humdrum as on previous occasions. Thus, for instance, the inclusion of the provision for the State to take over agricultural produce and processing units, is a new and important one although having regard to the fundamental changes already envisaged and, in very large measure implemented, in regard to the basic land tenure system in the country, this could not be regarded as entirely a new departure. Then, there is the clause regarding fixing a ceiling on private income and property which is another important part of the official resolution. Here also no new departure from earlier policies can be seen, for determining a ceiling on incomes and property in private hands has been talked about almost ad nauseum from the very beginning of Congress rule over the country, although the matter, as far as I can recall, cannot be said to have ever before been officially included in a resolution passed by a plenary session of the Party. Nor also have the Government of the country been known to endeavour to implement the policy in actual effect and while the Government and the Party from which

they have been drawn have continued to swear by socialism and the elimination of income and property disparities they have, in actual effect, been progressively and overwhelmingly widening over the last twelve years and more of planned development of the economy. If now the Party may have been invested with a sense of urgency in this matter, it does not seem to have been reflected in correspondingly adequate measure upon the resolution affecting this part. Then, again, the part of the resolution that calls for a national minimum in respect of such basic needs as food, clothing, housing, education and health within a specified period dead-line is, in itself, no new and fundamental departure from earlier policies in this regard, although the emphasis and the spelling out of a specific time-limit for its achievement which was first mooted in the earlier Jaipur A.I.C.C. session, may be regarded as a new one. Nevertheless this may mean no more than mere wishful thinking on the part of the Party and may have been included in the official spelling out of Party objectives at the Bhubaneswar Congress for, perhaps, no other reason except for the purpose of endeavouring to counter the growing discontent and impatience of the country. For it is demonstrable, and it is difficult to believe that the Party and its leadership are not aware of this fact, that the state of development-planning today, even without taking into account the large and almost paralyzing failures of the Third Plan as are now officially admitted by the Planning Commission and Government alike, simply do not make it probable, nor even possible, that progress in the economy that can, even with the utmost effort and resources at the disposal of the country today, be achieved by the end of the Fifth Plan period, in the measure which would yield the necessary wherewithals for achieving this so-called "national minimum." Although this minimum has not been specifically spelt out in the resolution except in rather vague terms, if this were to mean an income, computed in terms of constant prices, of not less than Rs. 100 per mensem per family of 5 as recently postulated by Shri Shriman Narayan, Member of the Planning Commission, in course of an address to a students' seminar in Bombay, it is simply not possible to achieve this level of income (in real terms, of course), even if the projections of the Fourth and the Fifth Plans as included in the Third Plan document were to be fully realised in actual effect. Not that Rs. 100 per family of 5 would buy the basic minimum requirements stated in the resolution. On present prices food grains alone for a family of 5 would cost very nearly Rs. 50 per mensem even if the

more overwhelming proportion of the family's need in this behalf were to be covered by the cheaper wheat. Housing, even in the most putrid slums would cost no less than Rs. 25 per mensem in semi-urban areas and, in any case, not less than Rs. 10 in villages. Clothing at a basic minimum of 9 yards per head per annum of the coarsest variety would cost no less than Rs. 7 per mensem and schooling, even at a free primary school could not cost less than Rs. 2 per child per month which, assuming the 5 in the family to consist of 3 school-going children, would cost no less than another Rs. 6. If the cost on health has to be kept down to a nominal amount, the family's food must consist of a reasonable proportion of milk and other proteins, fats, sugar, some vegetables, fruits, etc., in such proportions as would cover a daily intake of even as little as 1,800 calories (minimum requirements in this behalf for healthy living is computed by competent medical and nutritional experts are placed at not less than 3,000 calories, it should be underlined), would cost the family nothing less than another Rs. 50 per mensem at present prices. It should be clear on the face of it, therefore, that although Rs. 100 per mensem per family of 5 would be far too inadequate to attain a healthy national minimum of living standards, it is far too optimistic to expect that even this inadequate little would be within the limits of practical realisation by the end of the Fifth Plan period. Merely passing resolutions and delivering scathing denunciations of the Government and the Party leadership are not, patently, going to be of much practical value. If, therefore, the much boosted Congress resolution on democracy and socialism, in spite of verbal departures from earlier tradition, were to be regarded as merely humdrum and innocuous, one should not be regarded as being either too critical or too carping.

A Public Relations Resolution

In fact it would not be far wrong to regard the resolution as a whole, together with all the rather vitriolic controversy that preceded its final adoption as it was originally drafted and approved by the steering committee, as nothing more serious than a virtuously shaped public relations stunt. The Congress Government's essays in very expensive "socialistic planning" has neither yielded adequate results in terms of net advance in terms of rise in the national income, nor has it eliminated or even visibly reduced income and wealth disparities. On the contrary indications are not wanting that the latter have very substantially widened as compared to their

level before launching planned development under Government aegis, although factual assessments thereof have yet to be made available to the public. The following excerpts from a contribution to the recently issued Bhubaneswar Congress special issue of the official party organ of the Congress, the "*A.I.C.C. Economic Review*" by one who is obviously a party member, would be both interesting and revealing :

"As a result of the efforts at planning," says this document, "national income of India has risen by about 42 per cent during the period 1950-51 to 1960-61. After accounting for a 22 per cent rise in the population, we get an impression that the *per capita* income has risen by about 15 per cent in ten years. The rate of growth at 1.5 per cent per annum cannot give much of a consolation on our performance; but more painful is the situation when we question ourselves about the extent of improvement in the standards of living for the majority of the Indian population.

"It is a matter of common knowledge that whenever there are inflationary tendencies in an economy and there is existence of disparities in the ownership of wealth and property, the poorer sections stand to lose and the richer sections to gain. The gains would be in the same ratio as would be the degree of disparities in ownership of property, since the value of the property would rise at the rate at which prices rise; and the loss to the poor, since purchasing power of their available income would decline, would be by the degree of rise in the price level.

"During the first decade of planning in India (1950-51 to 1960-61) there has been virtually no change in the occupational structure i.e., dependence upon agriculture by nearly 67 per cent of the population remains as it was. It also means the same rate of growth of population in the agricultural sector as in the non-agricultural one. The index of agricultural production has risen by about 40 per cent whereas index of industrial production has risen by nearly 94.3 per cent. If one accounts for population growth one may roughly say that the *per capita* income of the agricultural sector has increased by about 14 per cent whereas of the industrial sector by 68 per cent i.e., by nearly five times. Cost of living index during this period rose by about 23 per cent (from 101 to 124). After accounting for this, one can easily imagine how disparities in income levels, even broadly, must have widened further. But the situation is not correctly described until we also mention that most of the increased incomes within the industrial sector accrue to a very small percentage of industrialists (emphasis ours)". This is an indictment

or planning as it was eventuated during the last decade and the kind of *socialistic* advance that would appear to have been achieved thereby by a member of the ruling party.

One should, therefore, take care to underline what the present Congress resolution on democracy, inspite of what may be ordinarily regarded as its revolutionary addenda, may mean in practical terms.

The Public Sector

One of the clauses of the resolution includes the words "progressive growth of the public sector" and on of the insistent demands of the opposition in the Subjects Committee led by Bijou Pattanaik was categorical inclusion of the demand for nationalization of banks in the terms of the resolution. The growth already evinced by the public sector in the national economy would be evident from the fact that while in the first two Plans, the proportion of aggregate investment in the public sector has been only above half the total new investment, in the Third Plan the public Sector's share has assumed a proportion of well over 75 per cent of the total. Besides, the sphere of the public sector has also been progressively widened over the Plan years and the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, which was, in effect, a restatement of the Government's policies in this behalf, was a virtual departure, not merely in degree, but also in fundamentals from the earlier policy statement contained in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948. Although there has so far been no further officially adumbrated amendment of the 1956 industrial policy of the Government so far as the operation and jurisdiction of the public sector is concerned, recent trends go to show that the public sector has also been endeavouring to increasingly invade the consumer sector of industry which, it was initially decided, would remain the exclusive domain of the private sector.

What the public sector has to show for this increasing appropriation of national and borrowed capital resources is a question which should, in this context, be carefully examined. In the key and strategic industries' sector, for instance, inspite of the massive investments so far made in the public sector steel industry for one, the results, so far, in production yields have only been infinitesimal compared to the already laid down capacity. Further expansion of the public sector steel plants at massive outlay of capital in both national currency and foreign exchange, as well as the establishment of at least one more 4 million ton steel plant have been included in the periority projects of the Third Plan and yet it

is now quite clear that the country's dependence on imported steel will continue to rise over the corresponding period. In the coal industry again, the performances of the public sector have been tragically far below the targets envisaged in the Second Plan and there is hardly any doubt that the increased targets of the current Plan in this industry will remain equally dismally unfulfilled. Some realism has begun to be recently evinced by Government by a certain measure of indirect assistance that they have at last been willing to extend to the private sector in the coal industry. Examples could be multiplied to show that the performances of the public sector, so far, in the crucial industries' sectors have been far below expectations originally held out and, especially, in the domain of power production capacity, the public sector's failures have demonstrably affected the production pace of the private sector in large measure.

In fact the mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan recently assayed by the Planning Commission goes to show that inspite of investments in this sector having aggregated, during the first two years of the Plan, to somewhere around fifty per cent of the estimated investment over the entire Plan period, results so far eventuated in terms of progress in the rise of the national income have been of the order of only about 15 per cent of expectations. What is more, according to the Plannig Commission, the likely investment appropriations of the entire Third Plan period would aggregate somewhere above 93 per cent of total estimates in this behalf for the public sector, although the Commission have, it seems with deliberate intent, desisted from giving any estimate of possible yields in terms of increase in the national income that could now be realistically expected, over the entire Plan period. According to some eminent economists, the pace of increase in the national income during the remaining Plan period could not be expected to exceed a rate of approximately 3.5 per cent per annum. A more optimistic school of economists, however, place this rate at an optimum of 4.5 per cent provided, of course, more increased and integrated effort were brought to the implementation of the Plan during the remaining years of the Plan. Even if this latter figure were to be accepted as possibly realistic—and there is considerable doubt if that is really so—the aggregate rise in the national income over the entire Third Plan period would not be likely to exceed just about 18 per cent against the originally envisaged 36 per cent in the Plan. In other words, with a more than 93 per cent investment, the likely yield of the Plan in terms of advance in the national income could not be expected to exceed

only just about 50 per cent of original expectation! There could be no more scathing indictment of the public sector in the present Indian economy than this. The immense wastefulness of its operation is all too obvious to need further elucidation. It would be interesting to note what a celebrated Congress man says in this context: "But if we ask ourselves a question," he says, "what per centage of the nation's production is generated in the public sector, we would realise that the task ahead is tremendous and all this zeal of congratulating ourselves over the fast-expanding public sector would be put in the right perspective."

Nationalization of Banks

It is in this context that the insistent demand, from certain very vociferous sections of the Party, for the nationalization of Banks has to be especially assessed. The talk of nationalization of the banking institutions in the country has been in the air for quite some time and even a categorical demand was voiced in this behalf in Parliament at its last session. The present demand for including this in the Party and the Government's immediate programmes would seem to have stemmed from a desire to have control over all the credit institutions of the country, so that there would be larger control over capital resources and their deployment than the Government have at present. While not agreeing to go so far as to include a plan for nationalization of banks categorically in the official resolution even such a usually conservative and balanced man as Lalbahadur Shastri had, while moving the resolution in the Subjects Committee, went so far as to say that "nationalization was considered necessary for increase in production, reduction of imports, removal of disparities and end of monopolies. Disparities" Shastri conceded, "would stay but socialist measures (he seemed obviously to have meant this to include nationalization of banks as well) were expected to minimize their intensity" how, he did not, of course, care to explain.

Bijou Pattanaik, who seemed to have played a very active role in developing this demand within the Party and, especially in the High Command who, he claimed were convinced "of the need to nationalize the banking industry in India," was reported to have said that "five business houses controlled the banking industry which had only Rs. 38 crores of share capital and Rs. 1,480 crores of depositors' money. These five business houses controlled 1,600 industrial units. There was interlocking of finance and the

vast amount of the depositors' money was largely used for the benefit of their industries.

"Nationalization of banks," Pattanaik said, "would not curb the operations of the private sector. Nationalized banks would instead offer finance to thousands of small entrepreneurs to thrive in industrial ventures thus breaking monopoly interests."

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, while speaking at the Subjects Committee meeting on the resolution seemed to have struck a diversionary note when while avoiding being categorical on the subject of nationalization of banks. He said that the real "danger lay in rising prices and unaccounted money. If these could be controlled," he was reported to have added, "many of the ills facing the country could be remedied. Regarding credit facilities, nationalization of banks would not augment credit. The State Bank now controlled 30 per cent of credit. The Union Government had plans to start a Development Bank. The Government would then have control over 50 per cent of credit.

In fact, a realistic note was sought to be introduced by an industrialist member who pointed out that the banks in the country between them made a gross profit of only about Rs. 25 crores in a year and after meeting all their statutory obligations are left with a net amount of only about Rs. 4 crores for appropriation. This is too insignificant a sum for nationalization of banks to be worthwhile to the nation. But the meeting did not seem to be in a mood to listen to counsels of wisdom.

The problem so far as credit is concerned is not the extent of it that is controlled by the organized credit institutions like banks. The banks are already under a considerable measure of regulatory control so far as the lending of credits to their clients is concerned and the extent of this control as well its nature may, at any time, be widened or amended whenever the need may arise. It can hardly be accepted that the banks are responsible for the obviously rising speculative pressures in the market, especially in the essential consumer sectors which are generally supposed to be responsible for correspondingly increasing price pressures. It is well known that there is a vast unorganized sector of the money market operating in the country without any kind of physical or constitutional inhibition on its operations which, generally makes vast credits available for speculative operations and which, in their turn, spiral up the price level. According to a statement of the Union Finance Minister some time ago, this unorganized and virtually uncontrollable sector of the money market is in control of credits as large as the entire organized

sector as a whole, and unless ways and means can be devised to curb its operations, the hope of a stable price structure and all that it denotes would continue to be belied. Mr. Krishnamachari has spoken of the need for public discipline to enable this to be achieved and we have no doubt that he is materially right. The difficulty is that there is no known methods of inculcating public discipline in such matters that may be expected to be really effective.

Actual physical control of the banks by the public sector would, on the other hand, be altogether a most reprehensible measure. We have already acquired a considerable measure of experience of Government's control over one very important and organized sector of credit industry, we mean life insurance. Nationalization of life insurance, so far, does not seem to have improved matters so far as its public dealings are concerned in comparison with the earlier regime. The element of security to the individual insured may have improved to a certain extent in so far as the assurance is there by implication that being under public management, the insured would not be deprived of his legitimate dues. But, by and large, Indian life insurance except in certain isolated instances, continued to give a very good account of the public trust reposed in it, both by way of security to the policyholder as well as in the contents of efficient and prompt service to him. If there have been instances of the element of security not being all it should have been, the fault was not so much that of the industry as a whole but really that of the Government who by their lapses had failed to ensure conformation to statutory requirements by certain cases of unscrupulous managements, enabling them to victimize their policyholders with impunity. On the other hand since nationalization, we have heard of innumerable complaints, many of which we found were wholly substantial, of the very inadequate and inefficient service that policyholders generally can now expect from this organization, but also that organizationally a great deal of nepotism and jobbery has been undermining the very basic strength of the industry as a whole. The management of the Life Insurance Corporation no doubt go into self-congratulatory peans over its successful progress in writing far larger quantities of new business every year than ever before, but if this were to be set off against the equally increasing incidence of new business and renewal lapses—of which unfortunately no up-to-date and detailed accounts are available—and of accrued but pending claims, much of this progress would seem to have been extravagant wasteful-

ness. Even the payment of a due premium has been made so cumbrous and time-consuming that if there were any alternatives available even with a considerable attenuation of the security element, the Life Insurance Corporation would soon be out of business. It is an outstanding example of the evils of a monopoly in more ways than have already been related. For instance the investment policies of the premier life insurance companies before nationalization always included schemes to invest in housebuilding loans to policy holders on very reasonable terms and over the years many middle class families have been enabled to build and own houses which they could not otherwise hope to do. True, the L.I.C. has recently announced resumption of such investments now, but the rate of interest now decided to be charged is so high that there will be likely to be a very few takers, if any at all at this ruinously high cost. There is, indeed, not the least justification for such a high rate of interest except that the Corporation may perhaps, invest its funds equally profitably elsewhere, although we have our gravest doubts if any legitimate borrower will even find it worth his while to borrow money, against sound and redeemable security, at as high a cost as 7.5 per cent per annum. There is hardly any business in the country except, perhaps, that of the black-marketeer, that is found to yield such a high rate of net profit on the investment. Besides, it is the policyholder's money that would thus be lent to him, and if the premium charged to him is constructed on an interest base of only 3 per cent, there does not seem to be any legitimate reason why he should be made to pay a 150 per cent more for using it to his own advantage and to that of the Corporation alike.

The fear is not unreal that if banks were to be included within public sector management, much the same confusion, nepotism and jobbery would also be the inevitable outcome. Besides, the banker's job is a highly specialized and a technical one. Pitchforking people into the controlling authority of such institutions without adequate previous experience or training in the mechanics of banking and the operations of the credit market might jeopardise its very existence and usefulness to the community. It is just as well, that demands of those who would have all our banks nationalized have not, so far as the resolution is concerned, been categorically conceded. There is reason, we feel, even to view the little that has been conceded in this context with the gravest measure of suspicion and apprehension. It may yet open the door wider to graver risks in the future.

The resolution apparently has conceded

Bijou Pattanaik's demand that the creditworthiness of an industry should not be assessed on the security of its assets but on its production potential. It is hardly clear as to what was really meant. If a bank, for instance, were to advance needed credits to an industry, it would inevitably have to be sure that the investment has been adequately secured. Such security, if advances were to be made on the block capital of the industry which, of course, is not the proper province of a commercial bank to do, by an assessment of the fixed assets of the industry concerned with such reasonable margins between their assessed value and the actual amount of investment. This is an elementary precaution that any bank, or even a private lender would adopt while making an investment of this nature. Otherwise investments with industry by a lending institution can only be made on the marketable value of goods or raw materials pledged with such margins for safety as may be mutually determined. In any case it must be on the realisable assets of an industry, either by way of fixed capital or manufactures under process or goods in stock. How can anyone lend credits on the assessed production potential of an industry without the risk of jeopardising the invested funds either in part or entirely, is beyond our common understanding. Mr. S. K. Patil sought to disabuse the Committee of the apparent impossibility of enunciating such a norm of investment in course of his speech on the resolution, but it seems that no one, including the framers of the resolution, were inclined to listen to words of common or garden wisdom.

Ceiling Over Income, Property and Wealth

In conclusion we would only refer to the clause of the resolution under discussion that demands that present economic disparities must be substantially reduced, and that a ceiling must be placed upon incomes and private property. This is quite a legitimate objective. No reasonable person could hold a brief for extravagant and wasteful affluence and abject misery and utter starvation to subsist side by side. It is somewhat encouraging that Lalbahadur Shastri has stated that a measure of disparity will inevitably continue to exist but that it had become urgently necessary to narrow down the present widening gap between the two. This would seem to indicate that no outright method of expropriation and deprivations are intended. It would seem to have struck somewhat of an invi-

dious exception when the committee, as reported, refused to take into consideration a suggestion by one of its members, that an immediate ceiling on the incomes and property of members of the Congress party be prescribed. It may appear to the lay public that the Party would not agree to abide by the same standards themselves which they are so eager to apply to the rest of the country's population. However, that is by the way.

A confession has been implicit in the terms of the resolution as well as in the speeches of the party leadership, that during the decade of planning, the fruits of progress have not really fallen to the lot of the poor and the hungry who have been grovelling below on the dust and have really been appropriated by those who have been perching on the topmost rungs of the economic ladder. The preliminary report on national income distribution compiled by the Mahalanobis Committee indicated even more. Although not finally confirmed by the long awaited full and subsequent report, it seemed to have indicated that the richest ten per cent of the population have been appropriating as much as very nearly fifty per cent of the net national product, and that an equal proportion of the wealth of the country is owned by them. If these indications are really borne out by a factual analysis of the situation, it would seem that the Congress Party's assays in socialist planning have really borne the most poisonous fruits. In fact it would be legitimate to evaluate these facts as an index of the utter incompetence, inadequacies and even worse of Congress rule over the country as also, that through Governmentally sponsored development planning they have taken on a task on themselves which they are neither qualified nor competent enough to carry out successfully and along legitimate lines.

No one, therefore, will quarrel with the Party's resolution that ways and means must be found to combat this paralyzing evil. No wonder that, in the circumstances, even some stalwarts of the Congress leadership are heard to complain that the real power behind the present Government are neither the people who have placed them there, nor the Party from which it is derived, but the handful of rich financiers and industrialists who rule the destiny of the country through

Congress puppets to their own personal advantage and to the detriment of those of rest of the country. But what methods are used and instruments are devised to combat this evil and thus effectively disperse the power that money represents in the country without sacrificing the basic principles of liberty and human dignity is the most important matter for consideration in this context.

The Congress President, Kamraj Nadar, has already suggested how the objective could be achieved without sacrificing either principles of liberty or subjecting human dignity to any kind of pressure. His suggestion has the genius of simplicity and is, moreover, in the fullest accord with the accepted canons of public taxation all over the civilized world. He has said achieve this by taxation, a method which might have been employed with advantage from the very beginning of Congress rule. Taxation, it is only legitimate, should be proportional to the financial resources and revenues of every citizen. It is true that it may be somewhat difficult, at least at the initial stages, to discover all the incomes and all the assets of some very rich persons, but given the determination by the Government leaders concerned, it should not be impossible to do so in the end. When Morarji Desai issued his Gold Control Order last year, we expressed our fears that it would achieve nothing except a few paltry gains here and there but would cause colossal misery and deprivation on the other hand. If the Finance Minister really meant the

hidden gold hoards in the country to be forced out into the open and accounted for, more direct and courageous methods would have to be employed. He would do nothing like that and the result has been worse than useless. It was some redemption that Krishnamachari later partially modified the order which has somewhat minimized its rigours on those who least deserved them. But even he has not gone far enough to the point where it would really be possible to force out into the open the openly suspected but never officially discovered large concealed gold hoards in the country and an accounting demanded.

Forceful and determined methods will have to be employed if results are expected to be obtained in the present instance also. At the same time one may also hope that corresponding succours in the matter of the very burdens that the common man has so far been made to carry and which his shoulders have never been strong enough to comfortably sustain, that have been increasingly imposed on him over the years by way of exise duties on the few articles of essential consumption without which he could not hope to exist. Taxation, one admits, will have to continue to be heavy in the country for years and years. But one has the right to expect that its burdens would be more equitably distributed than has so far been done. Incidentally, this would also seem to be one of the basic requirements of a socialist society which our Congress rulers promise so vociferously they would fashion for us.



EMERGENCY PROVISIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA : AN APPRAISAL

By Prof. MOHAMMAD GHOUSE
Deptt. of Law, Aligarh Muslim University

Introduction

When arms speak, said the great Roman Jurist, laws are silent.¹ The famous English political philosopher, Edmund Burke, made a similar observation in his "Reflections on the Revolution in France." "Laws are commanded to hold their tongues amongst arms; and tribunals fall to the ground with the peace they are no longer able to uphold." One familiar with the practical working of a constitutional system realises that Cicero's adage and Burke's dictum all too often accord with the realities of emergencies. As observed by Lord Mac. Millan: "The still small voice of law is quelled when men kill and destroy in defiance of its dictates."²

The basic provisions of the constitution, normally and perfectly adapted to conditions of peace, may not have the same complete and universal application in times of extreme emergency. Even constitutional doctrine must give way, if it conflicts with the national necessity, since emergency calls into full play all the powers of Government. "By general law", declared Abraham Lincoln, at the height of America's greatest national emergency, "life and limb must be protected; yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb."³ This is undeniable as total war can not be waged in complete subordination to law. As succinctly put by Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer: "a war can not be fought on principles of the Magna Carta."⁴ Lord Justice Scrutton made a similar observation: "... a war could not be conducted on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount." The view that the emergency power must be exercised in strict conformity with all legal forms and limitations must,

therefore, be rejected. Yet, this is far from saying that the emergency must be allowed to carry before it the basic Constitutional structure. The exigencies of extreme emergency must somehow be reconciled with the requirements of law; if either takes over the field completely in a period of emergency, it may carry with it all that is of value.⁵

Modern constitutions, to meet an abnormal situation, provide the executive with wide powers to deal effectivly with such a situation, in order to protect public safety and national interest. The Indian Constitution has, by part XVIII, provided the executive with ample powers to deal with abnormal situations or emergencies. The purpose of this paper is to critically examine the provisions of Part XVIII of the Indian Constitution and to compare them with the corresponding provisions of other democratic constitutions.

Part XVIII of the Constitution of India visualizes three different kinds of abnormal situations:—(i) An emergency due to internal disturbance or external aggression; (ii) Failure of constitutional machinery in the States; (iii) Financial Emergency.

An Emergency Due to External Aggression or Internal Disturbance

Art. 352 of the Constitution of India provides that if the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or any part thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance, he may, by proclamation, make a declaration to that effect. On account of the naked aggression committed by China against India, the President has proclaimed an emergency under Art. 352 of the Constitution.

The President is also authorised to issue a proclamation of emergency before the actual occurrence of war, aggression or disturbance, if he is satisfied that there is imminent danger of such occurrence. The power to proclaim an emergency is subject to two restrictions: In the first place, the proclamation has to be laid before each House of Parliament. The Constitution does not, however, specify the period during which this obligation has to be fulfilled. Secondly, the proclamation ceases to be operative at the expiration of two months unless before the expiration of that period, it has been approved by both Houses of Parliament.

The issue of a proclamation of emergency has a twofold consequence. In the first place, it virtually amounts to the negation of the federal character of the Constitution in so far as the States affected by the proclamation are reduced to the level of county Councils in a unitary State. Under Art. 353 the executive power of the States is brought directly under the control and supervision of the Union in the event of emergency. Secondly, the Union Parliament is also authorized to make laws with respect to any matter and to confer powers and impose duties upon the Union or Officers and authorities of the Union as respects that matter, notwithstanding that it is one which is not enumerated in the Union List.

Thus the balance of division of powers between the Union and the units is affected during emergencies, as the Union is allowed to encroach upon the sphere allotted to the States. Thus, during an emergency, the autonomy of the States is reduced to vanishing point, and they become parts of a decentralized Unitary State.

In the American Constitution there are no separate provisions for dealing with abnormal situations. As the Supreme Court of America has observed: "Extraordinary conditions do not create or enlarge Constitutional powers."⁶ In *Home Building and Loan Association V. Blaisdell*⁷ Chief Justice Hughes said:

"Emergency does not create power; emergency does not increase granted

power or remove or diminish the restrictions imposed upon the powers granted or reserved. The constitution was adopted in a period of grave emergency. Its grants of power to the federal government and its limitations of the power of the States were determined in the light of emergency and they are not altered by emergency."

The President in America can not, therefore, exercise any extraordinary powers in view of any emergency. Even the Federal Legislature itself has no larger powers under emergencies. But, in construing the scope of the grant of power, the existence of the emergency has always been borne in mind by the Courts. Mr. Justice Holmes said in the *Schenck* case that when a nation was at war "many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its (war) efforts that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight" and "no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."⁸

Federal Intervention in Cases of Aggression and Disturbance

Under Art. 355 of the Indian Constitution, the Union Government is under obligation to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance and to ensure that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the Constitution. There are similar provisions in the constitutions of Australia and the United States of America. S.119 of the Australian Constitution reads: "The Commonwealth shall protect every State against invasion, and, on the application of the executive Government of the State, against domestic violence." The Constitution of the United States provides: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on the application of the Legislature or of the Executive (when the Legislature can not be convened) against domestic violence."

The duty imposed on the Federal Government in the United States to guarantee

the republican form in the States may lead one to think that it may prohibit or suspend such State Governments as do not, in its judgement, conform to the requirement. But there has been no instance in practice so far to the effect that the Government of the United States has suspended or interfered with a State Government on the ground that the latter has failed to perform its constitutional obligations.⁹

In the cases¹⁰ that brought this Clause before the Court, it was held that the maintenance of representative institutions is sufficient to maintain a republican form of Government.

In the United States of America if, on account of domestic violence, the working of the State Government becomes impossible, the Union Government may come to the aid of the State Government with its military forces, if required—but only at the request of the State. The decision taken by Congress in this regard can not be challenged in a Court of law. Similarly, in cases of domestic violence, it is for the Congress to determine “the measures which should be adopted to make the guarantee effective.”¹¹ In *Texas V White*¹² it was pointed out that the power to enforce this guarantee is primarily a legislative power and resides in Congress.¹³

In the United States if the disturbance interferes with the operation of the National Government itself, the processes of the Federal Courts, or the movement of the inter-State trade and commerce, the Union may send its troops on its own initiative, without waiting for the application of the State authorities. In October, 1962, President Kennedy sent the Federal troops to secure the admission of Mr. Meredith, a Negro, to the Mississippi University, and thereby enforce the decree of the federal Court flouted by Governor Barnett.¹⁴ The former President Eisenhower also, it may be recalled, used federal troops in the Little Rock, Arkansas, integration crisis.

This authority to send federal troops is based on the right of the Union to execute the federal laws and to maintain its authority on every foot or tip of the national

territory. The action of President Cleveland in sending federal troops during the Chicago strike in 1894 was upheld by the court. In the course of the judgement the court observed:

“The entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers . . . entrusted by the constitution to its care. The strong arm of the National Government may be put forth to brush away all obstructions to the freedom of inter-State Commerce or the transportation of the mails.”¹⁴

In India the power to intervene is granted to the executive and not to the legislature. And federal intervention in India may take place even if there is actually no external aggression or internal disturbance; it is enough if there is, to the satisfaction of the President, imminent danger of it.¹⁵ The Union is also competent to ensure that the Government of a State is carried on in accordance with the Constitution. The Union has also authority under Art. 365 read with Art. 356 to intervene in the affairs of a State when it fails to comply with or to give effect to any directions issued by the Union Government under Art. 256.^{15a}

Failure of Constitutional machinery in the States

The President is empowered by Art. 356 of the constitution to make a proclamation whenever he is satisfied that the Government of a State can not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution either on the report of the Governor or otherwise. It means the failure of a State Government to work according to the Constitution, in circumstances which have no necessary connection with external aggression, internal disturbance or violence, though these may be the cause of failure in particular cases.¹⁶ A failure within the meaning of the present Article may probably arise also in the case of abuse of Constitutional powers by a State Government. In the States of Andhra and the Punjab and also in Orissa, party dissensions

brought in President's rule. After the fall of the Prakasam Ministry in Andhra by a vote of no confidence and after the resignation of the Bhargava Ministry in the Punjab, President's rule was introduced on the alleged ground that no alternative Ministry could be formed.

When no State Ministry can be formed, the first step, which certainly is the right step, should be dissolution and general election. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the United Kingdom the Legislature is repeatedly dissolved till a single majority party emerges or till a coalition is formed. In India also, when there is a breakdown of Constitutional machinery in a State, the proper method of reconstruction is dissolution and election and not introduction of President's rule. The powers under Art. 356 should, therefore, be exercised as a matter of last resort, as expected by the framers of the Constitution.¹⁷

Satisfaction of the President

The provisos of Art. 356 contemplate the exercise of the powers by the President on a report being received by him from the Governor and, if the President acts under Art. 356 in such a case, there is nothing unconstitutional in his doing so, and any proclamation made by him thereunder can not be challenged as ultra vires.¹⁸

In the event the State Governor does not submit a report to the effect that the Constitution of the State has broken down, and if the President wants to get satisfied, otherwise than by a Governor's report, he may in his executive capacity appoint a Committee to report on the matter of internal disturbance of the State or to report whether there exist conditions in which the Government of the state can not be carried on in accordance with the Constitution.¹⁹ On the basis of such a report he can receive an objective satisfaction, and then he may exercise his emergency powers or introduce President's rule. The Committee, it should be noted, must be a no party Committee with no political affila-

tions. This device, besides being immensely valuable, will be democratic and constitutional.

In case no such Committee is also appointed, how should the President act? Should he accept and act according to the advice tendered by the Cabinet even if the advice is partisan? It is quite conceivable that such advice might be partisan when the party governing the State is different from the party governing the Centre and a majority of the States.

If we look at the Constituent Assembly Debates, the answer is somewhat clear: The President should abide by the advice tendered by the Cabinet. "The whole scheme of the Constitution," declared Krishnamachari, "has been envisaged on the basis that the President is a Constitutional head even though we have not put it in so many words."²⁰ Emphasizing the same point Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer said:

"The President means the Central Cabinet responsible to Parliament in which are representatives from various units which form the component parts of the federal government. Therefore, the Provincial machinery having failed, the Central Cabinet assumes the responsibility of the Provincial Cabinet."²¹

But, if we examine the relevant provisions of the Constitution, we arrive at an altogether different conclusion. The framers of the constitution explained that they had outlined the position of the President on the Irish model, viz., that of an elected President acting on the advice of the Ministers responsible to the Legislature.²²

Article 13 of the Irish Constitution expressly declares:

"The powers and functions conferred on the President by this Constitution shall be exercisable and performable by him only on the advice of the Government save where it is provided by this Constitution that he shall act in his absolute discretion," and, "no power or function conferred on the President shall be exercisable or performable by him save only on the advice of the Government."

Nothing similar to these provisions appears in the Indian Constitution. Art. 74(1) of the Indian Constitution says: "There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the Head to aid and advise the President." It may be noticed that the words used are "aid and advice" and not "guide"²³ as used in the Act of 1919. Art. 111 of the Constitution reads: "when a Bill has been passed by the Houses of Parliament, it shall be presented to the President, and the President shall declare either that he assents to the Bill, or that he withholds assent therefrom." It may be noted that the word used here is "assent" and not "authenticate." Assent means voluntary expression of one's own volition.

So, it may be deduced from the language of these two material provisions of the Constitution that the Council of Ministers can only aid and advise the President and that the President may withhold his assent from the Bill passed by the Parliament despite the advice to the contrary tendered by the Council of Ministers, as it is unlikely that Ministers responsible to the House of the people would ever advise the President to withhold his assent from a Bill drafted, introduced in, piloted through and got approved by both Houses of the Parliament by a Minister.

It may thus be seen that there is an intelligible difference between the intention of the framers of the Constitution and the language of the articles defining the powers and functions of the President. It is, perhaps, to remove this ambiguity that a Bill was introduced by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta in the Rajya Sabha for the amendment of the Constitution. An amendment of some of the relevant provisions of the Constitution will undoubtedly clarify the position of the President; but it puts the President in a legal strait-jacket. It is, therefore, better—and this is what, I think, the framers of the Constitution also wanted²⁴—if the position of the President is clarified by the growth of conventions.

So, with regard to the exercise of the emergency powers no definite answer can be given as to whether the President should

always and in all cases abide by the advice tendered by the Cabinet. It may, however, be said that the President, being head of the entire State at large, standing outside the clash of parties, and being on oath to protect and defend the Constitution, may refuse to act according to the advice of the Council of Ministers if it is palpably partisan. The International Commission of Jurists in their Kerala Enquiry Committee Report observed:

".....the President occupying the responsible position that he does under the constitution would not merely toe the line with his Council of Ministers but would considerably hesitate to bow to the dictates of the Council and sign on the dotted line, if his better sense indicated an action to the contrary."²⁵

Financial Emergency

If the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen whereby the financial stability or credit of India or any part of it is threatened, he may declare a Financial Emergency. The proclamation in this case also should be approved by Parliament, as in the other two cases of Emergency. During the Financial Emergency the executive authority of the Union shall extend to giving of directions to any State to observe such canons of financial propriety as may be specified in the direction or any other directions which the President may deem necessary for that purpose. Such directions may include those requiring the reduction of salaries and allowances of the Government employees and even those of the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts.²⁶

Suspension of Fundamental Rights

The proclamation of emergency due to external aggression or internal disturbance differs from the proclamation of emergency due to the failure of constitutional machinery in the State. The fundamental difference is that in the former case the right to move the Courts for the enforcement of fundamental rights is liable to be suspended

and the State would be free from the limitations imposed by Art. 19²⁷ of the Constitution whereas in the latter kind of emergency the fundamental rights of the people remain unaffected. Secondly, in case of a proclamation of failure of constitutional machinery, the Government of the State concerned would be superseded by the Union. On the other hand, in case of a proclamation of emergency, the State authorities do not cease to function and the state Governments are not superseded.

Referring to the provisions made in the Constitution empowering the President to suspend the fundamental rights, Mr. H. V. Kamath²⁸ observed during the Constituent Assembly Debates :

".....The Constitution has been founded.....on what I call 'the Grand Affirmation of the Fundamental Rights'. We have tried to build on that the edifice of democracy, but I find surmounting that edifice the arch of Great Negationand article 359 to my mind is the Key-stone of the arch of autocratic reaction.....As an autocratic negation of liberty this article takes the palm over all other Constitutions in the World."

Commenting on the power conferred on the President to suspend the right to move the courts for the enforcement of Fundamental Rights, Mr. Saxena²⁹ said :

"When we were in jail in 1942, even though it was during the war, the foreign Government did not think it fit to deprive us of habeas corpus. So if the power is given to the President to abrogate this right, it will be a slur on our Constitution, and it should not be allowed to be included in it."

He also pointed out that no such provision was included either in the Canadian or in the Australian Constitution.

In the United States Art. I Sec. 9(2) of the Constitution provides : "The privilege of the Writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it."

It follows from this article that nothing short of actual invasion³⁰ or rebellion may

justify the suspension of this writ. The power to suspend the writ, as observed by Chief Justice Marshall, lies with the Congress. He said :³¹

"If at any time the public safety should require the suspension of the powers vested by this act (granting jurisdiction) in the courts of the United States, it is for the Legislature to say so. The question depends on political considerations, on which the Legislature is to decide. Until the legislative will be expressed, this court can only see its duty and must obey the laws."

During the earlier part of the Civil War Lincoln issued proclamations suspending the writ and ordering wholesale arrests without warrants, detentions without trials and imprisonments without judicial convictions. In *Ex parte Merryman*³² Chief Justice Taney said that suspension of the writ was a legislative power which the President could not exercise, and observed that the President had "thrust aside the judicial authorities and officers to whom the Constitution has confided the power and duty of administering the laws, and substitute a military Government in its place to be administered by military officers."

Now it is admitted by all authorities on the American Constitution that the President has no power to suspend the writ without the sanction of Congress. And it is for the Courts to determine whether conditions have arisen which would justify the suspension. Thus in *Ex Parte Milligan* the Supreme Court held that a threatened invasion would not justify the suspension.

It is only the writ of habeas corpus that can be suspended by the Legislature either during war or any other emergency. The Bill of Rights can be suspended only by an amendment of the Constitution. As observed by Mr. Justice Davis :³³

"The illustrious men who framed that instrument were guarding the foundations of civil liberty against the abuses of unlimited power ; they were full of wisdom, and the lessons of history informed them that a trial by an established court, assisted by an impartial jury, was the

only sure way of protecting the citizen against oppression and wrong. Knowing this they limited the suspension to one great right; and left the rest to remain for ever inviolable. But it is insisted that the safety of the country in time of war demands that this broad claim for martial law shall be sustained. that a country, preserved at the sacrifice of all the cardinal principles of liberty, is not worth the cost of preservation."

The Court went on to add in memorable words:

"The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its (Bill of Rights) provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of the Government."³⁴

In another case the same Court held:

"Even war does not remove Constitutional limitations safeguarding essential liberties."³⁵

Of course times have changed since the above pronouncements by the Supreme Court, but the words contain such a perennial truth that they should ever ring in the ears of men who ardently desire Constitutional Government.³⁶ That the court, even now, will not hesitate to apply the Constitution's limitations to action taken in time of the emergency of war and sought to be justified under the war powers may be seen from the Steel Seizure case^{36(a)} in which the court held unconstitutional President Truman's Seizure of the Steel mills during an industrial strike in the midst of the Korean war on the ground that the President had invaded the war powers conceded to Congress by the Constitution. The pronouncement of the Supreme Court that the Constitution of the United States applies in war and peace is still valid. This does not, however, mean that the Executive has so ample powers in times of extreme emergency. During the great exigencies of

Government, the Courts never hesitated to allow wide powers to the Executive, and upheld as valid such executive and legislative action as would not be allowed in normal times by liberally construing the term "Police Power."

In India, it is the executive authority that is empowered to suspend Constitutional guarantees in times of war as well as in times of peace, for a proclamation under Art. 352 may be made not only when there is external aggression or internal disturbance, but also when there is "imminent danger" thereof according to the satisfaction of the President, which is final on this point. So, when a proclamation of emergency is made by the President, the citizen during the operation of emergency, has no protection against the legislative, executive or local authorities as the State³⁷ is free from the limitations imposed by Art. 19, which guarantees to the citizens the freedom of speech, the freedom of movement, the freedom of occupation and the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property.

Art. 359 empowers the President to suspend the right to move the court for the enforcement of any of the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution. This right, it may be noted, is of the greatest value as it makes the other rights workable, real and concrete as it enables any citizen to seek relief or remedy in the court of law. The suspension of this basic right will be in force during the operation of the emergency or till such shorter period as may be specified in the order of the President. This Article does not specify the definite time within which the order must be placed before the Parliament. It does not also empower the Parliament to revoke the order. Viewed from this angle of vision, the powers conferred on the Executive, over which there is no judicial review, go far beyond what is actually necessary.³⁸

Dr. Ambedkar was not, therefore, very happy about these provisions as they vest in the President discretionary powers of a drastic nature. In his reply to the final debate on emergency provisions, he said: "The article deals with fundamental rights relat-

ing to the rights of the people and it is therefore proper that we should approach this subject with caution—but I am also prepared to say—with some emotion. We have passed certain fundamental rights already and when we are trying to reduce them or to suspend them we should be very careful of the ways and means we adopt in curtailing them.

Therefore, my friends who have spoken against this article will, I hope, understand that I am in no sense an opponent of what they have said. In fact, I respect their sentiments very much . . . I may also state that I am no less fond of fundamental rights than they are."^{38a}

Conclusion

The above discussion makes it clear that the emergency powers vested in the President of India substantially differ from similar powers under other Federal Constitutions in respect of many matters of vital importance. In the first place, as noticed already, the power to proclaim an emergency is vested in the President of the Indian Union, whereas such a power under other constitutions generally belongs to the Parliament. Secondly, the power of the Indian President to proclaim an emergency is purely discretionary. It is not subject to judicial review, and it is not controlled by Parliament, at least for two months. Thirdly the Emergency provisions arm the Union against the States and arm the Government against the people.

Such provisions are not to be found in other Federal Constitutions. Indeed, where the federal authorities intervene in the affairs of the member states they do so only at the request of and for the protection of the established Governments of the States. The Federal Council of the Swiss Confederation declared in its message of 22nd September, 1890 that the first task of the Confederation was to suppress disorder and dissolve the rebel Government and the second duty was to restore the authorities removed by the rebellion and maintain the Constitution of the Canton.³⁹

The suspension of the Fundamental rights during emergency is a unique feature of the Indian Constitution. Even in the Unitary Constitution of Great Britain the right to move the Courts for the enforcement of the rights of the individual was barred in neither of the Great Wars.⁴⁰ It would, therefore, appear that the Constitution of India contains provisions which confer power on the Executive to abrogate the federal character of the Constitution and to suspend the rights of the individual at its discretion over which there is no judicial review. The vesting of such extraordinary powers in the Executive is antithetical to Constitutional democracy and impairs the principle of the rule of law. These provisions, particularly Articles 358 and 359, therefore, require reconsideration by the Constitutional experts in the country, who desire that emergency must not be allowed to undermine democracy.

1. Cicero : *Inter Arma Silent legis*.
2. Quoted in Basu : *Commentary on the Constitution of India* 3 Ed. Vol. II, p. 549.
3. *Lincoln's Complete Works*, X 66.
4. C.A. Deb. IX. P. 545.
- 4^a. It is in this sense, I think, that we should understand the celebrated 'dictum' of Lord Atkin : "amid the clash of arms laws are not silent. They may be changed, but they speak the same language in war as in peace."
5. *Schechter V. U.S.* (1935) 295 U.S. 495.
6. (1934) 290 U.S. 398.
7. *Schenck V U.S.* (1919) 249, U.S. 47.
8. Garner : *Political Science and Government*, p. 352.
9. *Luther V Borden* (1848) 7 How 1.
- Pacific States Tel. C. V Oregon* (1912) 223, U.S. 118 *Eckerson V Des Moines* (1908) 137, Iowa 452.
10. *Luther V Borden* op. cit.
11. 7 Wall.
12. In Mexico and Argentina the power to intervene in cases of external aggression and internal disturbance has been confided to the Legislature and not to the executive. The Federal Govt. in Switzerland has no right *suo moto* to intervene.
13. During this incident President Kennedy said in memorable words that

while everyone was free to disagree with the law, no man, no matter how highly placed, was entitled to disobey it, for defiance of law is the surest way to tyranny. A Government could permit no mob, however, unruly or boisterous, to defy the law. Otherwise no judge would be sure of his writ and no citizen would be safe from his neighbours—Stateman, October 23.

14. In re Debs (1895) 158, U.S. 564.

15. The Courts have no power of judicial review over the action taken by the President.

15a. The position of the Governor here will be undoubtedly delicate. On the advice of the Council of Ministers, the President may call upon the Governor, who has to secure the execution of orders lawfully issued to him, to carry out a policy which is strongly advocated by the Union Ministers and strongly opposed by the State Ministers. The Governor may then find the Ministers opposed to the execution of the policy. The Governor is helpless as he has to carry out the orders given to him by the President. This may, in all probability, result in a political crisis leading eventually to the dismissal of the Ministry in the State.

16. Basu: op cit. Vol. II pp. 542-543 (3 Ed.).

17. C. A. Debs, Vol. IX, p. 177. During the Constituent Assembly Debates the Law Minister, Dr. Ambedkar said: "I do not altogether deny that there is a possibility of these articles being abused or employed for political purposes . . . (The) proper thing we ought to expect is that such articles will never be called into operation and that they would remain a dead letter." But Art. 356 has not remained a dead letter. It has been invoked by the President frequently though not frivolously, and President's rule has so far been introduced in the States of Punjab, Pepsu, Andhra, Kerala and Orissa.

18. Journal of the International Commission of Jurists, Kerala Enquiry Committee Report, p. 199.

19. Gopal Krishna Sastry: The Constitutional implications on President's rule in Kerala, S.C.J. Vol. XXII (1959) p. 165.

20. C. A. Debs. IX, p. 150.

21. C. A. Debs. IX, p. 124. But this view bristles with certain difficulties. Under Arts. 256-7 the President can give orders or directions to the Governor. Under Art. 365

read with Art. 356 the Union can intervene in the affairs of a State when the State Government fails to comply with the order given by the President. To take a hypothetical example, the item in the election manifesto of the Congress Party is introduction of Co-operative farming whereas the Swatantra Party is opposed to Co-operative farming. The Swatantra Party, after the general election, forms a stable Ministry in Madras, while the Congress Party forms Ministry at the Centre as well as in all the other States. Now the cabinet at the centre advises the President to issue a directive to the Governor of Madras to introduce co-operative farming in the State.

The directive of the President can be given effect to by the Council of Ministers and not by the Governor. The Council of Ministers may, in all probability, refuse to implement co-operative farming as they had voiced their opposition to it during the election. And on their refusal to give effect to the Presidential directive, the Union may intervene and dismiss the Ministry in the State.

So, in such a case, is the President bound by the advice tendered by the Cabinet? It is submitted that in such an event the President, being on oath to protect and defend the Constitution, is under a solemn obligation to reject the advice tendered by the Cabinet.

22. Basu: Op. cit. p. 417.

23. The framers of the Government of India Act, 1935 deliberately, so it appears, dropped the word "guide" and used in its place the phrase "aid and advice." The framers of the Constitution have followed the Act of 1935.

24. "Although there are no specific provisions, so far as I know, in the Constitution itself making it binding on the President to accept the advice of his Ministers, it is hoped that the convention under which in England the King acts always on the advice of his Ministers will be established in this Country also, and the President not so much on account of the written word in the Constitution, but as a result of this very healthy convention, will become a Constitutional President in all matters." Rajendra Prasad.

29. Journal—1959-60 Vol. II, No. II, p. 199.

26. Art. 360.

27. Art. 19 guarantees to the citizens certain fundamental freedoms which can not be abridged by the State except on the grounds provided therein.

23. C.A.D. Vol. IX.

29. Ibid. In exercise of the powers conferred by Art. 359 of the Constitution the President has suspended the right to move the court for the enforcement of the fundamental rights guaranteed by Articles 14-21. Art. 14 provides: "The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India."

Art. 21 provides: "No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law." The suspension of these civil rights was considered necessary to equip the Government with adequate powers to protect and preserve the territorial integrity of the State, which is threatened by the Chinese.

30. Ex Parte Milligan 4 Wall 2 (1866).

31. Ex Parte Borman 4 Cr 75.

32. 17 Fed. Cas. 114, 152 (1861).

33. Ex Parte Milligan 4 Wall. 2 (1866).

34. Ibid.

35. House Building Assn. V. Blaisdal 290 U.S. 398 (1933).

36. Basu : Op cit. 4 Ed. Vol. II—p. 550.

37(a). Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. V. Sawyer—343 U.S. 579, 96 L.Ed. 1153 (1952).

3 State, as defined in Art. 12, includes legislative, executive and local authorities.

33. Some of the provisions of the Defence of India Act (which has been enacted in exercise of the emergency powers) affecting the basic rights of the individual are summarized below:

Re: Freedom of Speech

The Act authorizes Government to make a rule for preventing the spreading without lawful authority or excuse of reports or the prosecution of any purpose, likely to cause disaffection or alarm, or to prejudice India's relations with foreign powers or to prejudice maintenance of peaceful conditions in any area or part of India or to promote feelings of ill-will enmity or hatred between

different classes of the people of India." Any such act has been defined by a rule as a prejudicial act and punishable with imprisonment for five years.

This offence, moreover, like any under the Act, is to be tried by a special Tribunal. An appeal lies to the High Court only if the sentence is imprisonment for five years or more. Save for this appeal the ordinary courts have no jurisdiction of any kind. It is also provided:

"No order made in exercise of any power conferred by or under this Act shall be called in question in any court."

Even the protection of a Special Tribunal, however, is taken away in the case of the publication of "a prejudicial report." If "in the opinion of the Central or State Government" any document contains such a report, it may require the Editor to reveal the source, direct the keeper of a press to deposit a security, forfeit a deposited security and as a last resort, order the closure of the Press and its premises.

Re: Personal Liberty

In addition to the Preventive Detention Act, which allows detention without trial even during peace time at the subjective satisfaction of the Executive, the Defence Act enables the detention of any person whom the authority suspects, "on grounds appearing to that authority to be reasonable of hostile origin, of having acted, acting, being about to act or being likely to act in a manner prejudicial to the defence of India or civil defence, the security of the State, the public safety or interest, the maintenance of public order, India's relations with foreign States, the maintenance of peaceful conditions in any part of India or the efficient conduct of military operations." There is no provision for an independent review of these orders.

The validity of most of these decisions has been sustained by the Supreme Court in a recent case, which has not been reported yet.

38a. C.A.D. Vol. IX, p. 548.

39. D. K. Sen. A comparative study of India Constitution, p. 231.

40. Chester V Bateson (1920) IK. B. 829.

CHINA AND INDIA : PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS*

By CHESTER BOWLES,
U.S. Ambassador to India

In any discussion of national development a comparison of India and Communist China is inevitable because of their political importance, because of the striking parallels in their needs, and because of the vast contrast in their approaches to development.

Together these two countries contain two-fifths of the world's people and cover one-fifth of the inhabited area of the globe. Both have been dominated by foreign powers, although, as an Indian history professor pointed out, India had only one colonial overlord while China was exploited by almost everybody. Both have recently passed through revolutionary periods, although India's was far less violent and disruptive than China's.

India and China launched their development programs from comparable economic bases. Both countries were underdeveloped relative to their needs and their potentials, with 80 per cent of their populations largely dependent on agriculture. In 1947 the per capita income in China was about \$45 per year; in India it was \$52.

India gained her independence in 1947 and started her first Five-Year Plan in 1951. The Communist Chinese Government established control over the mainland in 1949, and launched its First Five-Year Plan in 1953. Both countries have completed two Five Year Plans and are now involved in their third plans.

Although these similarities are striking, their respective approaches to their common problems differ greatly. China based its programs on a doctrinaire interpretation of Marx while India leaned pragmatically toward a democratic welfare state. India emphasized agriculture in her first plan, while China placed top priority on heavy

industry. China stressed capital goods, while India tried to achieve a balance between capital goods and consumer goods and services which would provide incentives to greater production.

It is in the area of politics and human relationships, however, that the differences are most significant. Whereas India sought to foster and encourage democratic discussion and participation, the Chinese Communists, as the first step towards a minutely regulated dictatorship, weeded out the embryonic democratic institutions that were beginning to take root in China.

Whereas India tried to dignify the individual as part of the process of development, China regarded him as an instrument of the State. While India sought benefits for the present generation, China chose to squeeze the present generation to the limit of human endurance for the presumed benefit of their grandchildren.

In cultural affairs the differences are equally striking. Whereas India sought to preserve and enrich her ancient culture and to modernize her society within the context of her traditions, Communist China attempted to replace the traditional Chinese culture and institutions with a completely new and alien social system. While India tried to minimize the amount of social dislocation caused by the development process, China sought to maximize it.

Finally, China from the beginning was determined to assert her influence as a radical and militant element in international politics, while India chose the more constructive path of mediation, non-alignment and peaceful accommodation.

Any comparison between these two great nations that fails to take these differences of priorities and approach into account will prove misleading. All aspects of the

* Summary of an address to the University of Delhi on December 13, 1963.

development process must be considered in perspective. Each nation must be judged by its own standards as well as ours, and by the relationship of its achievements to the world society in which it is striving to find its place.

I

The fundamental characteristic of the Chinese Communist program, as we have seen, has been a determination to transform, as quickly as possible, a weak, underdeveloped and predominantly agrarian society into a strong, industrialized totalitarian state.

Through the decades of intense revolutionary activity, through the suffering of the Long March, through the final bloody struggle for national control, Mao and his followers developed a deep-seated commitment to this task. The theories of Marxism-Leninism, which are essentially political and not economic, were their guiding principles.

From this perspective the Chinese leaders saw their task as a vast project of human engineering as well as of economic engineering. They wanted not only economic growth; they wanted a new and radically different society.

Following the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's armies, the Chinese Communist leaders moved ruthlessly to consolidate their control and eliminate present or potential opposition. They hoped to accomplish this by destroying old centers of loyalty and creating new ones which would serve the state with a single-minded commitment.

To break the authority of the rural landlords, tens of thousands were summarily executed. A massive program was launched to undermine family loyalties, to destroy ancient religious beliefs, and to discredit the Chinese cultural tradition.

At the same time, Mao and his associates moved to consolidate power at the center by substituting new institutions, each tailored to special political or economic objectives, for the old loyalties. The Communist Party, its youth organizations, para-military establishments, and innumerable

mass organizations provided Peiping with an extensive and pervasive system of control.

With complete control of all means of communications, the people were pressed by "guided" public meetings, proclamations and blaring loud-speakers to accept the dictates of the party leadership and to respond loyally to the demands of their policies.

Once in full control of the daily life of the Chinese citizen the Government moved to the second stage: the task of focusing its newly organized mass of human energies on the overriding problems of economic development.

According to official Chinese claims the share of the national income allocated to capital investment during the Five Year Plan was three times as great as the share invested by India at this same stage of development. As a result, by the mid-1950s the Chinese were able to claim a rate of growth three times that of India.

Although Chinese Communist statistics have proved to be notoriously inaccurate, a high level of investment was undoubtedly achieved. For a brief period, at least, the totalitarian control apparatus was able to compel individuals to work their hardest without concrete rewards such as consumer goods.

Part of the Chinese investment went into a crash program for the education of technicians and scientists to support the industrial growth which was presumed to be forthcoming. School building and teacher training were vastly expanded. Highly specialized courses were provided to enable individuals to operate efficiently but in a limited capacity. The brave beginnings of Chinese liberal education, which had been designed to encourage independent thinking, were abandoned as wasteful and dangerous. As long as the Communist Party leaders knew the truth, why should others be taught to think?

With Soviet and Eastern European assistance, the Chinese proceeded first to restore and then rapidly to expand their prewar industrial capacity. Manchurian

installations, dismantled by the Soviets in 1945, were replaced or rebuilt; new factory complexes were added.

According to highly questionable official figures, electrical power capacity rated at 7.3 billion kWh in 1951 on the eve of the First Five Year Plan rose to 55 billion kWh by 1960. Equally extravagant claims were made for steel, coal and other basic industries. However, bridges were in fact built over the Yangtze, which had never been bridged before. Chinese shipyards did begin to produce ocean-going commercial and naval craft. Railway mileage was substantially increased.

Whatever the exaggerations, there is no doubt that by 1955 the combination of ruthless human and economic engineering had begun to pay off in China in terms of industrial progress. The first and hardest stage of industrialization, the creation of basic industries and power, seemed to be well under way.

Meanwhile, the population of the Chinese mainland had been growing at between 2% and 3% a year. Although a large population is looked upon by most Marxists as a source of economic strength regardless of circumstance, the dangers of unchecked population growth had become so obvious by the summer of 1955 that the voices behind the loud-speakers began to announce a hastily devised birth control program.

In the spring of 1958 this brief effort at population control was just as suddenly terminated; henceforth, it was said, all efforts were to be focused on the "Great Leap Forward" program. The massive projects which the Leap would bring into being would soon make population control unnecessary and even create a labor shortage. Sixty million people were to be put to work producing steel in backyard furnaces. One hundred million more were to be employed in irrigation projects.

Throughout Asia the political impact of this vast outpouring of plans, projects and propaganda was substantial. The Chinese, now supremely confident because of their apparent success, called upon representatives from all developing countries to come

to China to note their progress and adopt their methods.

On a visit to India in 1955 I found many people deeply impressed with the dramatic developments in Communist China. Even those who believed most fervently in a free society were beginning to question the capacity of developing nations to meet their essential economic goals through democratic methods.

By the late 1950s, however, the Chinese plans rapidly outran the available resources and the Great Leap Forward began to peter out. In 1960 came the slowdown of Soviet aid and the downward economic spiral was intensified. Although Peiping has published no further economic statistics, the industrial gains made between 1957 and 1960 appear largely to have been lost.

Electric power output, which had reached about 55 billion kWh in 1960, is believed to have dropped to 30-35 billion kWh; steel has fallen from 18 million tons per year in 1960 to 8 million tons in 1962. Similar decreases have occurred in coal, cement and other industrial products.

• Work on many railroads and dams has been interrupted for want of equipment and technical skills. Scores of factories are shut down or running part time because of raw material shortages and unavailability of spare parts. China has become the only country in the world in which total production has actually decreased.

II

The failure of the industrial phase of the Great Leap Forward was duplicated in agriculture, which has always been the Achilles' heel of Communist nations. Between 1952 and 1960 the output of food-grains remained virtually stagnant as China's population continued to mount at the rate of some 12 to 15 million people annually. By 1962, the food deficit in terms of the per capita consumption of 1958 had grown to 15 million tons. With the population expanding at its present rate, the deficit will increase by about 5 million tons of grain each year.

These grim statistics suggest that in a

favorable year China's food supply will be barely adequate to feed her people. In a normal year there will be serious shortages. In a bad year there will be widespread malnutrition.

There is little promise, moreover, in remedies which are available to the present government. Although only about 14 per cent of China's total land area is now cultivated, the possibilities for expansion are strictly limited. For generations, China's farmers have been striving to bring more acreage under cultivation with only marginal success. Under the most favorable circumstances it is unlikely that the present arable areas can be increased by more than 20 per cent; since the additional acreage would in all likelihood be substandard the resulting increase in output would be substantially less than that.

Nor can China expect major gains in agricultural production from more intensive cultivation of existing acreage. Chinese farmers are among the best in the world; in Asia their rice yields per acre are surpassed only by those of the farmers of Japan and Taiwan, whose advantage, in addition to much greater personal incentives, lies largely in the greater use of chemical fertilizers. Because of its key importance this latter factor deserves more detailed analysis.

China now produces nearly three million tons of chemical fertilizer per year. It is estimated that under extremely favorable circumstances a crash program of fertilizer production might add another five million tons in the next six to ten years, at a cost of roughly \$600 million. Even if the skilled personnel, electric power and physical resources were available to launch and manage such an effort, an industry of this magnitude could be built only by foregoing other essential projects. Moreover, even if the goal were fully achieved it could not begin to meet China's future requirements.

One pound of chemical fertilizer produces about three extra pounds of food. The added five million tons of fertilizer would therefore produce about fifteen million additional tons of food—enough to feed forty-five million people. But by 1970, which

is the earliest that the new fertilizer plants could be completed under a crash program, there will be 100 million more people to feed assuming the present rate of population increase.

On the other side of China's agricultural ledger, however, are several factors, in addition to the cultivation of some marginal land, which are potentially favorable. Increased irrigation can provide an extra crop in many areas and increase production in others. Seeds may also be improved. Through a determined effort the population problem may gradually be brought into balance.

Yet even under the most favorable circumstances it seems unlikely that the Chinese Government can produce an adequate supply of food for its people from the land now within its boundaries. If this judgment is correct it may prove to be one of the most decisive political facts of our time.

III

Part of Peiping's failure in agriculture, like its failure in many areas of industry, must be attributed to defects in its ambitious efforts at human engineering which became evident in the late 1950s. In an effort to secure total political control of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist leaders embarked on restrictive measures which undercut the popular support they had successfully cultivated during the long civil war.

At the moment of their revolutionary triumph there is no doubt that the Chinese people, who were tired of war and saw mainland China unified for the first time in many decades, were willing and eager to give the new regime a chance.

In the early stages this popular support was strengthened by the massive redistribution of land which the new regime initiated. When the dust settled, however, each Chinese farmer owned an average of less than an acre, which he soon found was inadequate to support his family.

Some observers believe that the revolutionary promise of "land to the tiller" was in itself a calculated fraud; in other words

the Communist leaders never had any intention of dealing on a permanent basis with 100 million independent farm families each with the pride, dignity and security that goes with land ownership. But whether the government failed to take the political realities into account or whether they planned it that way at the outset, Mao and his associates, in the Stalinist tradition, soon proceeded to break the basic political promise which had persuaded millions of young Chinese peasants to volunteer for service in the Red Armies. As the new program of rural regimentation was instituted the disenchantment of rural China mounted rapidly.

The first stage was the establishment of hundreds of thousands of mutual aid teams which shared their privately owned animals and equipment for harvesting and planting. Next came Agricultural Producer Cooperatives in which land and implements were pooled on a permanent basis. Each member received shares which, he was assured, entitled him to an annual dividend according to the size of the land he originally contributed.

The third stage was the establishment in 1955 of collective farms in which all vestiges of private land ownership, which had been the traditional dream of the Chinese cultivator, were eliminated and land dividends abolished. Payments were now made out of the profits of the enterprise in proportion to the working hours contributed. The Marxist-Leninist slogan, "To each according to his work," was revived as the ideological explanation of this step.

In 1958 the first commune, the ultimate device of collectivization, was established in Hunan Province. These enforced cooperatives with an average of some 50,000 people each were the agricultural instruments of the Great Leap Forward. Their purpose was the total mobilization of 550 million Chinese villagers into a massive human work force under ruthless control of the central government.

To meet the new situation another slogan was quickly substituted: "From each according to his ability, to each according

to his need." A Peiping interview, lauding the new communes, carried the headline, "Oh, Commune! Everything I have is yours, except my toothbrush!"

The communes were the final disastrous step in Mao's experiment in human engineering. They were an effort to assure the central regime a vast reservoir of mindless and soulless human energy which could be used for construction projects as well as for food production.

Overnight, students became agricultural supervisors, farmers became dam builders, housewives became smelter operators. The net result was the greatest dislocation of manpower in human history, followed by pervasive public frustration and the nearly complete collapse of the Chinese economy.

IV

Although Communist China's economic mistakes have been devastating their political repercussions may be even more far-reaching. Because the government totally disregarded the wishes of the people, because it set out to destroy the old basis of Chinese culture, it became separated from the people.

Today, Communist Party literature refers to non-party people as "the masses," and the "masses" call party members "they." In a pamphlet entitled "How To Be A Good Communist," party members are warned that even the laboring class—the proletariat, the backbone of traditional Marxism—shall henceforth be treated with suspicion.

The lesson is an old one which, it appears, must be constantly relearned by modern totalitarians who seek to manipulate people for narrow and self-seeking purposes. When the people fail to identify their interests with the rulers, and vice versa, and when each group comes to fear the other, the political stability upon which economic progress depends is undermined and ultimately will be destroyed.

China's agricultural crisis also served further to undermine her sagging industrial development. The low level of agricultural production forced a diversion of scarce investment funds and foreign exchange totalling \$450 to \$500 million annually for

the import of grain from Australia and Canada. In addition, land was diverted from industrial supply crops to foodgrain production with the result that many factories which relied on agricultural raw materials such as cotton closed down, expensive equipment and skilled workers were idled, and exports were curtailed.

A Chinese leader recently observed that in a country as large as China, if the leaders make even a small mistake and this mistake is compounded by 700 million people, it becomes a national disaster. Although Communist China's mistakes cannot properly be discounted as "small," this comment may serve as a fitting epitaph for the "Great Leap Forward."

Against this background of China's dilemma let us consider the problems and prospects of India. It is difficult to imagine a more radically different economic, social and political environment.

In any democratic country people must be persuaded to see for themselves the advantages of working together. This takes time and is seldom fully realized.

Since false slogans are quickly debunked by a free press, they have only a passing effect. Consequently, the peasants, workers and managers must be offered tangible rewards for greater efforts. This means that capital investment must be limited to allow for additional food, clothing and consumer goods.

Nor can anyone deny that democratic development in any nation has a disorderly appearance. The government can seldom get everyone to pull together. Most individuals work primarily for their personal benefit, and only indirectly for the good of a society. Newspapers and opposition parties constantly criticize the government and its planning—and not always responsibly.

Yet, out of this apparent disorder comes many advantages: the release of human energies, the encouragement of new ideas and new techniques, and the knowledge that no one mistake or even a series of mistakes is likely to be disastrous.

Consequently, the cycle of quick forward spurts followed by catastrophic re-

lapses which characterized the development of Communist China is rarely found in a democratic environment. Although development may appear more haphazard, it proceeds at a more certain pace.

When India's recent experience is contrasted with that of China the strengths and weaknesses of democratic development come sharply into focus. There have been mistakes in Indian planning. Performance has lagged in agriculture and industry. Population growth has exceeded the early estimates and, as a result, per capita progress has been slower than anticipated.

But India began with a concept of balanced growth whereby agricultural goods and manufactured/ consumer goods were included as an integral part of the growth pattern; therefore, shortfalls in some sectors have not had a magnified impact on the rest of the economy. Her more flexible planning has been the product of countless discussions and compromises. While India's statistical progress has not been spectacular, it has been relatively steady, with successes in some areas more than offsetting the setbacks in others.

The differences are particularly noteworthy in regard to social change. While India has made a determined effort to reshape her traditional social system, the approach has been respectful of old values. Pressures to modify the caste system and to outlaw child marriage were designed not to control the individual but to release him from the constraints of customs where such customs have prevented him from reaching his full potential. There has been no effort to destroy the past or to impose new cultural values; the objective has been to revitalize old concepts and to fit them to new conditions.

Although the Chinese heroes of the Long March were able to communicate some of their ideological fervor to their people, their dogmatism has prevented them from pragmatically altering their program when changes have been urgently needed. While the Chinese were sure they could interpret the future, the Indian Govern-

ment has remained sensibly agnostic. erratic course can produce a substantial overall advance. Where the Chinese system has cracked under adversity, the Indian has simply bent.

VI

The future in both countries is unpredictable. Yet certain trends are evident.

In seventeen years India has created a stable base for future growth. She is moving ahead, even though slowly, and she has been doing so since the first year of her First Five Year Plan.

The rewards for the Indian people are increasing, not decreasing. A recent public opinion survey indicated that three out of every four Indians feel that they are somewhat better off than five years ago.

Ways of limiting population growth are being developed and introduced.

The people are gradually absorbing the techniques of democracy and as they do so their sense of dignity is expanded and assured.

The political and social systems of India have both reached a point where they seem not to be subject to radical change or collapse.

Furthermore, because India's political and economic growth within the framework of a free society has earned her the confidence of much of the world, her government and people are receiving substantial assistance from many of the more developed nations. This continuing flow of foreign aid and private foreign capital which at present is denied to China will continue to have a vitally important bearing on the pace of Indian development.

China, on the other hand, is currently at a low point in her development. The price of her extremism, of her abortive effort to play a dominant role in world affairs, and of her embroilment in ideological squabbles has been her isolation from the rest of the world.

Today it is difficult to anticipate a satisfactory course for China. Her present government cannot go back and start again because too much dislocation has occurred. Yet it is highly unlikely that her present

Still, China remains a country to be reckoned with. A nation of 700 million, however weakened by inept leaders and sterile ideology, cannot be expected to disappear. Ultimately some solution will be found. Sooner or later, the attractive capable Chinese people will work out their destiny and their nation will become a useful member of the world community.

* * * *

One final word. Perhaps the most important conclusion that can be drawn from our comparison of China and India is that totalitarian "efficiency" is a myth. A few years ago it was widely believed, even by those who hated its methods, that a dictatorship provides the most efficient administrative tools for economic development. In the mid-fifties responsible people were beginning to assert that sooner or later the less developed world would have to make a choice between iron-fisted regimentation on the one hand and a grim future of poverty for their people on the other. Now it appears that those nations which have had the courage to undertake the development democratically may have the better prospect of success.

Brazil, Japan, Mexico, Taiwan, and many other developing countries have developed far faster than China. Moreover, the rate of economic growth in all Communist countries averaged only 3.6 per cent in 1962, a figure which was bettered by every democratic nation in Western Europe and North America.

This does not mean that authoritarian systems cannot bring about development: the Soviet Union, through an agony of effort, has become the world's second industrial power. But it does suggest that nations which have chosen a democratic path to development may proceed with confidence.

They can proceed now with the knowledge that the dignity of the individual can be secured side by side with economic progress. Indeed, the evidence before us suggests that the strength of a free people

and the diversity and vitality of a pluralistic society are the greatest assets any nation can have.

Not so long ago the leaders of Communist China proclaimed that all developing nations must ultimately choose between bread and freedom. After ten years of frantic effort they themselves have secured neither. There is solid reason for hope that democratic India may achieve both.

Yet there is no room for complacency. India's problems are awesome in their magnitude and complexity. With all of her brave efforts she is only now barely starting down the long road of orderly political and economic growth.

In the years to come the eyes of the world will continue to focus on these two ancient lands—India and China—each in her own way seeking a new life for her people. Although no one knows the outcome, every person on earth who believes not only in material progress but in the dignity of the individual who creates that progress has a personal stake in India's success.

RAMANUJA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

By Dr. ANIMA SEN GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.,
Reader in Philosophy (Patna University)

Ramanuja, the great philosopher of South India, is the expounder of the philosophy of **Visistadvaita** which is a form of religio-philosophy based on the bhakti cult of the Vaishnava religion. He was born in 1017 at a time when Vishnu and Narayana were widely worshipped in South India. The cult of Vaishnavism had already grown in popularity from the end of the fourth century A.D. and assumed a very prominent form during the age of Ramanuja. During his youth, Ramanuja sat at the feet of Sadava Prakasa. This was a turning point in the life of Ramanuja. It gave him an opportunity to propagate widely and freely his own doctrine of Sri Vaishnava.

Bhakti-cult is as old as the Vedas, although it has been shaped and moulded in different ways by various religious sects. Saivas, Saktas and Vaishnavas, representing different sectarian religions are all followers of the cult of devotion.

Saivas, for example, regard Siva as the Supreme Reality who acts through Sakti or Divine Energy. Individual souls are infirmit, eternal and omniscient like God, but being in *pasas*, they falsely imagine themselves to be ignorant, non-eternal and finite. Our

past karmas, done under the spell of ignorance, are the *pasas* or the bonds and these can be removed by Saiva-Sadhana (which is to be practised under the direct supervision of a preceptor) and primarily by the grace of God.

Like Saivism, Saktism too is a form of bhakti cult and it has developed elaborately through Sakti-Tantra. Srividya is an outstanding achievement in Saktism and it is supposed to have developed under the influence of the advaita-vedanta. Srividya is a pure form of worship of Devi as the primary cause of the world. Both bhakti-cult and advaita vedanta meet together in the worship of the Supreme Female Deity.

Worship of Vishnu

The religion of Vaishnavism or 'Bhagavata-dharma', which constitutes the basis of the philosophy of Ramanuja, accepts Vishnu as the Highest Reality. Worship of Vishnu or Narayana and devotion to Him constitute the principal means of liberation. Lord Vishnu is the lover and protector of all human souls. He is the first and the final cause of the universe. He is endowed with six auspicious

ious qualities of Jnana, Sakti, Aisvaryya, Vala, Viryya and Teja. So, He is **saguna**: as He is devoid of all natural and impure qualities, He is also called **nirguna**. He lives in the hearts of all bhutas and so He is called Vasudeva. Knowledge of Vasudeva is the supreme form of knowledge and God-realisation is possible only through devotion and self-surrendering love.

That God-realisation is possible only through self-surrendering love was also advocated by the Alvars of South India during the seventh or eighth century A.D. In the Bhagavadgita, a kind of reciprocity in the relation of love between the devotee and God has been expounded in a beautiful manner. "One who seeks refuge in God becomes dear to Him is also liberated finally through His grace. Bhakti is a pure and blissful excellence of the human heart. He who worships God with firm devotion is lodged in Him and remains in close communion with Him. The love of God and the spirit of self-surrender to Him which are the noble and prominent features of the bhakti-yoga of the Bhagavad-gita has developed gradually into intense and passionate love of the Alvars. According to Prof. S. N. Das Gupta, "The Alvars were probably the pioneers in showing how love for God may be on terms of tender equality softening down to the rapturous emotions of conjugal love." Although the Alvars have succeeded in producing a theistic religion of love and devotion, they failed hopelessly in composing a rational philosophy.

Rise of Samkara

Now, the eighth century A.D. also saw the rise of Samkaracharyya who overpowered the minds of the learned Hindus of the age with the powerful influence of his Advaita philosophy. His teaching that the Absolute of the Upanisads should be regarded as impersonal and indeterminate and that the world should be viewed as a metaphysically illusory modification of that one indeterminate Brahman, seemed to throw a new light on the minds of the Hindus. The supremacy of knowledge to action and devotion advocat-

ed by Samkara satisfied fully the rational hankerings of man. The logical approach of Samkara, his dialectical arguments and splendid metaphysical conclusions helped him to build up a very rational Philosophy of the Absolute: but his way of approach was detrimental to religion. His qualified Brahman was no doubt all knowing and omnipotent, still being a product of **maya**, He had become false and phenomenal like other things of the world. A false object can satisfy a man's heart only so long as its falsity is not detected. The moment the falsity of the object is detected, it ceases to exist for him with the result that his loving heart loses its support and sustenance for ever. The religion which Samkara offered could not satisfy the emotional cravings of a religious soul.

Herein comes the philosophy of Ramanuja to satisfy the dual natures of man (i.e., his reason and emotion). As a philosophy of synthesis, it strikes a balance between Absolutism and Theism (i.e., between Philosophy and Religion). In Ramanuja's philosophy the Absolute is derived from the philosophy of Advaita-vada whereas his theistic view is an offspring of the devotional religion of the Alvars. His system is indeed unique - particularly the manner in which Ramanuja conceives the relation between Spirit, Matter and God. According to him, God, Soul and Matter are ultimate realities but the last two are absolutely dependent on Him. Their relation to God is like the relation of body to the soul. Both soul and matter, therefore, are as inseparable from God as attributes from the substance. The three form an organic unity. The highest reality is a qualified Brahman endowed with innumerable auspicious qualities.

Thus the philosophy of Ramanuja is different from that of the Advaita-vedanta according to which there is only one differenceless ultimate reality (Brahman). God is a phenomenal category which becomes as false as the jiva when considered from the transcendental point of view. Ramanuja, on the other hand, teaches that there is no difference or contradiction between the Absolute of thought and God of religion. They

are one and identical. In his opinion, all levels of experience are true whereas Samkara has differentiated between different degrees of reality and has accepted as metaphysical truth, only the experience of Brahman. **Pratibhashika truth** and **Vyavaharika truth** are rooted in illusion and contradiction. According to Samkara, jnana-yoga is the only means to realisation of the highest truth whereas in the theistic philosophy of Ramanuja, bhakti accompanied by love or **prapatti** involving self-surrender to God constitute the principal means of God-realisation. Liberation comes only after death and it is the stage of the enjoyment of supreme bliss with a supernatural form in the constant presence of God.

Synthesis of Religion

Ramanuja's doctrines of bhakti and **Prapatti** have been supported to a great extent by the teachings of the Gita. The Gita, according to Ramanuja, has spoken highly of the path of devotion and has regarded knowledge and action as indispensable auxiliaries to devotion. Knowledge and action are not alien to each other; rather they are very closely related and one can be changed into the other. Action, illumined by self-knowledge, is called jnana and knowledge purified by disinterested performance of action is regarded as action. Thus, Ramanuja has disproved the advaita assertion that liberation can be attained through knowledge only by obliterating the distinction between pure knowledge and pure action or devotion.

In fact, the religio-philosophy of Ramanuja is based on both reason and scriptural authority. The function of reason is to justify the truths expounded in the scriptures. A pure philosophy, as we know, is a free rational enquiry into the nature of truth and reality and is as such opposed to everything that contradicts reason. Reason reigns supreme in the sphere of pure philosophy and faith or revelation can never find any place in its domain. Traditional religion, on the other hand, rests simply on faith in

the scriptural truths. It believes in the existence of a Personal God who is all good and all merciful and also accepts bhakti or love of God as the sole means to salvation. The philosophy of Ramanuja has brought about a synthesis of reason and revelation and has taught that reason should be used only to strengthen the scriptural truths not to refute them. When reason is brought to justify the scriptural truths, religion does not degenerate into blind faith and superstitious ritualism. So, the philosophy of Ramanuja has admitted God as the ultimate source of the whole universe and has also described Him as the supreme goal of religion.

In other words while as a philosophy, Visistadvaita holds that Brahman or the Absolute is the Supreme Reality, the Highest Truth and the Primary Source of the world, as a religion, it describes this Supreme Reality as the inner controller of the universe of Spirit and Matter and also as the beloved God of mercy and bliss.

Sanctified Confluence

Truly speaking, Ramanuja's system is neither strictly monistic, nor strictly pluralistic; nor can we call it strictly dualistic in character. It is in fact a sanctified confluence of all the three types of philosophical thought. Monism is admitted by the idea that there is only one Brahman qualified by Spirit and Matter. The three entities of God, Soul and Matter are distinguishable but not separable from one another. God is the ruling Soul of both Spirit and Matter with an infinity of perfections. Matter with its evolutionary change and individual soul limited by avidya-karma are only the modes of God. From Him as their immanent source they derive their reality and function. Ramanuja agrees with the pluralistic Nyaya-vaishesika and the dualistic Samkhya in admitting the world as real but he differed from them vitally as he does not accept a theory of creation of which God is not the material cause. He agrees with the monism of Samkara in holding that Brahman is the material and efficient cause of the world:

but he differs from an advaitavadin when he refuses to admit that this world is a figment of imagination.

Materialism, subjective idealism and absolute idealism, too, have been beautifully harmonised in the Philosophy of Ramanuja. The materialist identifies reality with matter only and gives us a naturalistic and atheistic philosophy which is one-sided and abstract in the sense that the importance of Consciousness as a constitutive principle of the world has been totally denied by it. Subjective idealism, on the other hand, regards spirit or mind alone as reality and thus lands itself into solipsism in the absence of a universal spiritual principle of unity. The absolute idealism of Samkara totally denies the values of matter and spirit and postulates Nirguna-Brahman as the only reality. God and the individual soul are nothing but the solidified masses of maya-stuff which differ from each other only in degrees of reality. Both of them vanish ultimately in the

presence of Brahma-jnana. The advaita theory of Samkara, thus, becomes a mere abstract absolutistic theory. For Ramanuja, God, Spirit and Matter are equally real. They form an inseparable unity and can only be distinguished and not divided. None of them is an isolated system external to the other. They are all vitally connected as a result of which our experience at all levels of life are eternally real, concrete and living. Ramanuja's principles of Satkhyati, Aprithaksiddhi, Sarira-sariri-relation etc. act as cementing forces and reconcile realism, pluralism, absolutism etc. in his philosophy. This synthetic character has been maintained by Ramanuja all through his philosophical discourse and it can be safely asserted that the philosophy of Ramanuja is a grand attempt at synthesising the current religious and philosophical systems of India in an ideal unity which does justice both to God and the individual soul.

GEORGE SANTAYANA

(1863—1952)

By DINESH KUMAR SEN, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B.

One of the great Harvard philosophers of the last quarter of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, George Santayana, the literary critic, poet and novelist, was born on the sixteenth of December, 1863 at Madrid. He was born of parents who were citizens of Spain and later in 1872, at the tender age of nine, he was brought to Boston, in the United States, by his father. Here he, who afterwards created an amalgum of the two worlds and made a newer and many-sided one of his own, acquired his interest, love and passion for English poetry at the Boston Latin School. He had his B.A. degree from Harvard University in 1886. Before joining the Harvard Faculty of Philosophy in 1889, as an instructor, he

received his Master's degree and doctorate in Germany. He was at Harvard continuously from 1889 to 1912, first as an instructor and then from 1897 as a Professor, with the exception of a solitary year which he spent at Cambridge University as an advanced student.

As a teacher he was as popular as Charles T. Copeland, one of his contemporaries, and both of them preferred the warm companionship of the students to that of their learned colleagues at the faculty. And this was reciprocated by the students "with unbounded admiration for his lucid intelligence, detached skeptical views and mordant wit." These, his experiences, were not without significance. On the other hand his

understanding of the "puritan mentality" of Boston and Cambridge society was based on these personal feelings. This is manifest from one of his later works, "The last puritan," (1936), which is more a memoir than a novel, throbbing with richness of thought, imagination and musings based on experiences, varied and personal.

Resigning from the Harvard University, in 1912, he went back to Europe, travelled extensively and then settled at Oxford till the end of the first global war. Removed to Rome, he then settled at a convent there and remained there until death came on the twenty-sixth September, 1952.

"The Sense of Beauty," (1896), was Santayana's first published philosophical essay. This, his major contribution to aesthetics, concerned with "the nature and elements of our aesthetic judgements" which according to him, "is a theoretical enquiry and has no directly hortatory quality." In 1900, he published his "Interpretations of poetry and Religion." Then in 1910, came out his study of "Three philosophical Poets, Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe." His study was unique in many respects and unfolded his sense of perception and that is why his account of human experience is so rich. His "Life of Reason" (1905-06), in five volumes is a major work where there is some influence of Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit. The pervading theme therein is that reason in its expression in various forms is nothing but a blending of instinct and ideation.

"Scepticism and Animal Faith" (1923), introduces to his system developed in "The Realm of Essence," (1927-28), "The Realm of Matter," (1930), "The Realm of Truth" (1937) and, "The Realm of Spirit," (1940) a fresh trend. Among his other works mention must be made of "Idea of Christ in the Gospels" (1946). Santayana, born a Catholic and always an admirer of the beauties in Catholicism was never a believer, yet this his work has been aptly acclaimed by a critic as, "the most levour book ever written by an unbeliever." Herein is his superb and masterly attempt to justify and establish myth,

essentially religious in character, on grounds, intellectual in nature. "Sonnets and other Poems," "Lucifer—A Theological Tragedy," and "The Sense of Beauty"—these three among his poetic works, gave him a reputation before he returned to Europe in 1912. His other works include "Winds of Doctrine" (1926), "Egotism in German Philosophy" (1940), "Philosophical Opinion in America" (1918), "Character and opinion in the United States" (1920), "Soliloquies in England" (1922), "Poems" (1923), "The unknowable" (1923), "Dialogues in Limbo" (1925), "Platonism and spiritual life" (1927), "Some turns of thought in Modern Philosophy" (1933), "Obiter Scripta" (1946), "Persons and Places," 2 vols. (1944-45), "Dominations and Powers" (1951) and "My Host the World" (Posthumous), (1953).

Consciousness reveals the nature of which in its turn proclaims itself an infinity of essences subsisting in and by themselves. Some of these essences, entertained in mind, are enacted by matter giving concrete existence to their subsistence. Now, the realism of matter, a non-mental substratum, is a matter of animal faith. "Matter, among other things, is external to and independent of consciousness, spatially extended, unequally distributed (corporeal), subject to locomotion and perhaps to intrinsic alteration in its parts, and capable of becoming conscious. Its selective and progressive enactment of essences is not teleological or intelligent, but is actuated by efficient causation and predetermined by antecedent situations." Mind, which is an activity of physique entertains enacted as well as unenacted essences. "Its registration of the natural functions and drives of the body of which it is the aura, is desire." The confused desires get intermingled when an attempt is made to prove their existence or to justify them. Here comes the role of Reason which clears up the confusion by particular methods and thus they "dispel the suspicion and antagonism, with which the scientist, the moralist, the artist, and the theologian are wont to view one another, and enable a mind at harmony

with itself to contemplate a world in which the subsistent and the existent form a harmonious whole."

Santayana is rich in thought, dignified in approach and colourful in trends. It has been observed that his system lacks speculative originality, that his themes "are incongruous or perhaps even in conflict with one another." May be so to some extent. Indeed one really fails to reconcile his naturalism with his realism of essences or idealistic interpretation of mind. But even then his comprehensive philosophy is penetrating and entertaining. "His greatness resides in the catholicity of his interests; in his sensitivity to values in diverse realms of human experience, and in the freedom of his imaginative powers."

George Santayana, who can be ranked with Josiah Royce and William James, was awarded, in 1945, the Nicholas Murray Butler gold medal, by the Columbia University in recognition of his most distinguished contribution to philosophy. He retained his Spanish citizenship and was buried at the tomb of the Spaniards in the Verano Catholic Cemetery in Rome, without religious ceremony and with only a few witnesses.

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THE SIEGE AND FALL OF HOOGLY

An event leading to the extinction of the Portugues Settlement in Bengal

By MOHIT DAS GUPTA

The Portuguese in Bengal

The first European vessel reached the Indian shore on the 26th August, 1498, A.D. It sailed from Lisbon, with the Portuguese sailor, Da Gama as its Captain. Gama was out on an unchartered sea, to find out the Indies and circumnavigating the dark continent of Africa, eventually arrived at the South Malabar coast. Joao da Silveria was the first Portuguese explorer to visit Bengal. It was in 1518, some eight years after the Portuguese had acquired Goa and established their head quarters there. But not before 1530, did any Portuguese trading ship come to Bengal.

When Sher Shah invaded Bengal in 1534, its ruling chief, Sultan Giasuddin, enlisted Portuguese help and a fleet of nine ships was sent out for him from Goa.

In 1538, a number of Portuguese military adventurers entered the service of the King of Gaur. Some of the Bhuiyans or barons, who ran autonomous adminis-

trations of their own, within the Mughal territory of Bengal, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, employed Portuguese Captains or gunners, to lead their army or fleet.

A party of Portuguese from Sandip came trading to Satgaon (Saptagram) sometime in 1530 A.D. Satgaon was still a large centre of trade. The Portuguese called it Porto Piqueno (Little Haven). It was then the royal port of Bengal. But the markets of Satgaon gradually declined and lost their prosperity, due to rapid silting up of the river Saraswati, near the mouth of which the port lay. Hooghly was further down and here the river was wide and deep enough for big ships to ply and it soon grew up as a trading place. The Portuguese erected several houses at Hooghly and in course of time, their number was considerably increased. They also set up a big building with towers and ramparts which they fortified with cannons, muskets and other implements of war.

The time, when the Portuguese built their fort at Hooghly, can not be ascertained precisely. Some say it was constructed by one Captain Sampayo in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, before the regular colonisation of the Portuguese at Hooghly. There is also a difference of opinion, as to the time when this colony actually came into being. The Portuguese were found to have been settled in Hooghly by Fitch, who visited Bengal in 1556. The Portuguese named Hooghly as Golin. It was called an island in the river, probably because of the deep and broad moat, running round the wall of the fortress

It may reasonably be said that not till the reign of Akbar the great (1556—1605 A.D.) the Portuguese were serious about building their settlement, which they are supposed to have done with the Emperor's permission in 1575. Prior to that ships only came to Hooghly for trade, were loaded with export commodities, and sailed out again. The Portuguese also built up trading depots in other places in the Gangetic delta the biggest of which was at Tarda, where Tolly's nala meets the Vidyadhari river, some 15 miles south-east of Alipur. It was occupied by the Portuguese at the end of the 16th century and remained a prosperous centre of trade for over a century, before the foundation of Calcutta by the English. The Portuguese, so to say, were not peace-loving and commercially inclined. They were by nature, rough and violent and rather unscrupulous. They soon began to prefer free-booting to mercantile pursuits.

Traders turned into Pirates

Under the pretence of trade, many of these frankly took to freebooting. In those days the Arakani pirates prowled about in their sloops in the Bay of Bengal. The Portuguese also swelled the ranks of these buccaneers. There were Portuguese settlers already in the island of Sandip and Chitragong and these rovers moved about in their cargo vessels sometimes fitted with guns in the innumerable creeks and estuaries

of the deltaic regions of Lower Bengal. A branch of the Hooghly river was named as the 'Rogue's River' because of the pirates infesting the same. These pirates looted the cargo boats, swooped on the coastal villages and carried off the lads and wenches and the able bodied persons to sell them in slave markets or to despatch them to other colonies as indentured labour. People were thus in constant dread of these unprincipled and relentless 'harmads' who used to rob their wealth, rape their women folk and inflict inhuman torture on those whom they could lay hands upon and make captives. The ships bound for Mecea, carrying muslim pilgrims were not also spared. The passengers were forcibly converted to Christianity and in case of refusal to give up faith, were brutally put to death.

The peace of the Mughal reign was thus constantly disturbed by the villainous activities of these maritime marauders, during the early days of the 17th Century.

Grant of Royal Firman: The Portuguese incur the wrath of Emperor Shah Jahan

The piratical tendency of the Portuguese traders was not so manifest during the reign of Akbar. Till then they were regarded as harmless traders from the West. Akbar was curious to meet one of these feringshis,—the newcomers from the "West with blue or grey eyes and red or flaxen hair." According to his desire, Captain Tavez went to Agra and presented himself to the King. The Portuguese Captain was most cordially received by Akbar who granted him permission to select any place he liked, near Hooghly, for his countrymen to settle down in with liberty to build a church and preach the gospel. In return to the favour shown by the Emperor, the Portuguese under-took to keep the coast clear of pirates. But the mendacious feringshis hardly cared to keep their pledge. Bengal was too far off from the Mughal capital and the situation there was not at all peaceful. The feudal barons were mostly refractory. Moreover, the Afgan Chief of the neighbouring State of Orissa occasionally

raided this province, crossing the frontier which could not be adequately safeguarded. Instead of putting down the Arakani pirates, many of the Portuguese themselves became pirates and carried on plundering innocent traders and voyagers.

The old Portuguese stronghold at Hooghly was extended and renovated, after securing the royal permit, following the interview of Tavaréz with the Mughal Sovereign. The fort was located near the place where the district jail now stands. Its ruins may still be seen during ebb tide, jutting out from the bank, in front of the jail, which forms a part of the jail garden. The ditch round the fortress was so deep that the English traveller Burton who visited the place in 1532 calls Hooghly an island. There is however no positive evidence as to whether it was really a dug out canal.

Gradually the Portuguese grew in strength. Militarily they were superior to the Mughals. In 1604 the Portuguese of Hooghly attacked and captured a muslim fort, killing all the garrison of four hundred men, excepting one. The Fauzdar was afraid of these feringshis and avoided clash with them, as far as practicable. In 1621, Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan), who rose against his royal parent Jahangir, sought the help of the Governor of Hooghly,—one Michael Rodriguez, who not only refused to help the prince but also taunted him with his filial ingratitude. Khurram sat on the throne of Delhi on the 1st. February 1628, a few months after his father's demise, and took the title of Shah Jahan or the Emperor of the World.

Soon after, he appointed Kasim Khan as the Governor of Bengal. Kasim was told to keep a watch on the Portuguese.

Kasim reported to the Emperor that the feringshis had stopped trading and were in league with the pirates, kidnapped children and men, forcibly made them Christians and sent them as slaves to other Portuguese settlements.

Siege and Fall of Hooghly

The new Emperor had already a dislike for these foreigners. He could not

forget the insolent treatment of the Portuguese governôr. On receipt of the report of Kasim Ali, he ordered him to capture Hooghly. Accordingly Kasim Ali besieged Hooghly in 1632. The siege lasted for long three months and a half (from June to October 1632).

The Portuguese casualty was heavy. About one thousand people lost their lives while over four thousand were taken prisoners.

Out of 67 large vessels 57 ghrabs and 200 sloops on the river, only one grab and two sloops could escape to Goa, others were all seized or destroyed. The largest vessel with nearly two thousand men, women and children on board was ultimately blown up by its Captain who preferred death to disgrace, rather than to allow the muslims to make his men and women their slaves or concubines.

The strength of the Portuguese population, as stated by native historians is obviously an overstatement, unless of course the figure includes the native Christians as well.

Even so the number seems incredibly large. The geographical references made by these chroniclers also lack accuracy.

The fort is said to have been betrayed by a Portuguese half-caste De Mello but the Muslim historians are silent about this betrayal.

Account of the siege by Mughal Historians

Khafi Khan,* the famous historian refers to this siege in his book (*Nantakhabul Lubar*, popularly known as *Tarikh-i-Khafi Khan*) as follows:

"Reports of unseemly practices of these people (the Portuguese) reached the Emperor and Kasim Khan was sent to Bengal as Governor. He, received secret orders to suppress them and to take their

* Khafi Khan is the pseudonym of the Moghul historian Muhammad Hashim or Hasim Ali Khan who compiled a minute register of all the events of Shah Jahan's time which he published some years after the monarch's death.

fortress. Kasim Khan accordingly proceeded to Hooghly and laid siege to it. The details of these skilful arrangements and strenuous exertions would be of great length; suffice it to say that by the aid of boats and by the advance of his forces both by land and water he brought down the pride of these people and subdued their fortress after a siege of three months. Nearly 50,000 raiyats of that place came out and took refuge with Kasim Khan. Ten thousand persons, Feringhis and raiyats, perished in the course of the siege. Fourteen hundred Feringhis and a number of persons who had been Christians by force, were taken prisoners. Nearly ten thousand people—innocent raiyats and captives of these people—were set free. More than a thousand of the Imperial army fell in course of the siege.'

The account of the siege given by Abdul Hamid Lahori** in his book *Badshahnama* is fairly elaborate, in which he expounds the strategy of Mughal warfare. Lahori narrates the history of the early Portuguese settlement at Hooghly and describes the atrocious activities of these westerners.

He writes :

"These proceedings had come to the notice of the Emperor before his accession . . . and he resolved to put an end to these atrocities if ever he ascended the throne.... After his ascension, he appointed Kasim Khan to the Government of Bengal and impressed upon him the duty of overthrowing these mischievous people. He was ordered, as soon as he attended to the necessary duties of his extensive province, to set about the extermination of these pernicious intruders. Troops were to be sent both by water and by land, so that the difficult enterprise might be quickly and easily accomplished.

"Kasim Khan set about making his preparations and at the close of the cold season in Shabon 1240 AH, sent his son Inayatulla with Alla Yar Khan, who was to be the real commander of the army.....to effect the conquest. He also sent Bahadur

Kambu.....with the force under his command, under the pretence of taking possession of the Khalisa lands at Makhsudabad (Murshidabad) but really to join Allah Yar Khan at the proper time.....It was given out that the forces were marching to attack Hijli.....It was arranged that Allah Yar Khan should halt at Burdwan, which lies in the direction of Hijli, until he received intelligence of Khwaja Sher and others who had been ordered to proceed in boats from Sripur (Serampore) to cut off the retreat of the Feringhis. When the fleet of Khwaja Sher arrived at Mohana....Allah Yar Khan was to march with all expedition from Burdwan to Hooghly and fall upon the infidels.

Upon being informed that Khwaja Sherhad arrived at the mouth of the river, Allah Yar made a forced march from Burdwan and in a night and a day reached the village of Huldipur (?) between Satgaun and Hooghly. At the same time he was joined by Bahadur Kambu who arrived from Makshudabad with 500 horse and a large force of infantry....

....Between Hooghly and the sea in a narrow part of the river, he formed a bridge of boats so that ships could not get down to sea; thus the flight of the enemy was prevented.

"On the 2nd. Zi-l-hijja 1241, the attack was made on the Feringhis by the boatmen on the river and by forces on land. An inhabited place outside the ditch was taken and plundered and the occupants were slain

"The Royal army was engaged for three months and a half in the siege of this strong place. Sometimes the infidels fought, sometimes they made overtures of peace, protracting the time in hopes of succour from their countrymen. With base treachery they pretended to make proposals of peace and sent nearly a lac of rupees as tribute, while at the same time they ordered 7000 musketeers who were in their service to open fire. So heavy was it that many of the trees of a grove in which a large force of the besiegers was posted, were stripped of their branches and leaves.

"At length the besiegers sent their

** [Elliot—History of India told by its own Historians (Vol. VII)].

ioneers to work upon the ditch, just by the church, where it was not so broad and deep as elsewhere. There they dug channels and drew off the water. Mines were then driven on from the trenches, but two of these were discovered by the enemy and counteracted.

The centre mine was carried under an edifice which was loftier and stronger than all other buildings, and where a large number of Ferighis were stationed. This was charged and tamped. On the 14th Rabi-ul-Awal the besiegers' forces were drawn up in front of this building, in order to allure the enemy to that part. When a large number was assembled, a heavy fire was assembled, fire was opened and the mine was fired. The building was blown up and the many infidels, who had collected around it, were sent flying into the air. Some of the infidels found their way to hell by the water but some thousands succeeded in making their way to the ships. At this juncture Khwaja Sher came up with the boats and killed many of the fugitives.

These foes of the faith were afraid lest the large ship, which had nearly 2000 men and women and much property on board, should fall into the hands of the Muhammadans, so they fired the magazine and blew her up. Out of 64 large dingas, 17 ghrabs and 200 jaliyas, one ghrab and two jeliyas escaped, in consequence of some fire from the burning ships having fallen upon some boats laden with oil, which burnt away through (the bridge of boats). Whoever escaped from the water and fire became a prisoner. From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young,—altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned by water or burnt by fire. Nearly 1000 brave warriors of the Imperial army obtained the glory of

martyrdom; 4400 Christians of both sexes were taken prisoners and nearly 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring country who had been kept in confinement by these tyrants were set at liberty".

The Descendants of the Portuguese Settlers

The Portuguese never had any regular settlement, further inland than Hooghly but they had numerous small posts which were practically little better than nests of pirates, all over the Sunderbans. The remains of one very fine station, with a big Church, two-storey masonry houses and masonry bridges, may still be seen in Shibpur in Bakharganj district (Barisal,—now in East Pakistan), some thirty miles south of Barisal town.

Since 1632, the Portuguese can hardly be said to have a history in Hooghly. They did never assert any claim to independence and the descendants of the Portuguese settlers seem to have quite sunk into the position of subjects, first of the Nawab of Bengal afterwards of the English—differing little, if at all, from ordinary natives. Portugal was a decaying power when the capture of the Portuguese fort at Hooghly destroyed her influence in Bengal for ever.

Mr. Clavel in 1676 in his account of the trade of Hooghly observes, "The Portuguese have no trade and though numerous, make a living chiefly as sepoys in the service of the Mughal Governor." Later we find them serving as sepoys under the English. After the fall of Hooghly fort, the few surviving Portuguese mostly left for Goa or other Portuguese settlements leaving behind their offspring begotten by native wives, whose progeny now form a part of our Eurasian population, bearing surnames like Fernandez, Noronha, de Souza, Gomez, Roderigues, de Cruz, de Silva etc.



SOVIET MUSIC TODAY

By TIKHON KHRENNIKOV

Secretary of the Board of USSR Union of Composers.

"The main point of our entire ideological work at the present stage," as pointed out by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, "is the education of all the working people in a spirit of lofty ideology and devotion to communism, a communist attitude towards labor and public economy, the complete elimination of survivals of bourgeois views and customs, the all-round, harmonious development of the personality, the creation of a genuine wealth of spiritual culture."

For Soviet art which is actively participating in the ideological battles—where there can be no conciliatory attitudes, concessions and compromises—the only fertile soil is the soil of socialist realism. Its foundation is the artist's Party positions, the deep popularity of his art, his high principles and consistency in asserting the ideas of communism, his ways of expressing the truth of life, the Soviet people's optimism.

The creative intelligentsia of the Soviet Union, is, of course, on the right road. Nevertheless, there were a few ugly manifestations that cropped up in Soviet art—manifestations of formalism, abstractionism, and decadence, and examples of drabness and hackwork, which have to be fought against for the development of a great and genuine innovative art of communism.

We, Soviet composers, were highly gratified and happy to hear the favourable appraisal given to the work of the Soviet composers by N. S. Khrushchev. "As for music," he said, "we feel that it is developing at present in the right direction. To be true, some of the composers also showed excesses. We spoke about that at the time, but now matters seem to be proceeding well."

Soviet composers made a careful study of the problems before them and are now engaged in putting in their best efforts to

achieve new, grand successes in the field of Soviet musical culture.

Time and again they keep returning to the central problem of Soviet music—the problem of music and contemporaneity, music and its ties with the people, with Soviet reality.

Speaking of the development of Soviet music in the past few years, one can say that its profile is increasingly shaped by themes of our times and the Soviet people's revolutionary history. These themes lie at the basis of many of the recently completed operas and ballets.

New themes born of life itself are now pervading our art. Our composers are now centering their attention on the grand theme of the conquest of outer space. At first, they responded to the flights of the Soviet spacemen with songs alone; unfortunately, many of them demonstrated a state of "artistic weightlessness." Now we have samples of a far more serious embodiment of the cosmic theme—not only in songs, but in other genres as well. Here, as everywhere else, the main issue is man, the Soviet spaceman, scientist and inventor.

Soviet composers have been showing renewed interest in vocal-symphonic music—oratorios and cantatas. Noteworthy among the opuses of this genre are G. Sviridov's "Oratorio Pathétique" to the words of V. Mayakovsky—a highly revolutionary piece of music of great life-asserting force. The concrete graphic pattern of the literary text expressed in music imparts to a composition of this genre particular artistic impact, and renders it easily accessible to the lay audience.

Opera and Ballet

Opera as an art has amassed a great deal of experience in the Soviet Union. We

have some fine achievements in this field, such as the well known "War and Peace" by S. Prokofiev, "Decembrists" by Y. Shaporin, "Katerina Izmailova" by D. Shostakovich, etc.; operas extolling the heroes of the early years of the October Revolution and the heroes of the Great Patriotic War.

All these and some other operas naturally differ in their levels of mastery, their degrees of dramatic expression and national colour. But one thing is certain: we have progressed far in giving artistic expression to the glorious pages of the Soviet state's history, in treating of our country's past from new positions. We can boldly claim that some of our finest operas show splendid achievements in the field of form, and interesting vital quests in the spheres of musical expressiveness. Still we have to admit that the development of operatic art does not entirely satisfy us, for vivid and deep operas featuring our contemporaries have yet to be written.

The process of creating ballets on present-day themes is making very slow and ponderous headway, although in this genre we have achieved certain favourable results. So far, we account for very few ballets whose heroes are our contemporaries. Here, as in the field of opera, many unsolved problems still confront us.

It is certainly worth mentioning our achievements in the symphonic genre. We have every right to speak of Soviet symphonic classicism, of the world-acknowledged import of S. Prokofiev's, N. Myaskovsky's, D. Shostakovich's and A. Khachaturyan's symphonies. In their better symphonic opuses, the Soviet composers have incarnated the most important quality of our music—socialist realism; theirs is music deep in ideological content, social significance, variety of form, individual creative style and national tradition, and bold innovation born of our life.

The range of images developed in

Soviet symphonic music is very broad. Here we can find tragic, intensely psychological, lyrical-dramatic and jocular images alike. But we have to point out once again that the heroic, epic forms of symphony are developing far more slowly.

Song Writing

In the past few years many bitter and just words were said about the sluggish progress made by song-writing. It was noted that a mass of song-moths had multiplied, instantaneously born with doubtful prospects and died just as instantaneously. That, of course, does not mean that the healthy streams feeding the best compositions in this field have been entirely exhausted. We are happy to say that songs have been lately appearing which are socially significant, sincere, courageous and strong. They have received countrywide acknowledgement. They are carrying out a noble mission, asserting as they do ideas of peace, and extolling the romanticism of labour. They are playing a major rôle in cultivating the moral qualities of the Soviet man.

The theme of socialist realism is inseparably bound with a number of important aesthetic problems, one of which is the national and international element in music. We have entered a period of flourishing cultures in the socialist nations. Along with the further development of progressive national traditions, the general features born of the communist ideology, the period of communist upbuilding, traits bringing the different national schools nearer, are standing out in ever-stronger relief.

It is no wonder, therefore, that Soviet music now resounds all over the world. Millions of people of different countries applaud the work of the Soviet musicians, tender the composers and performers of the great socialist power a most enthusiastic welcome.



REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION & PRODUCTIVITY

By Prof. M. BALASUBRAMANIAN,
Reader in Economics, Annamalai University

Indian agriculture even today continues to suffer from various weaknesses, the most important of them, being its vulnerability to weather conditions and the pitifully low yields per unit area. Some improvement has, however, been witnessed in regard to the latter during the fifties. Productivity in Indian agriculture in general has not progressed at any too flattering a rate.

From the index numbers of Agricultural productivity in India 1950-51 to 1961-62 it will be observed that growth in productivity has been very lopsided as between different crops. Among cereals and pulses, productivity of rice and wheat has shown a relatively higher upward trend than that of coarse grains. Increase in productivity in the case of pulses generally has been only meagre. In most cases it has even deteriorated; the productivity index for "other pulses" has remained invariably below the basic level. Similar has been the progress in respect of oil seeds. In this group, only productivity of castor seeds has shown some improvement. In regard to others, the progress has been very slow and even with the index generally remaining below the base level and fluctuating quite widely. This phenomenon is perhaps explained by the fact that greater stress has been placed hitherto on boosting the output of staple food which has led to the growing of these crops—oilseeds and pulses—only on marginal lands. Among fibres, productivity index for cotton has fluctuated very widely, presumably because of heavy dependence of this crop on weather conditions. Productivity in jute has increased only at a slow pace. In the miscellaneous group, productivity of sugarcane has shown some improvement, but that of tobacco has generally gone down.

Yield Per Acre: Crop-Wise

From the data relating to the average of the three years ending with 1960-61 as a percentage of that of the three years ending with 1951-52, it will be observed that the largest increase in yield per acre has taken place in the case of foodgrains—gram 29.5 per cent, rice 27.4 per cent, ragi 23.8 per cent, jowar 23.3 per cent, bajra 18.6 per cent wheat 17.8 per cent, and maize 11.8 per cent—and of the fibres—cotton 20.7 per cent, mesta 15.6 per cent, and jute 6.4 per cent—while in the case of oilseeds, the increase in yield per acre has been low and is actually negative in the case of linseeds. There has also been noticeable fall in the yield per acre in the case of pulses other than gram, tur showing a fall of 5.7 per cent and other pulses of 7.8 per cent. It will also be seen that percentage increase in the yield per acre cropwise ranged from +29.5 to -7.8 for the twentyfive crops taken for consideration, only 6 of the crops—rice (27.4 per cent), Jowar (23.3 per cent), ragi (23.8 per cent), gram (29.5 per cent), cotton (20.7 per cent), gingerdy (19.3 per cent)—showing an increase of higher than the average for all crops taken together (18.6 per cent) and as many as 11 crops—chillies dry (-2.4 per cent), pepper black (5 per cent), tobacco (-2.9 per cent), sugarcane (9.1 per cent), Jute (6.4 per cent), linseed (-3.8 per cent), rape and mustard (8.8 per cent), sesamum (4.6 per cent), other pulses (-7.8 per cent), tur (-5.7 per cent), gram (7.9 per cent)—having an average of less than 50 per cent of the average for all crops (9.3 per cent).

Inter State Productivity of Different Crops

From the data relating to the average of the three years ending 1960-61, for those States—Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra and Gujrat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, U.P. and West Bengal—which have 4% or more of the all-India acreage under each crop, it will be observed that in the case of rice, the yield per acre is well below the national average (850 lbs per acre) in the case of four states—Bihar (747 lbs per acre), Madhya Pradesh (731 lbs per acre), Orissa (627 lbs per acre) and U.P. (616 lbs per acre)—with more than 10% of the all India acreage. Orissa and U.P. which have between them 23.6% of the all-India acreage have an yield per acre which is less than 73% of the national average and less than 50% of the yield per acre in Madras (1,323 lbs per acre).

In the case of wheat Maharashtra and Gujarat with 11% of the national acreage has an yield (465 lbs per acre) which is 35% less than the national average (715 lbs per acre).

In the case of jowar, Mysore and Rajasthan with 20% of the national acreage between them, have yields (350 lbs per acre and 268 lbs per acre) well below the national average (455 lbs per acre).

In the case of bajra, Mysore and Rajasthan with 38% of the national acreage between them, have yields (200 lbs per acre and 196 lbs per acre respectively) well below the national average (282 lbs per acre).

For maize U.P. has an yield (629 lbs per acre) well below the national average (771 lbs per acre), though it has the largest single state acreage under that crop (26.4% of the national acreage). Bihar occupies a similar position with respect to barely, though occupying the third place in area with an average of 10.6%, while with regard to ragi, yields well below the national average (663 lbs per acre) are shown both by Bihar (473 lbs per acre) and Orissa (393 lbs per acre).

Taking foodgrains as a whole, the differences in the yield are startling. Madras (954 lbs per acre), Kerala (1137 lbs

per acre), Bengal (845 lbs per acre) and Assam (824 lbs per acre) stand well above the national average (606 lbs per acre), with Punjab (738 lbs per acre) trailing at some distance, U.P. (669 lbs per acre), Andhra (641 lbs per acre), Bihar (615 lbs per acre), and Orissa (594 lbs per acre) are about the national average. Madhya Pradesh (566 lbs per acre), Maharashtra and Gujarat (561 lbs per acre), Mysore (464 lbs per acre), Rajasthan (392 lbs per acre) are below the national average.

In the case of sugarcane, it is well-known that the yields in U.P. (2,541 lbs per acre) are well below the national average (330 lbs per acre) even though it accounts for nearly 60% of the national acreage.

Among the six crops—rice, jowar, bajra, ragi, groundnut and cotton—the highest place in terms of yield per acre is occupied by Madras for all the crops except cotton. In the case of cotton, Madras occupies a second place. Among the seven crops—wheat, bajra, maize, barley, gram, sugarcane and cotton—Punjab occupies the highest place for four crops—wheat, maize, gram and cotton and the second place for barely, the third place for sugarcane and the fourth place for bajra. Thus both north and south lead in agricultural productivity.

The States—Madras, Punjab and Kerala—with the highest productivity account for only 11.4% of the total area under cultivation, while the States with the largest area under cultivation like Maharashtra and Gujarat (18%), Madhya Pradesh (12.7%), Rajasthan (8.8%), Bihar (7.8%) and Mysore (6.6%) fare rather badly in terms of their agricultural productivity.

The uneven progress in the productivity of different crops has led to quite a few unnecessary imbalances being developed in Indian Agriculture. High prices of some crops in some years have resulted in diversion of area under cultivation to these from under the competing crops. Jute output, thus, got a big fillip in 1961-62, prices of raw jute in the previous year had ruled unreasonably high owing to failure of crop both in India and Pakistan. But this increase in jute output was brought about to

a great extent by diversion of land from under paddy cultivation. Sugarcane output in the past two or three years, similarly, has gone up at the expense of wheat. The net result of all this has been that not only the goal of achieving self-sufficiency in food has proved elusive, but supplies of agricultural raw materials to the industrial sector have also shown an erratic trend.

Thus the increase in productivity as well as the total physical output has also been uneven as between the different states of the Indian Union. Agricultural growth in Punjab, has been phenomenal. This state suffered heavily from partition and lost a major portion of the casual irrigation area to Pakistan, thus becoming deficit in food production. But in the course of barely fifteen years, it has again emerged as a big food surplus producing state, besides as a material contribution to the output of various other important crops like gram and cotton. Agricultural growth has been fairly moderate in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Madras and Mysore. But Assam, Orissa and West Bengal have registered only meagre progress, notwithstanding some increases in yields witnessed recently in the latter two.

Low productivity in India obviously can be attributed to a number of factors, the most important of them being (1) the general poverty and uneconomic holdings of the majority of peasantry, (2) lack of education, (3) inertia and fatalistic attitude of the farmers at the lower rung etc. But not a small role is played in this matter by lack of adequate specialisation in our Agriculture and it is still not being treated by and large, as an industry. The unit-area yields of various foodcrops in different states show wide disparities, but still they continue to be grown in almost all the states. Some specialisation, has indeed, been effected over the ages, in respect of commercial crops. But here also there is some further scope for it, as is apparent from the wide disparities in sugarcane yields per acre between U.P. and Bihar, on the one hand, and Maharashtra and Gujarat on the other. Farming is taken as an industry only by the educated middle class which has taken to it

after the implementation of the land reforms or in the absence of other suitable avenues of employment open to it. The difference to farm yields that farm management can make hardly needs any emphasis.

There are two other weak links in agricultural development in India—(1) comparatively lower emphasis placed under the first two Plans on fostering the production of protective foods; and (2) the drag that surplus cattle population exerts on farm output. An average Indian today consumes far less quantities of oils, vegetables, fruits, milk and milk products, meat, fish and eggs per day than he used to consume some two decades ago. This is an unmistakable proof of the fact that the output of these protective foods is not keeping pace with the staggering growth in population. An important point that needs to be taken note of in this connection is that livestock yields in this country in the last decade or so have gone up only marginally. The total milk production, for instance, is estimated to have gone up from 17 million tons in 1950-51, to about 22 million tons in 1960-61. But how much of this is due to increase in the number of milch cattle and how much owing to improvement in yield per head of cattle it is difficult to say. During the last couple of years the tempo of development activity in regard to protective foods has been stepped up. But to what extent it can succeed in case of livestock output in the face of surplus cattle continuing to be a drag on, and in competition with useful livestock for, the available feed is anybody's guess.

Despite the progressively increasing funds—Rs. 504 crores in the First Plan, Rs. 666 crores in the Second Plan and Rs. 1,281 crores in the Third Plan—made available to agriculture in the Plans and generally the right pattern of priorities, the agricultural growth in India, however impressive, is not adequate. The reasons for this painfully slow rate of agricultural growth to be found in the performance of both agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. The slow rate of growth in the non-agricultural sector has resulted in its failure to siphon off surplus manpower from

agriculture. Secondly, to a considerable extent, the half-hearted and faulty implementation of Plan schemes has stood in the way of raising agricultural productivity.

The persistence of inter-State differences in regard to Agricultural productivity in all the years cannot just be explained in terms of national factors. Capital, labour and agricultural Practices must have something to do with these differences. Moreover, the benefits conserved by various schemes such as irrigation, extension of the area under improved seeds, fertilisers etc., are also not distributed among the regions in the required proportions.

If the future of agricultural production in our country is going to turn on the increase in productivity, maximum attempts should be made to raise the yield per acre in those states which with the largest area under cultivation, have fared rather badly in terms of their agricultural productivity. The attempt in this direction, not only makes the most effective contribution to increasing the national average but also in the process minimizes the inter-State differences in the levels of agricultural productivity.

An increase in agricultural productivity can come mainly in three ways: (1) larger investment for building up the infrastructure of the agricultural economy, (2) more intensive use of traditional techniques and (3) introduction of improved techniques. The first is a rather costly and also slow process. A concentration on traditional techniques may show some improvement in the short period but it has a limited value. The adaptation of improved techniques practised elsewhere and the discovery of new techniques, on the other hand, requires considerable ingenuity on the part of the people concerned. Once, however, the ground is prepared for the introduction of such techniques, an ever expanding horizon is opened up. In fact, a substantial and

sustained increase in agricultural productivity becomes really possible when the economy is so geared that the search for and adoption of new techniques become a built-in process, as it were.

Apart from a favourable price for agricultural commodities for the producers, the largest single factor to ensure a large and continuous increase in production is irrigation. But the present position in regard to irrigation is manifestly not satisfactory. About six million acres commandable by the new irrigation projects are going dry because field channels have not been executed and it is estimated that 1,000 miles of such channels have to be dug.

It is futile to expect the ryots to dig these channels, in a short time even if an appeal is made of the present urgency and the Public Works and Revenue Departments do not appear yet to have taken any energetic action. Ryots are now-a-days apathetic even to carry out kudimaramath works and would prefer them to be carried out by Government themselves. In these circumstances Britain's example is worthy of emulation.

During the last war, thousands of acres of grass lands in Britain were turned over to the plough. The slogan was "Dig for victory" and by this process the country reduced its dependence on food from imports substantially before the war ended. A Land Army was organised and in the army women took on agricultural jobs like tractor ploughing to replace the manpower called to military duty. An auxiliary Land Army in India as suggested above to dig these field channels in irrigable areas, to do bunding and trenching work in dry areas, to retain the rainfall in the soil and all other such rural engineering jobs, should be very congenial to this land force which may be drawn predominantly from the rural population.



MIYAN TANSEN

By Prof. AMAL HALDAR

Music has been described as a "talisman of knowledge." The great scholar and historian of Akbar's court, Abdul Fazl, elaborating his observations on this aspect of music says: "It sometimes causes the beautiful creatures of the harem of the heart to shine forth on the tongue, and sometimes appears in solemn strains by means of the hand and the chord. The melodies then enter through the window of the ear and return to their former seat, the heart, bringing with them thousands of presents."

The reaction to music is nearly as varied as the insight of the individual who hears it. It may move one to horror or to joy. It may move those who have renounced the world and those who cling to it. It transports the hearer to a sphere of heavenly beatitude where he forgets the immediate surroundings and is reminded of an existence which is undefinable. It makes him paryutsuka, or pleasurable painful, for something which he misses very much and which is bound up with his very being. It touches the subconscious state of human existence through which runs the eternal current of the unity of the soul. This bhavasthira sauharda or the ending passion of life carried on through the eternal cycle of existence is aroused by music.

Great Patron

Such being the function and effect of music, which is divine and always ennobling, it has a special charm for men who strive to have a glimpse of the divine self within. During the 16th century in India Akbar was such a man. He encouraged all that was harmonious and unifying in human society, and musicians as the greatest exponents of this harmony, received his great patronage.

The memoirs of Babar mention Raja Ram Chand Baghela, Raja of Bhath or Bhattah, as the third among the three great

rajas of Hindustan. He is known as a great patron of renowned musicians and singers, the principal among whom was Ramatanu Pande, afterwards known as Tansen.

Born in 1506, Ramatanu was the son of Makaranda Pande, a resident of Gwalior. His talent in music became manifest when he was a mere boy. The natural gift that the undiscovered genius possessed as developed by the famous musician of the time, Swami Haridas of Brindavan. It is said that once when the Swami was passing along a field he heard a strange musical voice. It was the voice of young Tansen who was imitating the cries of various animals, particularly of tigers, to scare away trespassers.

Haridas took Ramatanu of Brindavan and gave him a sound training in the finer points of music. On return to his village Ramatanu continued to work hard and eventually emerged as a seasoned musician. Much of his time was now spent in singing devotional songs, composing and teaching. He gradually came to the notice of Raja Ram Chand who made him one of his court singers. Raja Ram Chand was so overwhelmed by the music of Ramatanu that he once made a present of one crore of tankas in appreciation of his performances.

When his fame reached Akbar, the Mughal Emperor, he sent Jalal-uddin Qurchi to bring Tansen to his court at Agra. This was in 1563, the seventh year of Akbar's reign. Raja Ram Chand was reluctant to lose his favourite but could do little to resist Akbar's demand. Akbar was so moved on hearing Ramatanu that he presented him with two lakhs of rupees and conferred on him the title of Tansen. He was so much honoured and encouraged by the Mughal emperor that most of Tansen's later compositions are in the praise of Akbar in whom he sought inspiration for the final bloom of his talents.

Abdul Fazal says of Miyān Tansen: "A

singer like him has not been known in India for the last thousand years. He was by far the best of the group of musicians of the Imperial Court, of whom at least 36 are enumerated in history. Numerous musicians were attached to Akbar's Court—Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris, both men and women. They formed seven groups, one for each day of the week."

It is not strange that personal faith was a matter of secondary importance and consequence to Tansen. It is however a strange coincidence that Tansen was born as a result of the blessings of the great Muslim divine of Gwalior, Muhammad Ghaus.

Marriage And Sons

Losing his parents at an early age, Tansen had to stay for some time with Muhammad Ghaus. It is said that during this period he married one Hussaini and embraced Islam. Tansen had four sons and a daughter by this marriage. Abdul Fazal mentions his son Tantarang Khan and the Badshahnamah mentions another son, Bilas. In fact, Tansen had four sons Surat Sen, Sarat Sen, Tarang Khan and Bilas Khan and a daughter, Saraswati, all of whom were proficient in the art of music. Saraswati was married to the renowned chief of Singhalgarh, Misra Singh, a famed vina-player.

Tansen has been the greatest luminary on the horizon of classical music of northern India, the renowned discoverer of several ragas and the designer a few instruments. He is credited with the discovery of the Rudra Vina and is said to be the innovator of two famous ragas, Miyan-ki-Todi and Darbari Kanada,—probably after his own name and the name of the Imperial Court which he had the privilege to serve.

Ripe Age

Tansen died at the age of 83 in 1589, full of years and honours. His body was taken to Gwalior and buried near the sacred mausoleum of his benefactor and spiritual guru, Muhammad Ghaus. The calm seclusion of this spot, hallowed by the mortal remains of a great devotee of art, there reigns supreme a spirit of universality. The simple mausoleum which stands today over the grave of Tansen is reminiscent of the typical Mughal architecture with recessed arches, flat roofs and straight columns. It recalls the architecture of the Sheikh Salim Chisti's mausoleum at Fatehpur Sikri, but with lesser pretensions to decorative embellishments.

Pictorial Studies

Through the ages have come down to us several pictorial studies of the great musician. As depicted in a painting of the Mughal Qualam of the last decade of the 16th century, Tansen appears a simply robed, vigorous yet emotional man of sharp features. Draped in a cross-breasted and long-sleeved garment, with a turban and a Mughal patka or waistband, he represents the typical noblemen of the period.

About two centuries later, Rajasthan artists painted a group which shows Akbar, Tansen and Swami Haridas seated in a grove. Swami Haridas, the guru of Tansen, scantily dressed, is singing to the accompaniment of Tanpura. An enraptured Tansen, with a sitar, sits before him. Akbar looks on admiringly at the two. The birds on trees, the monkeys playing on the branches, the confiding peacock—all constitute that serene and detached atmosphere which is the very essence and gift of divine music.



A RARE, OLD, TANJORE PAINTING

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY

A Tamil poet of distinction, a talented (1748-1830) was the most distinguished of literary critic, musician and composer of such illustrious rulers. While retaining songs, Sri T. D. Meenakshisundaram Pillai, some of the refinement, sensitivity and B.A.B.L., Registrar, Annamalai University, technical excellence of the age-old school of is also a discerning art collector and art miniature painting, the artists, to please connoisseur. With a flair for Fine Arts, he their patrons, also painted commissioned has collected several excellent paintings, portraits of rulers, nobles and saints, ima- sculptures and curios with accent laid on, ginative studies of South Indian Gods and quality and speaks about them with inti- Goddesses, and occasionally other pictures. mate knowledge and understanding and Realism, Idealism, Folk Art and Imaginative infectious enthusiasm. During my recent Art were in varying proportions combined visit to Annamalainagar, he showed me his by the clever artists to create works of art collection with which I was much impressed. which have stood the test of time.

This article concerns a rare, old, and truly outstanding item from his collection, a beautiful Tanjore Style Painting which illustrates in an exquisite and convincing manner the fusion of two great, age-old, cultures, Tamil and Malayalam, in the realm of Fine Arts.* This work of inspired art and accomplished craftsmanship demonstrates how great artists of a bygone age could effect with ease and refinement a synthesis, at once noble and exalted, and transcend provincialism while attempting to interpret **Satvam, Shivam, and Sundaram**, with vision, intuition and imagination.

With the liquidation of the Mughal (1526-1803-1856) and Rajasthani (16-19th Centuries), Schools of Painting which had its origin in political changes, a number of artists of accomplishment who were trained in the schools of Miniature Paintings were compelled to migrate to other States to earn their livelihood. Some of these artists peregrinated to Tanjore which then was the flourishing centre of Fine Arts, and culture. The peregrinations of these artists have not been fully investigated into and no authoritative accounts written by our art historians. Here is a field for research and study. The artists who found asylum in the Tanjore Court were liberally patronised by the enlightened rulers who excelled as Patrons of art and literature. King Sarabhoji

A predominating element of exquisite decoration, and the amazingly competent use of gold and semi-precious stones invested their paintings with obvious pictorial effect and popular appeal. Tanjore style of paintings are of four types, namely, those painted on glass, on mica sheets, on wooden panels, and on paper, each possessing its own peculiarities of art expression and technique, but all permeated by a common and exalted sense of idealism, vision, aspiration and decoration. Tanjore paintings are remarkable for their harmonious and unique combination of creative art and consummate craftsmanship.

The rare and impressive painting of **Two Travancore Ladies** in the collection of Sri T. D. Meenakshisundaram Pillai is executed on glass with outstanding technical competence so much so that even to-day, despite its age of nearly one hundred years, it looks quite fresh and sparkling, the colours retaining their brilliance. Sensitiveness and clarity of composition, distinguish this painting on glass which involves mastery of technique and illustrates the profound sense of beauty and talent for creative expression. The technique of painting on glass though simple in principle demands considerable experience and skill. The artist, according to a chosen design, draws the contours of the subject to be painted on the glass. He paints the eyes and mouth, drapery and ornaments, using

* See the reproduction which constitutes the frontispiece to this issue.

several shades of colours. The painters prepared the colours themselves to suit their needs, diluting them with water and linseed oil, or glue. The colours in powder form were mixed with the white of eggs, linseed oil, turpentine, to form an emulsion. To ensure the durability and lustre of the colours and to prevent their peeling off the glass, a second thin oil coating was provided after the background was painted. The painting was originally in the collection of an ancestor of Sri Pillai who saw service as a popular Medical Officer in some of the towns in South India. A contemporary artist who was a grateful patient of the Doctor, had presented him with a few paintings including the one discussed in this article. This painting possesses all the salient features of the typical Tanjore style paintings on glass.

The Maharajahs of Travancore State distinguished themselves as patrons of Fine Arts and Literature. It is well-known that the great linguist, scholar and poet, Shri Swathi Thirumal Maharaja (1813-1846) who takes his place of honour with the greatest South Indian Music composers, Syama Sastri, Dikshitar, and Thyagaraja, had in his Court several outstanding luminaries in the realms of vocal and instrumental music, dance, and painting. There was an exodus of musicians, dancers, and painters from Tanjore to the Travancore Court. About ten such painters were attached to the Royal Court on regular monthly pay. Ramaswami Naidu of Tanjore, proficient in oil painting, and Pedda Desari were two of the famous painters in Shri Swathi Thirumal's Court. The Maharaja's munificence to artists was profuse. Enraptured with the music and dance of Sugandavalli, a charming Devadasi from Tanjore, who performed **Bharathanatyam** before His Highness, he did not hesitate to have her as his spouse and thus honour an incomparable artist. It is likely that the painting of **Two Kerala Ladies** is the work of one such Tanjore artist who enjoyed Royal patronage, now anonymous, or his direct disciple, who was familiar with the life of the aristocratic ladies of Kerala, a century back. A few portraits of Sri Swathi Thirumal Maharaja

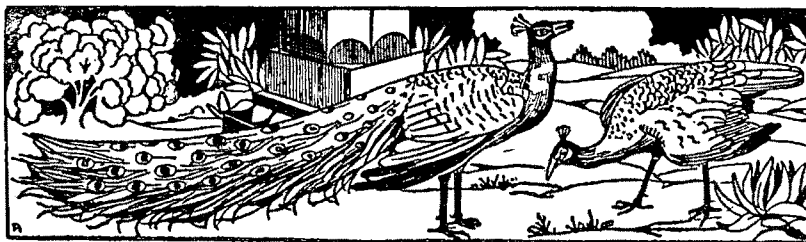
done on glass by Tanjore artists are exhibited in some of the art galleries and private collection in South India.

Though the style of the painting on glass of **Two Kerala Ladies** is truly and typically Tanjore, the theme is hundred per cent Travancore. The dress, ornaments and deportment of the old-time aristocratic ladies of Travancore who cultivated music and dance with care and devotion have been expressed by the artist in a pictorial language with deep understanding, warm human appeal and truthful fidelity in the exquisite and joy-imparting study of two lovely Kerala damsels. The size of the painting is 1' 3½" by 1' 7½". Two charming ladies belonging to the highest strata of society are depicted enjoying music. The older lady is reclining on a red velvet covered cushion and playing on a **Tambura** with the representation of a **Vyali** (mythological animal) on its top. The **Tambura** is decorated with exquisite carvings on wood inlaid with ivory. The younger lady is listening with rapt attention. The two ladies appear to be sisters. The elder damsel holding the **Tambura** wears typical old-time dress of the aristocratic ladies of Travancore, a gold laced hand-woven **Pudava** with the traditional characteristic black markings, and black border, tied around the waist, and a **thuppatta** of finest texture with gold lace hand-woven, tied above the breasts. The younger lady wears a scarlet coloured hand-woven, Benares **Pudava** with gold lace. Both ladies have adorned themselves with the traditional Travancore type of Gold ornaments selected with great care, taste and thought, such as **Thoda** (ear ornament) and **Addyal** (necklace) inlaid with precious rubies and diamonds, gold necklaces of different patterns, gold bangles and **moduku** inlaid with precious stones, and diamond nose screws, and rings. These ornaments of exquisite design and workmanship depict symbolically purity and beauty. White, black and scarlet are the dominant colours used by the artist with consummate pictorial effect and technical virtuosity. The figures are treated boldly and flatly without employing the subtleties of light and shade characteristic of Western portrait painting.

The necessary contrast is achieved by the clever, refined and harmonious use of colours in warm and cold tones. The drawing is good and accurate. The composition is well balanced. The coiffeur of the two ladies with thick black hair is typically Travancore, the hair rolled artistically and tied into a knot at the top and girdled by a gold band. The two damsels have black dots deliberately placed in the centre of their foreheads. They have also dyed their eyebrows with a black, aromatic medicated, dye. Elegant is their simple dress characteristic of nobility. Dignified are their postures, which pulsate with life and charm. The lady with Tambura has her hair knotted on the right. She wears a nose screw to the left. Contrary to this, the other lady wears a nose screw on the right and has her hair knotted to the left. This contrast enhances the compositional values of the painting. To accentuate the effective and truthful delineation of gold ornaments, the artist has used in the painting gold tinsel and semiprecious stones, thereby creating an impression that actual ornaments are used and not mere pictorial representations. The grouping of the two lovely ladies and their facial expressions are visually charming and aesthetically satisfying. The rendering of the figures is life-like with a ready and spontaneous appeal to the mind and eyes. With the use of minimum colours the artist has succeeded in creating the maximum pictorial effect and subdued sensuous appeal with sensitivity and refinement, avoiding over decoration and excessive stylisation which are characteristic features of Tanjore Paintings of Gods and Goddesses. The linear rhythm and chromatic harmony of the painting are obviously pleasing.

Ravishing physical charms of ebullient youth, dignity of demeanour and deportment and refinement of expression of Kerala Ladies of high birth and accomplishments find their most charming and vivacious delineation in this painting executed by a master artist. The painting enables the art lover to look at and perceive the external beauty of form and inner charm of the womanhood of Kerala. This study of Kerala damsels of a by-gone age is an important and truthful historical and social record illustrating faithfully the dress, ornaments and avocations of the aristocratic ladies of Kerala who were exceptionally well versed in music. Simple and effective in composition, pleasing in colour scheme, devoid of technical stunts and intricacies, this painting appeals to the intellect, imagination and senses of the on-looker. Linear rhythm, a characteristic feature of Oriental art, achieves great strength and compactness of composition in **Two Kerala Ladies**, a perfect idealisation of line and colour, a work of art which irradiates refined sense of finely blended tonal values and aesthetic sensitivity.

Unstinted tribute is due to the master artist who created such a noble work of art, an embodiment of all that is graceful and charming, transcending all limitations imposed by the divergence of cultures, civilizations and territories and visualised Great Art as one supreme and superb entity. After looking at the painting **Two Kerala Ladies**, one cannot but echo the words of Macaulay, "the most beautiful object in the world, it will be allowed, is a beautiful woman," and the dictum of Ruskin that "all Great Art is the expression of man's delight in God's creation."



BENGALI LITERATURE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY : A BRIEF SURVEY

By Prof. KANCHANMOY MOJUMDAR,
University of Nagpur.

Introduction

The Bengali literature, like all other literatures of the world, has passed through a process of evolution before reaching its present standard and character. In this course of development it has undergone five well-defined stages, each with its distinct characteristic in regard to matter, form and style.

The first of this stages can be called the early or pre-Muslim age, beginning from the days of the origin of the language and ending in 1200 A.D., when the Turks conquered Bengal. The second, or the Muslim age, spanned one hundred years, 1200 to 1300 A.D. The third, or the Early Middle age, covered two hundred years, 1300-1500 A.D. The fourth, or the Late Middle Age (1500-1800 A.D.), can be divided into two periods, the one of Chaitanya and Vaishnava literature (1500-1700 A.D.), and the other that of Naib Nazims (1700-1800 A.D.). The fifth or the Modern Age started from 1800 A.D., when British rule had been securely established in Bengal.¹ The history of the Bengali literature is the story of the intellectual awakening of the Bengali people.

Characteristics of the 18th Century literature

In the 18th century, particularly in the middle of it, Bengali literature had reached a stage of marked deterioration; in the realm of creative thinking a state of stagnation was palpable. Politically, Bengal was then passing through a period of transition when the old order was bowing out and the new age appeared on the threshold. The same transition was noticeable in the field of literature. The old concepts of literary activity were gradually vanishing, and the glimmerings of new moods and new urges

were seen on the horizon. This was the twilight stage of modern Bengali literature

Bharatchandra was the most outstanding literary figure of this age, and his influence on contemporary Bengali literature may well stand comparison with that of Bankim Chandra in the late 19th and of Tagore in the 20th Centuries. He was a perfect master of words; profuse use of similes and rich imageries were the most dominant traits in his works. **Sadhak Kav** Ramprasad Sen was another literary luminary of the age, the notes of whose devotional songs still ring in the innermost recesses of Bengal.

The main feature of the pre-nineteenth century literature was its lack of variety its staleness and monotony. It was deeply religious and devotional in character, legendary and mythical in content, poetical in form, lyrical in tone, classical in style and emotional in appeal. The themes were woven around deities and demons, and saints and recluses, with an overtone of moral precepts, particularly in regard to the domestic life of man and conjugal harmony. The **Padavalis**, **Mangal Kavyas**, panegyric narratives of Vaishnava saints, were the representative specimens of this literature. There was, besides, the literature of love soaked in deep emotional fervour. Modelled on the Sanskrit, literary forms and ideals Bengali could not attain an easy flow through verbosity, archaic expressions, difficult syntactical constructions, plethora of winding compounds, classical phrases and involved sentences. There were the classical grandeur and grandiloquence in the language, but not easy gait or grace; there was, besides, no force in it and no smooth mobility. There was hardly any prose literature worth the name, poetry being almost the sole form of literary creation. In fact the state of the Bengali literature was the

true reflection of the deep-seated political and social malady of the times; the torpor which had gripped the political and social life of the people had its echo in the field of thought too.

The Modern Age in Bengali Literature

This was the state of literature when the British rule was established in Bengal in the middle of the 18th Century. It is agreed on all hands that the modern age, the most creative age in Bengali literature, was not only co-eval with but attributable to the new ideas and thoughts which came to Bengal in the wake of British power.

British rule in Bengal not only wrought a signal transformation in the political, social and economic life of the people of Bengal, but revolutionised their thoughts and ideas. The moral effects of British rule were no less significant than political and economic ones. When Bengali literature was suffering from "poverty of themes and technique," it came in contact with western thoughts and ideas. The result was salutary; there was infusion of variety in regard to matter, dynamism and vigour in regard to spirit, and ease and elegance in regard to technique. The literary current began to flow through altogether new channels. But then, the impact of western thoughts on Bengali literature was best realised rather in the 19th than in the 18th Century.

In the closing decades of the 18th Century, the English in Bengal were concerned primarily with consolidation of their newly acquired authority. Yet, acquaintance with the indigenous culture evoked among the early rulers of Bengal a genuine interest for it. Warren Hastings not only took an active interest in Bengali literature, but patronised and encouraged its development. The foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal gave an impetus to the indigenous culture, and the researches of Sir William Jones opened up new vistas of knowledge; they made the local people conscious of their past heritage. It is with Hastings' patronage that the first Bengali grammar was written by Nathaniel Halhead in 1778.

It was at the same time when Bengali typography was made by Charles Wilkins and the first Bengali press established. Charles Wilkins, an ardent student of Sanskrit, translated the *Bhagabatgita*. He was the principal collaborator of William Jones in founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal.³ These two phenomena, typography and the press, entailed a revolution in the field of literary activity. They gave easy and wide accessibility to literature; literature became mobile; and a commodity of popular consumption. Although the interest of the British in this period was more in classical traditions of Bengal than vernacular literature as such, they were not blind to the importance of the latter from administrative points of view. Thus, Forster translated Sir Elizabeth Impey's legal code into Bengali, with a view to giving it wider publicity among the people. Of the Englishmen actively connected with Bengali literature in this period, Francis Gladwin, Nathaniel Halhead, Charles Wilkins and Jones Gilchrist were the most noteworthy. Gladwin published in 1780 "**A Comprehensive Vocabulary, English and Persian, compiled for the East India Company.**" Jonathan Duncan translated and published in 1785, **Regulations for the Administration of Justice in the Courts of the Dewanee Adalat.** N.B. Edmonstone published in 1791 translation of **Criminal Regulations Operative in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.** These men, particularly Halhead, were all in favour of weeding out the Persian and Arabic words from Bengali, with a view to restoring its 'pristine purity.' Their works, however, had no lasting effect on Bengali literature, but nevertheless, they were pointers to the fact that the British government of Bengal fully realised the importance of the language, and felt the need for greater acquaintance with it.

First Decade of the 19th Century

This became manifest in 1800 when the Fort William College was established to train the young English civilians in the language and literature of the British dominion in India. Lord Wellesley elaborated

the objects of the College in the following words :

" . . . this education of the Civilians must be founded in a general knowledge of the branches of literature and science which forms the basis of the education of persons destined to similar occupations in Europe. To this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, language, customs and manners of the people of India."⁴

Learning the language of the country was imperative for administration, and hence it was ordered :

"From and after the 1 January 1801, no servant of the East India Company will be deemed eligible to any of the offices hereinafter mentioned, unless he shall have passed an examination in the laws and regulations of the language, a knowledge of which is hereby declared to be an indispensable qualification."⁵

The College was thus set up to serve an administrative purpose, but it proved eventually to be a nucleus of a new movement in Bengali literature. The association of the Government invested the Bengali language with an unprecedented importance. The Bengali department of the College was headed by William Carey, the noted missionary, educationist and philanthropist. Carey employed a band of Bengalees, erudite scholars in Persian and Sanskrit. Of these scholars, Mrittunjay Tarkalankar and Ramram Bose were the most notable. Carey's main task was to write text books and readers and other "elementary works of general utility." Within two decades of the establishment of the College, a score of books, dictionaries, dialogues, mythological stories, grammars and readers were written by the scholars of the College. This was the first conscious and organised effort to write Bengali prose on a large scale.⁶

The history of Bengali prose literature is closely connected with the Fort William College. Here we find the confluence of the three elements which were conducive to the development of the literature ; the Government's patronage, the energy and

enthusiasm of a devoted missionary like Carey, and the classical erudition of Bengali intellectuals like Tarkalankar and Ramram Bose.⁷ The form and style in which the books of the Fort William Period (1800-1815) were written clearly suggest that their authors found it hard to do away with the influences of their classical training. In fact, in the works of these scholars two different styles are noticeable ; one the **Panditi** Style, and the other, **Munshi** Style.⁸ Language, being still tied to the trammels of classicism, could have neither an easy flow nor comprehensibility. It was in consequence, pedantic and club-footed. Archaic forms, involved syntactical constructions and difficult expressions made it cumbersome and heavy.

Yet, there was an honest attempt on the part of Carey to use in his works, at least, colloquial expressions in preference to Sanskrit and Persian jargons. His **Itihasmala** and **Kathopakathan** are cases in point. Carey instructed his associates to write in an easy intelligible style. In Bengali, Carey wrote :

"Convinced as I am that the Bengali language is superior in point of intrinsic merit to every language spoken in India and in point of real utility yields to none"⁹

Although the works of the Fort William College scholars had no permanent value being mostly of elementary character, and having neither richness in style nor originality in theme, they were, nevertheless landmarks in the development of the Bengali literature. At a time when writing in prose was virtually non-existent, Carey and his men ventured to make it the most effective and popular form of literary activity. It was a bold deviation from tradition. The College was "a link between the rulers and the ruled." No promotion in service was possible for one who had not passed through the courses of this College. The College, besides, provided scope for the interchange of ideas between the English and the Bengali scholars. The College, in fine, was one of the earliest channels of western influence in Bengal.

Education

But the real development of the literature did not take place till the Bengalees themselves took an active interest in the task. For, whatever might have been the contribution of the early British rulers of Bengal, it is clear that their efforts in regard to the development of the local language and literature were motivated mostly by the considerations of administrative necessity. Besides, since the Englishmen's knowledge of Bengali idioms and phrases and grammatical rules was often inadequate and faulty, their works could not attain the standard of literature of lasting value. The real services of these men lie in the fact that they roused the consciousness of the educated Bengalees to the need for developing their own vernacular literature. This consciousness was a product of the latter's acquaintance with western thoughts which reached them through education on western lines.

The activities of the Missionaries

In the spread of this education in Bengal, the missionaries, particularly of Serampore, did the spade work. Their contribution to the cultural renaissance of Bengal can never be overestimated. They were associated with all the progressive movements of the third and fourth decades of the 19th Century, and some of the fruits of their efforts are still seen in Bengal, particularly in the field of education. The missionaries were the torch-bearers of the new age which dawned in Bengal in the 19th century.

Ever since its foundation in 1800, the Baptist Mission at Serampore, under the inspiring leadership of Carey, Marshman and Ward, engaged itself in evangelical and educational activities.¹⁰ The missionaries realised the basic need for educating the local people with a view to illuminating the dark recesses of their superstition-laden mind. The London Missionary Society (1814) and the Calcutta Diocesan Committee (1816) set up a number of educational institutions in Calcutta and elsewhere

where lessons on science, religion, philosophy, history and culture were imparted. A number of text-books, on a variety of subjects, both religious and secular in character, were written and published by these missionaries. These were written in prose. These books were mostly translations of religious and secular works of western writers. Their main aim was to inspire the people with Christian faith and ideals. It is the missionaries who for the first time unlocked the vast store-house of western literature for the Bengalees. The result was a widening of the mental horizon of the local people. The missionaries actively associated themselves with the government as well as private sponsored educational societies.¹¹ These missionaries sought to write in an easy, intelligible style, free from classical clogs. They preferred colloquial to ornamental language. Yet, their imperfect knowledge of Bengali idioms and close imitation of English syntactical construction made their works jarring to the ears. Of all these missionaries the language of Marshman was the best, having the qualities of simplicity, "vigour and racy sweep."¹²

Grant Duff was one of the greatest missionary-educationists of the time, who was convinced that infusion of the Christian spirit into the people through education was indispensable "for the improvement of the heathen mind." A great champion of the English language and literature, he held the latter as a "lever which, as the instrument of conveying the entire knowledge, is destined to move all Hindostan."¹³

The Government's Educational Policy

The Government, too, realised the need for framing an educational policy. Broadly speaking, the Government's educational policy in the 18th century was the preservation, establishment and encouragement of the indigenous educational institutions. They encouraged both Sanskrit and Persian education. The Charter Act of 1813 provided for a lakh of rupees annually for the revival and development of local literature, as also for the encouragement of the study of sciences in India. This sum was, how-

ever, spent mostly for publishing books in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Against such use of the allotted money, the Bengali press carried on relentless campaigns, urging the Government to spend the sum for the development of the vernacular language and literature.¹⁴

Among the educated elite of Bengal the western influence made quite a stir. The intelligentsia was divided mainly into three groups; the Anglicists or the ardent champions of English education, the Orientalists or the advocates of classical education and the Vernacularists or the protagonists of vernacular education. There were wrangles, often bitter, between these groups; and in the literature and the press wordy duels were fought.

As the leader of the Anglicists, Raja Ram Mohun Roy wrote an open letter to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, criticising the prevalent educational policy of the Government, and pinpointing the necessity of English education, western science, ideas and thoughts for the intellectual uplift of the people. The Government, however, took no adequate step to implement his suggestion. It was only in 1835 that under the vigorous leadership of Lord Macaulay the Anglicists scored a triumph over the Orientalists. In his famous Minute of 23 February 1835, Macaulay exposed the hollowness of classical education and the dynamism and vigour of the English language, urging that the latter was not only suitable but salutary for the Indians; it was, he added, the *sin qua non* for the cultural rejuvenation of Bengal. This pleading struck home; the Government firmly resolved to use all the available funds for English education in India. That clinched the issue in favour of the Anglicists.

It is interesting to note that the Anglicists realised the need for the development of vernacular education. They found no apparent conflict between the development of English education under Government initiative and patronage and vernacular education with Government blessing and encouragement. In fact, Lord Macaulay himself regarded English education as a transitional step; he felt that the education

of the people should ultimately be through the vernacular medium.¹⁵ His aim was to create

"a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."¹⁶

The Missionaries, too, held that Bengali could be the fittest means of literary activity, if it were written in clear, simple and lucid style, free from classical jargons and English syntactical constructions. In short, it was increasingly felt by all that vernacular literature, if purified, could be the best medium of disseminating western thoughts and ideas. No wonder then, vernacular language and literature soon drew the active interest of the Government. Adam's Report brought out the miserable state of vernacular education. The Government set up a Committee of Education which in its first annual report declared that

"the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed," and that it was "the almost fatal absence of a vernacular literature which made the study of English indispensable."¹⁷

The Committee recommended the popularisation of vernacular language by translations from English works, and to prescribe these translations for the Anglo-Bengali schools. It was further suggested to employ teachers of the vernacular language in educational institutions of every district head-quarter.¹⁸

The New Intelligentsia

The popularisation of English education and the wider publicity of the western thoughts and ideas through translations brought in their wake a cultural ferment. Western education created a new intellectual class. The class was not only the most receptive to western ideas and thoughts

but the most responsive, too. Closer acquaintance with the English language, this class felt, was not only the surest passport to government service, but assimilation of western thoughts and ideas was a means of intellectual refinement and moral enlightenment. It is this class which was the real creator of modern Bengali literature. All of this class were educated in the Anglo-Vernacular schools and colleges, all being inspired by devoted teachers such as De Rozario, Duff, Hare, Richardson, Carey and Marshman.¹⁹ The Anglo-Vernacular schools became the nurseries of 'Young Bengal', the cradles of social, cultural and literary movements in 19th century Bengal.²⁰ The ferment in Bengal's cultural life found its utterance in Bengali literature. The new age, with its new moods, urges and passions found its best reflection in contemporary literature.

The dominant idea of the time was reform and rejuvenation of the social and cultural institutions. Western ideas and inspirations acted for a time as a heady wine among a section of the educated Bengalees. The latter's unbounded fascination for everything western made them captious critics of everything Indian. Under the hypnotic spell of western education, the culture and tradition of India seemed to them wholly abhorrent and obnoxious. They were swept off their feet; 'Young Bengal' not only read and wrote English, it sought to be out and out English in temperament, mood and even values of life.

"The gods had now become to them mere clay, the temples were unholy and the hallowed precincts of their homes a hole of superstition."²¹

There was another section of the intellectuals whose reaction to the new culture was more restrained, and their response to it was cautious and hesitating. The obscurantists, in their turn, saw in the spirit of the west a formidable challenge to the old order to which they were firmly wedded. A third section of the intellectuals followed a golden mean; they realised that the new spirit of the west was an irresistible phenomenon, and timely response to it was the best means to withstand its challenge. It is this section

which brought 'Young Bengal' to its sense and it is this section, again, which proved to the obscurantists the compelling need for adjustment with the new urges of the day. Intellectuals of this section struck a synthesis between the time-honoured traditions of the Hindu society and the dynamic spirit of the western culture. It is they who were the real heralds of renaissance in Bengal life and spirit in the 19th century. The cross-currents in Bengal's social thinking find representation in contemporary literature.

Ram Mohan Ray

In this literature Ram Mohan's work stands pre-eminent. Ram Mohan's ideas, contained in his works, gave the greatest ever impetus to Bengal's intellectual activity. It is not the Raja's ideas alone which were bold, fresh and vigorous, but the way they were publicised, the vehicle through which they were disseminated among the people were all remarkable. The most progressive intellectual of his time, the Raja carried on a two-fold crusade, one against the craze for blind imitation of the west, the other against the stubborn opposition to the nourishing influences of western culture. He wrote as much against the missionaries who decried everything in Hindu culture, against the Bengali obscurantists who he doggedly to the out-dated and obnoxious Hindu social practices. Written in elegant prose, Ram Mohan's works were the fittest media for the dissemination of political, religious and social issues. His works bear unmistakable traces of his deep erudition, wide vision, liberality of mind, rational outlook and, above all, keen critical spirit. They were the best expositions of the western philosophy and religion, as also the best interpretation of eastern tradition, social and religious conventions. They were the earliest successful attempts to prove that all that glittered in western society was not golden, nor all that stank in the Hindu culture rotten. His satirical works were written as replies to the missionaries who misinterpreted Hindu practices and obscures. He was equally critical of the Hindu

orthodox people who clung to their out-moded religious practices and social conventions. His tireless exhortations through a number of religious treatises restored the people's confidence in their own religion and culture; he ably proved by his reforms that the Hindu society had not lost its creative potentialities. His works thus served a great social need at a time when the Bengali mind was at a cross-road, unable to decide whether to accept blindfold everything western or to be totally aloof from it. He emphasised the imperative need for adjustment with the changing times, as a means not only to withstand its gigantic challenge, but to enrich the indigenous culture itself. His learned discourses on western and eastern philosophy and religion enlightened the public as much as it served to bring out the essence of these two schools of thought. His works breathe an air of pleasant freshness; they embody a spirit of synthesis, harmony and co-ordination of different viewpoints. He is rightly regarded as the herald of modern India; his mind saw the confluence of the best of the old order and the best of the new. In him the west met the east; his works radiated oriental wisdom, sobriety and an inflexible faith in ideals, as also the western realism, rationalism and keen critical spirit. In the words of a well-known scholar, "he no more denied the past than he refused to recognise the present." While he "provided for India's assimilation of the newly-arrived social and scientific values of the west, he also secured spiritual continuity with the past."²²

Ram Mohan is regarded as the Father of modern Bengali prose. His works initiated the Bengalees into a new concept of life, new spirit and thought, as also into a new style and form of expressing these thoughts. He translated the Vedas and the Upanishadas into Bengali and made them easily accessible to the general people.

Simple, direct, epigrammatic and forceful, his style became the fittest medium for expressing the abstruse philosophies and religious theories as, also of the polemical social issues.²³ Vernacular language was reduced in his hands to "pristine simplicity." He evolved a new style in Bengali prose,

free from classical embellishments, yet elegant, smooth and effective. His "style of expounding religious and social views without enthusiasm and without abuse, and without any affectation or mannerism characterises the school founded by him."²⁴ He compiled Bengali grammar, and in his works discarded Sanskrit grammar in so far as its rules could not be philologically applied to Bengali.

His "polyglot attainments relieved him from the hypnotic influence of the involved flowery phraseology and from the nightmarish obsession of lexical words."²⁵

Besides, it was Ram Mohan who first wrote books other than the readers and textbooks in large numbers. Previous to this, most of the Bengali books, whether written by the Europeans or the Bengalees, dealt with insignificant matters; they were mostly translations, intended to cater to the needs of the students. They were, consequently, of ephemeral interest. Dignity, restraint and refinement were the prominent traits in his works; he never stooped to vulgarity, slander or abuse, even while rebutting the arguments of his carping critics.²⁶ Although master of English, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and other languages, Ram Mohan wrote mainly in Bengali, his works in English being mostly translations of European literature. Ram Mohan, above all, was the pioneer of Bengali literature of thought. His writings on social and religious matters engendered many controversies in many quarters. Lively discussions followed suit; many shades of opinion were formed; the result was a spate of literature dealing with the issues affecting the nation at large. Literature became an effective means of educating the public and a means of enlightenment. It appealed more to man's critical faculties, his rational sense and his intellect rather than his sentiment and emotion. An age of Reform, ushered in by Raja Ram Mohan Ray, brought about a change in the ideas of the purpose of literature. Literature came to be regarded not merely as a means of enjoyment for the people, but a radiator of new ideas, a nourishing food for thought, an inspiration for

action to build up a purer a better social order. Bengali literature in the Age of Ram Mohan thus served a great social purpose. It aroused public consciousness, articulated public opinion and formed a variety of social, political and religious schools of thought.²⁷

Literature also served as a corrective of social behaviour. In the fifth decade of the century, there were socio-comic dramas and caricatures which cast bitter satire on the angularities of 'Young Bengal' which aped the Englishmen blindfold. The famous poet, Iswar Gupta, wrote many satirical poems on the craze of English-educated Bengali young men for imitating the western modes and behaviour. During this period there were many literary works which discussed some of the deep-seated and time-honoured social practices as Kulinism; Casteism, child marriage etc. Female education, place of women in society²⁸ were also the issues which figured prominently in the writings of the day. Social dramas of which Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyaya's *Nabababubilas* and *Kalikulasarbaswa* were the most famous, dealt with the obscene taste of the *Baboos*, their evil habits in society, the eccentricities of the pampered Brahmins, the vanity of the missionaries, the hollowness and the ramshackle state of the upper strata of the Calcutta society and such other problems. Various societies as the Bethune Society (1851), Calcutta Female Juvenile Society (1850) and Ladies' Society for Native Female Education, advocated women's education; meetings were held, debates and discussions held and articles written in the press to focus public attention on the issue.²⁹ Both Indians and Englishmen were active members of the organisations for the popularisation of women's education.

Newspapers and Periodicals

In the second decade of the 19th century Bengali newspapers and periodicals were published for the first time, and it is these which had the profoundest effect on the development of Bengali literature. In 1818 the Serampore Mission started a Bengali monthly called *Digdarshan*. It lasted for a

few months. It was followed by the *Samachar Darpan* or the Mirror of News, the most influential paper of the day. Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, patronised it by allowing its circulation at one-fourth of the postage charged for the English newspapers. Lord Amherst subscribed for one hundred copies for use in Government offices. Marshman was its editor. It contained news of different parts of India and abroad, digest of contents in English and Bengali periodicals and interesting essays on various social problems. Although a missionary paper, it did not, generally speaking, seek to establish the superiority of the Christian faith by casting vitriolics at the Hindu religious and social practices.³⁰

Marshman was assisted by a band of Bengalee Pandits, of whom Jay Gopal Tarkalankar and Pandit Tarinicharan Shiromani were the most famous. In 1829 the paper was published both in Bengali and English. From 1832 it became a bi-weekly, but in 1834 it began again to be published once every week. In 1842, probably, it was published with two editions, English and Bengali; the editor then was Bhagabati Charan Chattopadhyay. The publication of the *Samachar Darpan* with its thought-provoking essays and progressive views created a stir in the society. The writings in the paper covered a wide range of subjects as education, language and literature, social maladies, religious superstitions. It also ventilated peoples' grievances against the callousness of the authorities.³¹

As for education, the paper was an ardent advocate of the need for wider literacy both among men and women. It gave prominent coverage to the news of the establishment of new schools and colleges, their proceedings and activities, their progress and development. The paper also contained articles and letters criticising the Government's educational policy; the paper emphasised the need for the development of vernacular education in Bengal. There was a great deal of discussion in the paper on the style and form of Bengali literature. The paper held that purging foreign words as Arabic and Persian was essential to the development of the Bengali

language. Another lively issue which evoked much interest during the period was whether or not Persian should continue as the court language in Bengal. **Samachar Darpan** as well as all section of the intellectuals urged the Government to replace Persian by Bengali in the courts of Bengal. Accordingly, in 1838, Persian was declared as no longer to continue as the court language in Bengal. This measure gave great impetus to the Bengali language. The **Samachar Darpan** reflected the progressive section of the society. It advocated western education as a means of public enlightenment. The paper took notice of all the literary and social activities in the city, the books and periodicals published, the debates and discussions held in the cultural forum. It advocated simplification of the language and greater use of colloquial terms. The paper gave full publicity to the public grievances on the lack of medical and sanitary facilities in Calcutta, the oppression of the indigo-planters and the soil monopolists. Widow remarriage, **Sati**, early marriage of girls and such other matters were also published in the paper. Although the paper held mostly a restrained tone on these social evils, there are occasions when we find it levelling scathing condemnations at superstitions and outmoded social conventions of the Hindus. Its advocacy of western education did not restrain it from criticising the behaviour of the Hindu College students. The progressive views of this paper are further reflected by its plea for greater association of the Indians with Government service and the abolition of slavery. In its columns letters urging the Government to stop the practice of **Satee** were published; there were letters advocating the spread of western medical science. The **Samachar Darpan** was the leading newspaper of the day; it circulated in all the districts of Bengal and even outside. Other newspapers and periodicals came in quick succession. Ram Mohan and Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyaya published **Sambad Kaumadi** in 1821, its notable feature being progressive views, expressed in easy and smooth-flowing language. Through this paper the Raja expressed his liberal views on female education, **satee**, child marriage,

place of women in Hindu society, simplification of Bengali language and above all the utility of imbibing the new thoughts and ideas of the age. Bhabani Charan disagreed with some of the progressive views of the Raja, left the **Sambad Kaumadi**, and started another paper, **Samachar Chandrika** in 1822. It was called by Marshman the **Times** of Calcutta. **Samachar Chandrika** reflected the conservative views in the society. Raja Radhakanta Deb, the leader of the conservative section of the Bengalees, was closely associated with this paper. **Sambad Timirnasak** (1823) was another paper with orthodox bias.

Along with the newspapers, a number of periodicals were published between 1829 and 1843, and the period is, hence, called the age of periodicals. In 1829 Ram Mohan, Prince Dwarakanath Tagore and Prasanna Kumar Tagore started a weekly, called **Bengal Herald**, in four languages, including English. The Bengali section of the periodical was named **Bangadut**. At least thirty periodicals were published between 1831 and 1840. In 1831 alone as many as eight were published. **Jnananwesana**, started by the Hindu College boys in June 1831, disseminated progressive thoughts on social, religious and educational matters. In 1833, a bilingual fortnightly, (it became monthly in 1834) **Vijnansar Sangraha**, was started by three teachers of the Sanskrit College. **Vidyakalpadruma** (1846), **Upadeshak** (1847), **Satyarnaba** (1850) and **Bibidhartha Sangraha** were some other periodicals which contributed greatly to the development of Bengali language and literature.

With Ram Mohan's death in 1833 ended the age of infancy of the Bengali language; there began the age of adolescence. Shakespearean dramas, of all, were the most popular readings at this time; so were books on history, of India, Iran, Turkey, Rome and Greece.

Ram Mohan's ideas fructified in the activities of Devendranath Tagore and Akshoy Kumar Dutta, who combinedly dominated the intellectual scene of Bengal for nearly two decades. Associated with all the progressive movements of the age, these two men broke new grounds in the literary

field and set up new models. Both of them realised how effective literature could be as a means of mass education and mass enlightenment. In 1843, they started **Tatwabodhini Patrika**. This journal was not only the mouth-piece of the Brahmo Samaj but also a forum of the constructive views of the day. It became soon the leading periodical of the day; and in rousing the social consciousness of the people its contribution can never be over-estimated. It reflected the yearning for knowledge among the Bengalees and their spirit of idealism. It also set up a new pattern in Bengali prose writings. It not only reflected the prevalent progressive tendencies, but also formed them. In easy colloquial language the paper wrote on various subjects, abstruse philosophical issues as also matters of primary interest to the common man. **Tatwabodhini** soon became the model for other periodicals. One of the greatest services the paper rendered to Bengali literature was to inspire the English-educated Bengalees to write in their mother-tongue. Most of the literary luminaries of the age were associated with this paper, which soon became the organised expression of the best thoughts of Bengal at the time.

Devendranath generally wrote on religion and philosophy. His works were as much a defence of Hindu religion against the onslaughts of the Christian evangelists as they were pointers to the need for reforming the Hindu social and religious institutions so as to fit in with the demands of the age.

Akshay Kumar Datta, the editor of the paper, wrote an easy prose. He made the earliest successful attempt at writing on scientific subjects in Bengali. The literary model set up by Devendranath and Akshay Kumar was successfully followed by Pyarichand Mitra, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and Rajnarayan Basu who together held the literary stage of Bengal in the sixth and seventh decades of the 19th century.

Reverend Krishnamohan Banerji was one of the prominent figures of the age. A product of the Hindu College, he was the representative of 'Young Bengal.' His erudition and deep knowledge of the English

language and literature enabled him to incorporate the new ideas and thoughts of the west into his writings where he championed the cause of Christianity. His writings on Christianity brought him the ire of both the moderates and the die-hards in the Hindu society. His works, in consequence, had limited circulation. But his encyclopaedia, **Vidyakalpadruma**, in thirteen volumes, is a great literary work of abiding interest. This work enjoyed the patronage of the Government in recognition whereof the author dedicated it to the Government. Subjects of varied interest as biography, science, geography, philosophy and history are dealt with in this work. Krishnamohan was also the first writer to write a play in Bengali on western model. His English play, **Persecuted** "portrayed the apparently irreconcilable impact of the english-educated modern mind on the stolid conservatism of the orthodox society."³²

Characteristics of Bengali literature, 1800-1850

Bengali literature underwent great changes, both in matters of theme and technique, during the period under review. This is due primarily to the influence of western thought. The influence was all-pervasive.

Literature deals mainly with three things; nature, man and society, and very often with their interrelations, too.³³ In the literature of the 19th century man found himself in a position far higher than he had ever attained. The western thoughts infused in the Bengalee writers the idea of the dignity of man, his importance as an individual as much as a social being. Man was not just a creature of nature, but he was capable of influencing his environment in the way he liked. Man in society is a conception that finds predominant place in the literature of the 19th century. There was the growing consciousness that man does not live by himself, but that he is a component of the society, and what concerns himself as an individual affects the society in a measure.

In consequence, as a corollary, there

followed the conception that if man had to live in society it had to be worth-living. On this conception was based the various socio-religious movements of the 19th century, and in the literature of the period the conception finds full utterance. It helped in the articulation of different shades of opinion and in the formation of various schools of social thought. These socio-religious reform movements were in a way precursors of the political movements. The utilitarian spirit of literature helped in the growth of the critical spirit in man. Literature drew the attention of the people to their social problems; instead of religious and metaphysical speculations, people were engaged in social and political agitations. Man found in him a new consciousness of immense power.

In the treatment of nature, too, there was a gradual change. In old literature nature was not given a prominent place except in so far as it aided in the manifestation and development of man's feelings or interest. But in 19th century literature nature came to be treated as an independent entity and as a subject of literature by itself. Iswar Gupta, for instance, described nature both "as a set off to human interest," and as a distinct phenomenon.³⁴

But the most significant development lay in the growth of rationalism and a realistic spirit. A spirit of enquiry, of critical evaluation of age-old conventions, came up. Trammels of tradition were loosened; man's mind was free to experiment with new thoughts. Religious matters were now looked from a scientific and rational angle, and religious practices from the standpoint of history, their justifiability being judged on the assay of reason. Puranic legends were not dismissed as sheer mythologies, but attempts were made to look into them with the critical eyes of a historian.

The publication of different religious texts led to increasing acquaintance with different religions. It led to the formation of the idea in a certain section of the people that there were some common features in all the tenets of the world, and that there were many things good in other's faith and many

things bad in one's own. This fostered among some, as the Brahmos, a spirit of tolerance and catholicity; it developed a synthetic outlook. In short, the literature of this period paved the way for a social purification and rejuvenation.

Freshness and novelty in theme, variety in technique, and elegance and refinement in style were the characteristics of the literature. Literature broke new grounds of thought, form, style, technique and mood.

Another characteristic of the literature during this period was its great volume. The making of Bengali typography by Charles Wilkins in 1778, the starting of the Bengali press and the trend towards colloquialism—all these facilitated the mobility and wide accessibility of the literature of this period. Besides, the novelty and great variety of themes and their close relation with the social and such other familiar problems of the people conduced to the popularity of literature. This was reflective of the transformation of the spirit of Bengal wrought by western impact.

Secularism is another prominent feature of the literature of this period. Besides translations of religious texts and discourses, there was a great volume of secular literature dealing with matters affecting the daily life of man. The press, in particular, gave the widest coverage to matters of moment. In the periodicals, stories, essays and poems were published dealing mainly with man and his problems. The rise of social consciousness was an interesting feature in the literature of this period.

There was a gradual tendency towards standardisation of literature in regard, particularly, to style and form. Calcutta soon became the centre not only of Bengali political life, but that of intellectual life too. As in politics, in literature and thought too, Calcutta set the pace and tune for the rest of Bengal.³⁵ Leaders of Calcutta society were the heralds of the news age, and Calcutta soon came to possess that importance in the life of Bengal which Paris did in the life of France. The cream of Bengal's intellectuals came from Calcutta and it is here that the new age in Bengal's national

life dawned. Literature began to assume an urban and a national character.

"The same political and economic forces which introduced the urban note into literature also gave it a middle class character."³⁶

In political, economic and intellectual life it is the new middle class, created during the British rule, that dominated. This class, educated on western lines, led Bengal in every walk of life. They were brought up in western liberal outlook, and they served as the most effective channels of western literature in Bengal. "They were liberal humanitarians, radicals and reformers whose principles were a diluted version of the principles prevailing in contemporary England. They were large-hearted and enthusiastic ideals, sentimental, didactic and class complacent."³⁷ They infused Bengali literature with a liberal-humanitarian spirit.

The rise of a class of professional writers is a distinguishing feature of the period under review.³⁸ The writers belonged almost exclusively to the new middle class, independent and free-thinking. The social and religious issues divided them into conservatives, moderates and radicals. Pursuit of a literary vocation as a means of livelihood came to be seen in Bengal. This led to "commercialisation of literature;"³⁹ the writers had to cater to the needs of the public. In consequence, commercialisation of literature "led often to its vulgarisation."⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the general standard of literature, as a whole, made rapid strides towards excellence and not deterioration.

It is interesting to observe that in spite of the sharp differences in their approach to the social and religious issues, the intellectual elite of Bengal, as a class, felt the same need for the development of the Bengali literature; there was a surprising unanimity among the educated class in regard to the imperative need for the development of the vernacular literature.⁴⁰ Their English education, notwithstanding, the literateurs of the period preferred to write in Bengali. The European writers, Government officers, members of academic and literary societies, the missionaries, all

contributed to the development of the vernacular language and literature. All of them felt the need for weeding out the Persian and Arabic elements from Bengali and all showed a preference for colloquialism to pompous classical jargons. That simplicity, mobility, ease and elegance were the basic qualities of literature was increasingly realised by the writers of every shade.

The development of prose as the main form of literary activity was seen during this period.⁴¹ Here, too, English literature served as the model. Contact with western literature gave Bengali literature "substance and variety, intellectuality and modernity," besides virility and dynamism. It became humanised when it came in contact with the realities of life.

In the history of Bengali literature, the first half of the 19th century is rather a period of preparation than fruition. It was an age of experimentation, rather than perfection. The seeds of modernism which were sown in the closing decades of the 18th century germinated and sent up sprouts in the first half of the 19th century. The sapling of modern Bengali literature grew with the sprinkling of western ideas and thoughts. While the wave of western thoughts and ideas washed away many bad elements from literature, it had also the effect of sustenance, nourishment and rejuvenation.

It is, however, to be noted that western literature served as a stimulant and a source of inspiration rather than of blind imitation for the Bengali writers. There was, of course, a period, a short one, when there was a craze for blind imitation of the West. A literature of imitation had its natural shortcomings. Soon after, happily, the first flush of enthusiasm for being western died away; the Bengali writers then strove at enriching the vernacular language by incorporating western ideas and forms of literature, and synthesising them with the indigenous literary traditions. They sought to graft the western ideas and thoughts on the local setting. Modern Bengali literature flourished not in the spirit of imitation of the West, but in that

of judicious incorporation of the same in the literary life of Bengal.

(1) S. Chattopadhyaya, 'Bangla Bhasa O Bangla Sahityer Katha' (Bengali, Calcutta, n. d.) 28.

(2) P. R. Sen, 'Western Influence in Bengali Literature' (Calcutta, 1932) 19.

(3) Sajanikanta Das, 'Bangla Sahityer Itihas' (Bengali, Calcutta, 1353) 3 et seq.

(4) P. R. Sen, n.2, 52.

(5) Ibid.

(6) The First Bengali prose was written by a Portuguese missionary. Entitled, 'Kripa Sastrer Arthaveda,' it was written in Roman script and published from Lisbon in 1753.

(7) D. C. Sen, 'History of Bengali Language and Literature' (Calcutta, 1954, 2nd edition) 741.

(8) Sukumar Sen, 'History of Bengali Literature' (New Delhi, 1960) 180.

(9) Cited in S. Das, n. 3, 135.

"To Carey belongs the credit of having raised the language from its debased condition of an unsettled dialect to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech, capable, as in the past, of becoming the refined and comprehensive vehicle of a great literature in the future." Cited in Ibid., 135. 1800-1857 (Calcutta, 1921) 93.

(10) The Christian missionaries had established schools for the Christian boys as early as 1758.

(11) In 1852 there were 81850 students in the missionary schools in Bengal. Sen, n.2, 104.

(12) D. C. Sen, 'Bengali Prose Style', 1800-1857 (Calcutta, 1921) 93.

(13) Sen, n. 2, 73.

(14) 'Samachar Darpan,' 4 July 1835.

(15) Sen, n. 2, 62.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ibid.

(19) David Hare, De Rozio and Captain Richardson were the most popular and influential teachers in the Hindu College. Their influence on "Young Bengal" was both deep and wide. With private academic associations the Europeans were actively associated as the prominent Indian citizens like Raja Radhakanta Deb, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Prince Dwarakanath and Prasanna Kumar Tagore were. One such association was started in 1828 by De Rozio

with Umacharan Bose as its Secretary and David Hare as an active member. It arranged debates on literary, social and religious issues. Hare became its President after its removal to his school. There was another such association. The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge (1838) Reverend Krishnamohan Banerji, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and David Hare were its enthusiastic members. Issues as the position of women in society, the state of Hinduism, education of the people, importance of cultivating the vernacular language were discussed and debated in these organizations.

(20) The Hindu College was the most effective channel of western thoughts in Bengal. Its students were the vanguards of all progressive movements in Bengal. David Hare, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Raja Radhakanta Deb were actively associated with the College. In 1855 it was renamed as the Presidency College.

(21) D. C. Sen, n. 7, 723.

(22) J. C. Ghosh, 'Bengali Literature' (London, 1958) 107.

(23) Sen, n. 7, 802 'et seq.'

(24) Sen, n. 2, 103.

(25) S. Sen, n. 8, 183.

"It was Ram Mohan who for the first felt that a sentence without a verb became somewhat weak and halting, and should not be tolerated in decent literature. This sense of so-called want was probably created in him by his familiarity with English." Sen, n. 2, 45.

(26) Ibid., 100.

(27) Raja Radhakanta Deb and Ram Kamal Sen led the conservatives, while Dr Duff, Reverend K. M. Banerji, Akshay Kumar Datta, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Iswar Gupta, Devendra Nath Tagore and Prince Dwaraka Nath Tagore, "the Father of political education in India", were the liberal reformers. While the Brahmo Samaj was the forum of the latter, Dharma Sabha (1830) was that of the former. It was organised with the specific object of protesting against the plea of the liberals for the abolition of the Satee.

(28) 'Strisiksha Vidhayak' (1818), 'Stridharachar' (1840), 'Kayasthajiban' (1846) 'Muktavali' were some of the works dealing with women in society and the evils of caste.

(29) 'Samachar Darpan', 6 April 1827.

January 1826, 20 May 1826, 20 July 1827.
E. Bandyopadhyaya, ed., 'Sambadpatre
Sakaler Katha', I, 1818-1830 (Bengali,
Calcutta, 1839).

(30) Ibid., I, II, III.

(31) Ibid., I.

(32) S. Sen, n. 8, 185.

(33) Sen, n. 2, 322-3.

(34) Ibid., 346-7.

(35) Ghosh, n. 22, 98-9.

(36) Ibid., 99.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ibid.

(39) Ibid., 100.

(40) Ibid., 112.

(41) Novels were conspicuous by their
absence during this period; acquaintance
with English novels was still inadequate.

THE HEROINES IN KALIDASA'S PLAYS

(A STUDY)

Before discussing the merits and demerits in Kalidasa's delineation of the character of his heroines we would do well to lay more stress on **Vikramorvasiya** and **Shakuntala** than on **Malavikagnimitra**. The obvious reason appears to be that according to a large number of critics Kalidasa is more realistic and convincing in the two former plays. The love-affair of the king in the latter is neither genuine nor natural. It is love for love's sake in the case of **Agnimitra**!

When country men and eminent foreign scholars place Kalidasa at the head of Sanskrit poets, they might have apparently taken into account '**Vikramorvasiya**' and '**Shakuntala**'. Then and then alone the **Suhrashita**.

पुरा कवीनां गणनाप्रहै कनिष्ठिकाधिष्ठितकान्ति दासा ।

अद्यपि तनुअयकवेर भावादनमिका सार्थव तौ बभूव ॥

proves to be apt and significant. Almost every Pandit has in his mouth the following renowned verse dwelling on the towering glory of **Shakuntala** in every aspect—

काचेषु नाटकं रभ्यं तत्र रभ्या शेकुन्तला ।

तत्र दि य यतु धेडिक्तत्र कोक यतुष्टयम् ॥

Goethe, the greatest poet of Germany, rightly waxes eloquent on **Shakuntala** alone. He was naturally enraptured by the unsurpassed charms of **Shakuntala**. Though Kalidasa is most favourably compared with the masterly and masterful poet and dramatist Shakespeare, we are more prone to place

him side by side with William Wordsworth, the High Priest of Nature. Both Kalidasa and Wordsworth are masterly interpreters of the ennobling and sublime influence of Nature upon the minds of lovers. When Dushyanta caught sight of **Shakuntala** in the sacred precincts of Kanva's hermitage, she was dressed in linen garments. Still at that time he was bewitched by her charms and utters—

सरसिजमनुविदं शैवलेनापि रभ्यं

मन्तिनमपि हिमांशोर्लहम कुहमां तनोति ।

A lotus likewise is surrounded by moss and the sight might be unclean but who would not be arrested by the fascinating form of the lotus? Truly does Keats remark—

"A thing of beauty is a joy forever ;

Its loveliness increases but never
passes

Into nothingness and Still will keep
a bowery

Quiet for us and a sleep full of sweet
Dreams."

मिथिव हि मधुराणां मगुनं नाकृतानां

is the best illustration of **Shakuntala's** delicate beauty.

Again, before **Vidushaka** the King **Dushyanta** poetically bursts out that **Shakuntala** resembles

"अनाघ्रातं पुष्पं किसलयमनुनं करहैः

She is an object of beauty as a lovely and fragrant flower still in the bower! She resembles again a sprout still untouched by human nails!

When we take into account the two pictures of Shakuntala and Urvashi, the former decidedly is more elegant. The reasons are obvious and not far to seek. An average reader will discern the lasting presence of Shakuntala in the whole gamut of the play. In other words, she engages our attention and holds us spell bound many a time—now by her sweet charms, now by her utter innocence, now by her catholicity of mind and now again as a full blooded woman bathed in the pool of worldly knowledge. The sage Maricha blesses Sakuntala in most significant and befitting words as—

आख्युन्त समो भर्ता जयन्तप्रतिभः दुतः ।

आशीरव्या न ते योग्या पौन्तो भो सहस्री भव ॥

Already Shakuntala has a husband Dushyanta resembling Indra, the Lord of the heaven. Her son has a likeness to Jayanta (Indra's son) in point of prowess. It is now enough if only she endeavours to be like Sachi Devia, Indra's wife.

The pangs of love, the sympathetic Nature, the womanly sense of virtue, the innocent and flawless life, the spirit of resignation and idealism—these outstanding features draw Shakuntala more closely to our day to day life. Urvashi is, no doubt, सुकुमारं प्रहरयं महेन्द्रस्य, प्रत्यादेशो ।

रूपगर्वितायाः शियोऽन्तर्भाशे हि स्वर्गस्य

But Shakuntala surpasses her in point of realistic womanly traits: She cherishes

her husband's noble form in her heart of hearts. Urvashi, on the other hand, is a strange comixture of human and super human elements. And that is why our sympathy flows unheeded by toward Shakuntala and none else! Chitrlekha no doubt is Urvashi's companion and anxious now and then in her misery but she cannot stand comparison with Anasuya and Priyamvada who are emblems of worldly friendship. When Durvasa curses Shakuntala as wrapt in her lover's sweet dream, it is they who are sadly alarmed at the consequences. They lay prostrate before the indignant sage and beg him to avert the disasters of his horrid curse. Then only the point of the drama arises and the next episode assumes unusual significance. What a deplorable lack of realistic touches are these in Kalidasa's other plays as विक्रमोद्देश and मालविकाग्निमित्र ।

Urvashi's love for Pururavas might have been sincere unlike Agnimitra's. But the tenderness is never human. In other words the lovers' soft words never go straight to our hearts and deserve our genuine sympathy and admiration. On the other hand, Urvashi and Vikrama's love is theatrical and a pose more. Hence unusual and unnatural! Pururavas' elaborate soliloquy in the fourth act eventually falls flat on our ears. The outbursts no doubt sound poetic. But how remote are the exclamations of the king from the life of reality lived and loved by us!

Kalidasa's heroines thus present interesting contrasts and engage us from the very start by rousing our curiosity!



SARDAR K. M. PANIKKAR—SCHOLAR, JOURNALIST AND DIPLOMAT

By KARUNA K. NANDI

A cynic, it has been said, is an idealist gone ripsantronic. Even if that were to be regarded as a too cynical a definition, there is hardly any question that the pressure of the crumbling values all around himself which the idealist generally regards as both immutable and indestructible when he starts off in life, but the disappointment of which he cannot completely get out of his system is, usually, what turns a man sour and cynical. It is difficult to assert if the late Sardar Kavalam Madhava Panikkar could be called a cynic by these standards. But that he could not quite fit himself into the environments of the varied fields of activity, through which he flitted during his not too long a life comfortably and snugly, would seem to be indicated by the obvious restlessness which took him on to one profession or career after another with an unusual frequency during his otherwise quite busy life which could almost be called hectic by the common acceptance of the term.

Passing through his early educational career in Madras, Panikkar evinced both promise and distinction at Christ Church in Oxford where, as a Dixon scholar for historical research, he took a first honours in history. At this stage it seemed he was destined for a distinguished scholarly, perhaps, an educational career. But that he could not quite get off the beaten track of his predecessors and contemporaries alike was soon proved when he later qualified for the Bar from the Middle Temple before he returned to his own land. That he never practised law was neither surprising nor unusual for, during his times, many a distinguished Indian, after qualifying for the legal profession, sought quite different fields of activity and in which some of them really earned both distinction and fulfilment.

As could be expected, Panikkar started off in life as an educationist, as Professor of history at the Aligarh Muslim University. It is not clearly known if he found the narrow communalistic-theocratic climate of the Aligarh University of those days too cramping for his wider universalistic temperament, but when the Calcutta University, which had in those days been known to have been the most fruitful nursery of talents, offered him a Readership in History, he accepted it with alacrity. The Calcutta University, even from an earlier generation, had begun to get together a

bevy of talents within its post-graduate campus which was quite unrivalled by any other of the premier universities in India. In fact the late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee had an unusual flair for discovering hitherto unknown talents and of providing room for their fruitful unfolding within his university precincts. Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, for instance, would, perhaps, end his days as a distinguished but nevertheless nondescript member of the Indian Audits and Accounts Service, had it not been for Sir Asutosh who took him out of the humdrum and frustrating confines of an accountant's office and opened up the opportunities without which it would be difficult if not quite impossible for him to blossom out as a distinguished and fruitful researcher in the world of Physics. There have been many similar other instances where Sir Asutosh's keen search for talents had not merely enriched the Calcutta University post-graduate faculties, but also individual careers which otherwise might well have remained quite unknown and unsung. It might be ordinarily supposed that those who had thus been provided with the opportunities which alone made it possible for their latent greatness to be successfully nurtured and fruitfully recognized would remain eternally grateful to Bengal and the Bengalees. It is, perhaps, an irony of life that seldom has there been an acknowledgment of these irredeemable debts. Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, for instance, after having risen to world eminence on the shoulders of this university, would seem to have derived almost sadistic pleasure, after spending most of his active life in the haven provided to him here, in maligning both the Calcutta University and the Bengalee people. But that is only by the way.

A distinguished educational career, however, was not what, it seems, Panikkar had as his heart's desire. Despite the opportunities of distinguishing himself in this field that the University of Calcutta opened out to him, Panikkar seemed soon to have tired of the teacher's and the researcher's career—a Readership in Calcutta always included opportunities for fruitful research work if one were really inclined that way—and when the *Hindustan Times* was launched in Delhi, he did not hesitate to scuttle his educational career for daily newspaper journalism, when the Editorship of this new journal was offered to him.

As a journalist Panikkar was not unsuccessful if the fact that he held down his new job for a number of years afterwards were any indication. He was not, however, too distinguished among the journalists of his times which included such eminent votaries of the profession as the late C. Y. Chintamani, the late Abdulla Brelvi, the late Kasturi Ranga Iyengar followed by the late Rangaswami Iyengar, the late T. Prakasam and other equally distinguished journalists. But that he had a keen nose for talent in this new profession was proved by the quality of the staff he got together in his newspaper office. J. N. Sahani, later Editor of the *National Call* whose career, unfortunately, seemed to have ended in unrelieved frustration despite his earlier promise, was one of them. The once inseparable Pothan Joseph, who later succeeded him as the Editor, together with Sankara the distinguished proprietor-editor of *Sankar's Weekly*, whose fame as a cartoonist still remains quite unrivalled in this country, were the others. If I am not mistaken, I believe Durgadas, who later went off to the Reuters as their news editor in Delhi and eventually came back to the *Hindustan Times* as editor after Devadas Gandhi and is now regarded as one of the most distinguished among Indian free lance political columnists, was also one other on the staff of the *Hindusthan Times* of Panikkar's times. There is not the slightest doubt that the *Hindusthan Times* during Panikkar's regime, soon came to be regarded as one of the front-rank national dailies, perhaps, mainly because of the brilliance of the staff he had been able to get together under him.

It is quite possible that in course of time Panikkar might have elevated himself to front-rank eminence in the world of Indian news journalism if he had cared to stick to this career for long enough. Probabilities are that he might even be regarded as the most eminent among them during later years for, there is hardly any doubt that after the more distinguished votaries of the profession had passed away one after the other in the immutable process of natural wastage, Indian journalism gradually came to be manned by a school of mediocrities among whom Panikkar bade fair to stand almost head above shoulders. It would be only fair to acknowledge in this context, however, that if journalism has in course of time come to be manned, by and large, by a school of mediocrities compared to their predeces-

sors, its field has, nevertheless, immensely and almost incomparably widened and it must be acknowledged now to serve a far wider and more varied need than has ever been known to have been done before. But his restless mind, it would appear, would not permit him to stay put within the confines of one particular profession or career for too long. From journalism, his ever-questing mind and changeable tastes led him on to the career of an administrator.

The Chamber of Princes, in those times quite a growing political force in the country, offered him the initial opportunity in this new field when he left the *Hindusthan Times* to be the Secretary to its Chancellor. After a moderately distinguished career in the Chamber of Princes, Panikkar joined service under the Patiala State as Foreign Minister and, later, Foreign and Political Minister to the Bikaner State. It was really rather a joke, his assignment as Foreign Minister, first to Patiala and then to Bikaner, for the Indian States, by virtue of their long-standing Treaty with the British Indian Government, had no rights of any foreign relations whatsoever at that stage. Still, Panikkar was Foreign Minister and when the Round Table Conference held its sittings between 1930 and 1933, he was Secretary to the Indian States' delegation to the Conference. It was, perhaps, his assignment at this Conference, secretarial to one particular delegation as it was, that opened up the opportunities for the limited foreign relations the Indian States were known to have later developed first in 1942 at the Pacific Relations Conference in Canada to which Panikkar was the Indian States' Representative and, later, in 1945, to the Commonwealth Relations Conference. Later Panikkar was elevated to the office of the Prime Minister of the Bikaner State, an assignment which he continued to hold down until the liquidation of Princely India after Independence.

What really led to a later political career and eventually one of career-diplomacy to this intrepid scholar-journalist-administrator who was always known to have his eyes wide open to the main chance, was his ability to visualise the inevitable eventual liquidation of the Indian Princely States. He stepped into a short and not very distinguished political career through his membership of the Indian Constituent Assembly. A couple of publications at about this time from his quite erudite pen, although they would seem

to lack any very great depth, seemed to have established his reputation with the new powers that insinuated themselves into the control of the politically just emancipated nation's machinery of administration for a distinguished career in diplomacy and he was among the very first among the nation's representatives to have the very important assignment of representing her before the great world forum of the United Nations. The year following the attainment of Independence he was made India's Minister Plenipotentiary to the just newly established Peoples' Republic of China, an assignment which he continued to hold for four long years thereafter. It was while he was yet India's Minister in Peking that he was again seconded to India's delegation to the United Nations mainly for the purpose of pleading for membership of Chinese Peoples' Government of the U.N. as opposed to the continued membership of the evacuee Chang Kai Shek government in Formosa. Panikkar's advocacy for Peoples' China, strong as it was, did not, however, yield the desired results as the later equally insistent pleadings of V. K. Krishna Menon for the same cause failed to achieve their purpose.

It is still a matter largely of conjecture if the real architect Indo-Chinese relations founded on the now quite notorious Panch Sheel Treaty between the two countries was really Panikkar or Prime Minister Nehru himself. There can be no doubt, however, that even if Nehru were the real architect of this unrealistic treaty, Panikkar must also accept his due share of responsibility for it as India's accredited Minister to the Peking Government. On the face of it, it would seem to be quite clear that the foundation of the Indo-Chinese relations were laid upon an obvious sense of appeasement of Chinese claims and demands by India, even where they concerned a wholly separate third Party over whom India had no political rights except those of friendship and mutuality, and which were eventually to exude the most poisonous effluent adversely affecting this entirely friendly and peaceful third Party as later also India herself.

It was not merely that India literally went into hysterics in her methods of cultivating the friendship and approbation of Communist China, she was obviously guilty of perpetrating one of the greatest wrongs upon a friendly and essentially peace-loving country when

she conceded Chou en Lai's demands for a recognition—strangely this recognition was bilaterally agreed upon between 'Peoples' China' and India without any reference whatever to the country really affected thereby—of China's rights of suzerainty over this other country. Later events proved clearly enough how this wholly unjust piece of diplomatic jugglery between the countries ratifying this treaty were to be used as an excuse by the unscrupulous Chinese for militarily—and with wholly unnecessary violence and cruelty—annexing this traditionally quiet and peaceful country as part of the expansionist Chinese Communist empire. This was the first and initial result that flowed from the notorious Indo-Chinese Panch Sheel Treaty. But later events have proved that this was only the first jumping off manoeuvre in a concerted and consistent process of expansionism and annexation and during the years that followed China was acknowledged to have unobtrusively and without the least hindrance and opposition occupied some twelve thousand square miles of Indian territory on her northern frontiers. But even worse was to come as the October of 1962 proved to the utter confusion and impotence of the Indian Government and the horror of the free world, when a massive armed assault was launched upon India by her erstwhile Communist friends in the mainland of China.

As already observed, it is not possible at this juncture to categorically assert that Panikkar was really responsible for laying the foundations of the diplomatic relations between the two countries and that Nehru himself was not responsible for guiding and directing the course of his Mission in Peking that led eventually to these poisonous results. It is quite clear, however, that either for the sake of his career or, perhaps, because his views were in the fullest accord with what the Prime Minister cum External Affairs Minister of free India desired, the foundations of the process of appeasement of Chinese demands which was, in essence, the core of Indo-Chinese diplomacy, were laid during the times when Panikkar remained accredited to the Peking Government as India's Minister. The results of his work—and I would reiterate that I hesitate to assert that it was wholly motivated by his own unaided volition—have been admittedly poisonous and one really does not know when the country may pull out of its paralysing impact finally.

After China Panikkar had two more diplo-

matic assignments, first to Egypt and some of the Arab countries during 1952-53 and later for a period of three years, between 1956 and 1959, to France. There is hardly any doubt that Indo-Arabic, especially Indo-Egyptian diplomacy has, over the years, been mainly conditioned by Nehru's personal friendship with and love for Nasser and Panikkar could be said to have hardly any initiative whatever left to himself in shaping these relations. Although not with all Arab countries, India's relations with Egypt has remained consistently pleasant and mutual, although the reactions of this relationship cannot, at the same time, be said to have been equally pleasant or even quite just so far as Indo-Israeli relations are concerned. Israel has naturally and quite understandably remained suspicious of, although not frankly hostile to India. What this may eventually cost the country is, however, not quite relevant to the present context. In France India, during Panikkar's regime or even later, has never been able to make much of a dent for which it would be wrong to blame the Ambassador. It is obvious that Nehru's invidious attitude as between the Communists and the democratic world has generated a measure of hostility against the country in De Gaulle which it will not be very easy to conjure away.

During the interregnum between his Egyptian assignment and his assignment to Paris Panikkar was saddled with, perhaps, the most unpleasant assignment of his whole career, the role he was called upon to play in the States' Reorganization Commission. There is no doubt that he played a very forceful part in this assignment but the result that flowed from his labours and those of his other colleagues in the Commission must still be acknowledged to have been of the most questionable quality. It is not merely that the recommendations of the Commission in so far as they have been accepted and implemented by the Government have failed to satisfy all those in the country that have been concerned, but that there is hardly any doubt today that the climate of national disintegration which is almost unanimously agreed to have assumed quite serious proportions has been generated as an inevitable result of the process. It is, indeed, a most difficult assignment that the Commission had to undertake. To delimit and reorganize boundaries of politically auto-

nomic, economically self-contained and viable and, as far as possible at the same time linguistically homogenous States was almost an impossible task on the face of it. Besides, the basic lessons of Indian history would seem to point to the dangers of a federal state structure with autonomous constituent states. Anything except a Unitary State which is what had really given birth to Indian nationhood was bound to prove fissiparous in the end. But our constitution-makers had elected to choose otherwise and the States' Reorganization Commission was merely called upon to give body and shape to their illegitimate brain-child. Panikkar did assume a very important initiative in the task, but it would be unfair to blame him for all that he and his colleagues could be expected to do in the circumstances, was merely to do the best one could conceive of with a *fait accompli*.

But all his frequent peregrinations in two diverse fields of activity notwithstanding, it would seem that Panikkar's essentially, was the vocation of a scholar and a man of letters. It was, perhaps, only fitting that the end of his diplomatic and political career should have been marked by his reversion to the world of letters and cultural activities. He was acknowledged to have done valuable work on the Executive of the National Academy of Letters to which he was later appointed and as Chairman of the UNESCO Advisory Council for Eastern and Western Cultural Values. His works on Princely India have been acknowledged to have been standard ones, although his book on China's and Indian history will long remain a subject of controversy between scholars and historians. His book on India's defence problems although more up-to-date, cannot be said to have earned the same distinction as Dr. Kunzru's earlier work on the subject. It was even more befitting the inner man in Panikkar that he should spend his last days in the peaceful surroundings and satisfying climate of a University campus. As Vice Chancellor of the Mysore University he followed a line of eminently distinguished scholars and savants, the greatest of whom was, without question, the late Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, whose birthday centenary is scheduled to be celebrated later this year.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati :

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

MIRACLES DO STILL HAPPEN : by Dilip Kumar Roy in collaboration with Indira Devi—a Novel with a Foreward by Dr. Charles A. Moore and an Introduction by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and with a preface and appendices by the author, (Hari Krishna Mandir, Poona 5 and Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7, Price : Rs. 9.50).

The book is a free translation of Dilip Kumar Roy's Bengali novel, 'Aghatan Ajo Ghate' by the author himself. It is a novel in the sense that it is full of vivid characterisations and narrations of incidents and events, although such events and incidents are not of the type to be found in the usual novels or books of romance. It is indeed a veiled autobiographical sketch and gives an account of the author's own spiritual and mystical experiences under the profound influence of his Gurudev Sri Aurobindo and a few other seers and saints with whom he came into intimate contact in his quest for spiritual realisation. There are five chapters in the book entitled, Amal, Shyam Thakur, Mandira, Sati and Ananda Giri. Written in an elegant but easy style, the entire story is characterised by the religious fervour and spiritual candour of a pious devotee.

The main theme of the book is on 'miracles'. Throughout the book, the author has tried to establish that miracles do still happen. He has however, cautioned the readers that in his narrative, he is not concerned with occultism as such and he refers only to "those miracles wrought by Divine

Grace to enlighten, mould or transform the nature of a spiritual aspirant". This is indeed a challenge to the scientists and philosophers who are upholders of reason and logic. Although modern science has realised the inadequacy of reason with regard to the fundamental nature of the physical world and the votaries of science gracefully admit that by the very nature of things it is not possible for Physical science to find the intrinsic nature of the phenomenal world, yet in their own domain they have never discarded reason and logic. The breakdown of the causal law and determinism in the realm of the minutae is only an outcome of the process of reasoning. Max Plank, the originator of quantum theory clearly expressed the modern scientific outlook, when he said: "There are realities existing apart from sense perception and there are problems and conflicts where these realities are of great value." Many scientists today do believe that spiritual experience and realisation are to be regarded as on the same footing as the experiences in the physical world. Eddington called the world of spiritual experience the world of intimate knowledge, as distinct from the world of symbolic knowledge, where one deals with manifestations, appearances and responses which are mere symbols. The world of the scientists is thus only a symbolic world. His mission is to work for a unified picture of this symbolic world, where he fags for facts and figures and ever

strives for their co-ordination and synthesis. Reality is not the scientist's goal. The scientist today is modest and honest enough to recognise his jurisdiction. Nevertheless, a man who is very much more than a mere scientist is not satisfied with only symbolic knowledge. He seeks for an intimate knowledge. With this mental attitude, there is no clash between science and spirituality. The material and the transcendental aspects of human experience combine to give a complete picture of man.

Although many modern scientists admit that there are other experiences which are as valid as the experiences of their own world, yet they cannot be persuaded to believe in miracles which manifest themselves as responses of the supra-physical on the physical plane. If one emphatically says that he sees God as vividly as he can see a brick wall, the modern scientist respectfully accepts such an experience in the world of intimate knowledge, although he himself may not have any such experience. When one hears 'voices' and sees "things", a scientist may respectfully accept them as one's personal experiences, but it is not possible for him to comprehend the interaction of the transcendental with the material world. The lighting of the electric bulb, with its switch off is thus wholly unacceptable to a scientist, even though the devotee describes with indescribable joy and thrill the phenomenon as the Lord's intervention. It is also too much to expect that a scientist will believe in the marks left on the plate of the *halva*, when nearly half of it is scooped out by the greedy little Lord with His tiny fingers. The transformation of the horribly scarred face of Amal into a flawless normal one with no scar or wrinkle after a plunge in the Ganga is also unacceptable to a Scientist. Dilip Roy's book abounds in such miracles. May I humbly point out to the distinguished author that such disbelief on the part of the scientists does not mean negation of spiritual and mystical experiences or denial of spiritual values such as, dedication, meditation, devotion and integrity? We, however, regard these miracles as merely subjective or personal experiences. Time may come when the investigations on the nature of the supra-physical or para-normal occurrences like telepathy, clairvoyance, visions, apparitions etc., will

lead to tangible results. Before any acceptable results are available, my humble opinion is to reserve our opinion regarding the link between the physical and the supra-physical world. One can certainly be a devout believer in the Divinity and yet have an open mind regarding miracles.

In spite of what I have said in defence of Science, I close by saying that the rare combination of literary merit, intellect and spiritual fervour in the book will inspire many in their quest for the ultimate truth.

S. R. Khastgir.

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6/1A, Banchhanan Akur Lane, Calcutta-12, pages 280.

Even in the early twenties, when the Greater India Society and its world-renowned Journal had not come into being, Dr. R. C. Majumdar took to writing a series of books on the history of Hindu Colonies in the far-off South East Asia. In the book under review, the basic facts of the aforesaid massive volumes have been presented in a simple language. Keeping in view the actual needs of the University students, critical discussion and reference to authorities have been more or less avoided. To have compressed so much of information covering a vast field of study within such a small space would, by itself, be held creditable, particularly, as in this revised edition is incorporated the result of latter-day searches. It is divided into several parts consisting of chapters under a common plan which weaves around political, economic, social, religious and artistic movements for more than fifteen hundred years. A notable feature of the book is its copious illustrations of art and a comprehensive index.

This golden chapter of the history of colonization, which was wrapped in obscurity for a long time, has unsettled the widespread belief, held by European scholars in particular, that the Hindus have never been a people of mighty events, even if they achieved singular success in the field of philosophical speculation. It can be safely presumed that the ship-building industry, which fed Hindu colonization, was highly developed. Buddhist canonical literature refers to persons sailing from The-

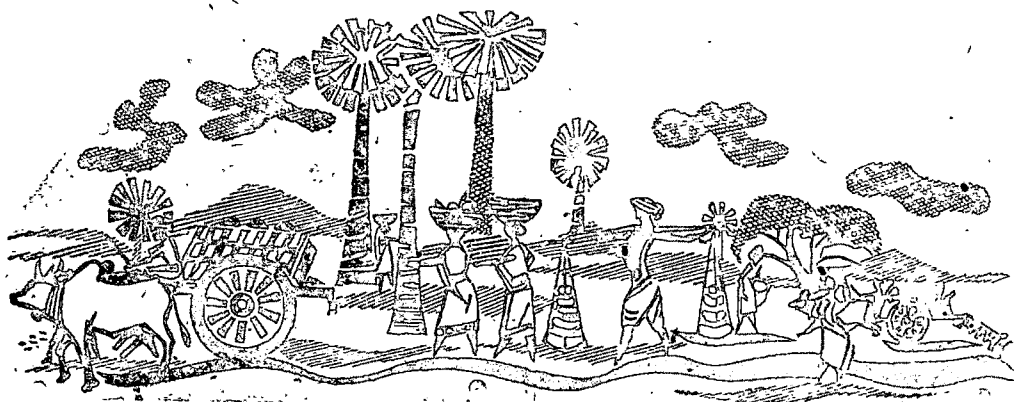
ralipta (Tamluk in Bengal) to Malay Peninsula and other localities far and wide. It seems to be a paradox that the Hindus who, in later period, considered sea-voyage as unholy, were such experts in maritime activity. Although the fact of colonization cannot be divorced from the idea of aggression and violence under the twin impacts of economics and politics, it is a matter of debate among historians whether the process of Hindu colonization occurred through violence. Dr. Majumdar, no doubt, is of opinion that 'sometimes a military adventurer seized the political power and established a Hindu Kingdom' (p.8). But unlike European colonists, the Hindu settlers allowed themselves to be assimilated by the indigenous people, and contributed, at the same time, to the development of their culture. European countries invariably keep close to their colonists, whereas India does not seem to have cared for her sons who carried the torch of her culture to the distant lands. These significant phases of Hindu colonization in the world history have not received the attention it deserves."

In the history of the world, European civilization, which is but a blending of Hellenism and Christianity, has had its due measure of appreciation, while civilization of other countries has gone underestimated. The writing of the pattern of world history is in need of reorientation. 'Each race', Swami Vivekananda observes, 'has a peculiar bent, each race has a peculiar *raison d'être*, each race has a peculiar mission to fulfil in the life of the world. Each race has to make its own result to fulfil its own mission. Political greatness or military power is never the mission of our race'. History

cannot show a record of another movement comparable to what happened in the Hindu Colonies. This colonizing enterprise with the peaceful method of what is truly radiation of Indian culture among the less advanced people of the Far East, is the unique contribution and characteristic of Hindu civilization. Thus, as Sylvan Levi says, 'India has propagated her beliefs, her tales and civilization and has left indelible imprints on one-fourth of the human race in the course of a long succession of centuries. She has a right to reclaim in universal history the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time, and to hold her place among the great nations summarising and symbolising the spirit of Humanity.'

Dr. Mazumdar has brought home to us that through the medium of colonization India exported her mighty treasure of architecture, sculpture, paintings and Sanskrit literature. The colonial art was developed to such an extent that even some executions of art excel the classic art of the Gupta period. It is the opinion of Mr. O. C. Ganguly, a connoisseur of art of international renown, that the celebrated stupa of Barabudur (Java) and the beautiful temple of Ankar Vat (Cambodia) can be regarded as two of the finest symbols of architecture and sculpture in the world. About the Sanskrit inscriptions, Dr. Majumdar holds the view that they would help solving certain conflicting points of Indian History. The superb masterpieces of art and flawless Sanskrit inscriptions indicate that personalities of exceptional talents and brilliance went abroad for dissemination of Indian culture.

Narayan Kundu



Indian Periodicals

TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Writing Editorially under the above caption, what the **Commerce** has to say should be of vital interest:

But for sustained efforts to build up trained technical personnel required for schemes of industrial development, teaching and research, the Western nations would not have been enjoying today so high a level of economic prosperity. Learning from the experience of these nations, planners in India, too, have accorded high priority to technical education, as witness the heavy outlay earmarked for the schemes of technical education in the Third Plan; the actual provision made is Rs. 142 crores, as against Rs. 48 crores provided for in the Second Plan and Rs. 23 crores in the First Plan. Thanks to such high priority, there has been a notable expansion, six to eight fold, in the facilities for engineering education. Well could Mr. Chagla, Union Minister for Education, describe, when he addressed the sixteenth annual meeting of the All-India Council for Technical Education at New Delhi on Sunday this week, that the increase "is unprecedented in any developing country." The few figures he cited, if they are compared with the programme drawn up in Third Plan, will be revealing. Here are the figures:

	At present	Third Plan targets	Position existing in 1960-61
Degree courses			
No. of institutions ..	126	117	100
Admission capacity ..	20,500	19,140	13,860
Diploma courses			
No. of institutions ..	280	263	196
Admission capacity ..	40,000	37,390	25,570

It will be seen from the above figures that both the number of institutions and the admission capacity at present are markedly higher than the targets and the

position will be still better two years later. It is estimated that, by 1965-66, the admission capacity for degree and diploma courses will be no less than 24,000 and 50,000 respectively. While all this is encouraging, the quality and standard of technical education leave much to be desired. There are many reasons for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. In the first place, there has been a distinct fall in the standard of general education itself, for which the blame rests with the powers-that-be. Secondly, in the anxiety to increase the number, quality controls have been relaxed. Thirdly, application of communal and caste considerations to admission of students to technical courses has resulted in the elimination of students of merit. Apart from these reasons to which Mr. Chagla seems to have made no reference, there is another to which the Minister referred. And that is the establishment of institutions in some places by private parties without ensuring adequate resources to maintain correct standards of instructional facilities. Mr. Chagla was candid enough to admit this fact and regretted the setting up of institutions without the prior approval of the Council. But whose fault is all this. None can establish and run an educational institution without the consent of the educational authorities at the State level. This shows that State Governments have been conniving at the growth of these mushroom institutions. One must also enquire into the causes that encourage the emergence of such institutions. An impartial observer will discover that one of the chief causes is shortage of accommodation in the institutes of the public sector and the difficulty of getting admission into them on account of a number of extraneous considerations.

Reference must also be made to the great shortage of qualified and experienced teaching staff. Mr. Chagla certainly struck a note of realism when he declared that the problem of quality and standard had become all-important in the context of advancing science and technology. "It is," quote him, "the primary function of technical education continually to respond to new developments in science and technology, identify new technical disciplines and pro-

vide training facilities for them." A very pertinent suggestion which he put forward in this context pertains to the establishment of a first-rate Central research institute to investigate on a national plane the problems of reorganisation of technical study courses, diversification of training fields curriculum construction, examinations and waste, and to develop an organised body of knowledge on technical education. Equally pertinent are his two other suggestions. One, those States which have not yet implemented the schemes of better pay scales sanctioned by the Centre must do so with a sense of urgency. Two, the State Governments should not start any new institution so long as existing ones are understaffed.

The need for improving the quality of technical education is especially urgent considering the growing impact of science and technology on society. Alluding to this impact, Mr. Chagla rightly said: "The business of engineering education is no more narrow specialisation in certain technical disciplines; it has a wider social significance in the modern world."

Allied to the question of technical education is that of scientific and industrial research. Although due attention is being paid to this type of research, a recent study made by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research reveals some disturbing trends. There is, for instance, considerable imbalance between the support given by the Centre and the State Governments to scientific research, as well as in the allocation of resources to the different sectors of research. The total Government expenditure on research in India has no doubt risen in recent years, but the rise is not appreciable: from Rs. 1.22 crore in 1952 to Rs. 4.69 crores in 1961. Actually, the annual rate of increase in expenditure during the five-year period 1957-62 was lower than in the preceding five-year period, being 15 per cent, as against 17 per cent. This rate is far below that even in some less developed nations. The *per capita* expenditure on research in India is estimated at no more than Re. 1.07 (1961), as compared with Rs. 410 in the U.S., Rs. 162 in the U.K.,

Rs. 143 in Sweden, Rs. 40 in Australia and Rs. 35 in Norway. While the *per capita* expenditure in the U.S. and the U.K. is more than two per cent of their *per capita* national income, it is only 0.3 per cent in India. The annual expenditure per scientist in India is just Rs. 16,800 (1962), assuming that 75 per cent of the 37,000 research scientists are employed by the Government. The corresponding figures for the U.S. and the U.K. are Rs. 1,72,820 and Rs. 53,420, respectively.

These figures will give one an idea of the vast effort required of our country to catch up with the advanced countries in the field of research. The Governments, Central and State, ought to spend much larger amounts on scientific and industrial research. They must also provide incentives to research by industries in the private sector through grants, subsidies and tax-exemptions. Besides these incentives, due attention must needs be paid to what are aptly described as the means of providing for the emergence of able leadership, development of team spirit among scientists, and a large output of able scientists and technologists to man the departments of science and research in universities and in industrial establishments. Surely, lack of appreciation of these problems by those in charge of education may, as one Mr. M. K. Sen of Calcutta has clearly warned in a letter to the *Statesman*, turn research organisations into barren places of disgruntled researchers working at cross purposes, or to no purpose at all, and result in promising scientists getting frustrated. Frustration among scientists and technicians kill initiative for making new discoveries and inventions. It will also induce the more daring among them to migrate to other countries. Above all, communal and caste considerations must not be allowed to stand in the way of young men with brilliant academic record getting admission for the engineering and science courses. One does not know how many Ramans, Boses and Bhabhas the country has missed as a result of the application of this factor since independence.

Foreign Periodicals

LETTER FROM EAST PAKISTAN

Writing in the *New Leader* what John E. Owen who spent the past four years in East Pakistan as a visiting Professor at Dacca University, has to say is a confirmation of the picture of East Pakistan which was not altogether unknown to the more discerning Indian.

East Pakistan today is a region where almost every aspect of life conspires to produce a situation devoid of hope. An impetuous Province carved in 1947 out of undivided Bengal, it lies beneath the Himalayas in the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta between Assam and West Bengal, a low-lying riverine country beset by periodic floods, monsoons and poor soil.

East Pakistan's population density, over 1,000 persons per square mile, ranks as one of the highest in the world. And the region's 50 million Bengalis have increased in number by almost 25 per cent in the last decade, with no sign of any surcease. This factor alone is likely to nullify the benefits of foreign economic aid. Birth control programs have made little headway, especially since the Bengali Muslim has a fatalistic attitude. He believes children are a sign of the blessings of Allah, and large families bestow prestige upon a father.

Floods and cyclones destroy property every year, but no effective steps have been taken to control their damage. Milk supplied by care and thousands of woollen blankets donated by the U.S. for flood victims can be bought openly on the black market. Bengal's upper classes are complacently indifferent to the loss of life and farmlands among the peasants. Flood relief funds are frequently diverted from their rightful beneficiaries.

Since 1947, a new class of rich industrialists from outside the Province has built up the jute trade lost to India when the subcontinent was partitioned. The social changes resulting from superimposing technology and industry upon an essentially feudal society have been sufficient to disorganize the life of the Province. Dacca, the urban capital, presents a bizarre spectacle of Western modernity combining uneasily with the rural East. In 15 years it

has been transformed from a sleepy hinterland town to the administrative and commercial center of East Bengal. Refugees from India and an influx of Bengalis from the agricultural districts have swelled the population to over half a million.

Living conditions in Old Dacca are overcrowded and disease is rampant. With more than 12,000 persons per square mile, the area resembles London of 300 years ago before the Great Fire. An epidemic of smallpox earlier this year resulted in 900 known deaths in one month; untold others were not recorded. While the epidemic was raging, the first session of Pakistan's National Assembly five miles away was engaged in endless speech-making, but almost the only legislation passed was a bill to raise the stipends of delegates.

The real impact of foreign aid is difficult to evaluate, but it would be hard to defend the thesis that East Pakistan's economy or living standards have been appreciably improved by the millions invested thus far. On the contrary, the life of the Bengali farmer is harder than it was 10 years ago, and there is firm evidence that some of the aid funds have been misused. The Water and Power Development Authority, a multi-million-dollar project, is only one of several instances where U.S. funds have not produced the expected results, partly because of large-scale misappropriations.

Corruption in East Pakistan is openly acknowledged and cynically accepted as an governmental way of life; a system of *baksheesh*, bribery and kickbacks is firmly entrenched. Nevertheless, the disposition of aid funds has not been adequately supervised by U.S. officials. Many of the 500 Americans in Dacca are unhappily aware that their efforts to develop the economy are yielding no tangible results and that the Pakistani authorities, with their practiced skill at grasping every chance to enrich their own pockets, have stolen American money. Nor is there the slightest evidence of appreciation for the millions that have been given. Indeed many Bengalis still find the concept of aid difficult to comprehend and question the motives behind the U.S. program.

Since the end of martial law in 1931

conditions in the Province have worsened progressively. An atmosphere of lawlessness exists that the police are powerless to cope with. The last university commencement ceremony had to be cancelled for fear of student demonstrations or riots against the government, and during the academic year 1962-63 classes were in session for only 62 days. The authorities are afraid to act against the students, who represent one of the few literate segments of the population and thus have the potential for wielding influence in their home villages.

Over 80 per cent of Bengalis are illiterate. The poverty of the peasants has to be seen to be believed. Their small-holdings of rice and jute are uneconomic, rice production has not risen sufficiently to provide adequate sustenance for the peasants and their families, and inflation has brought added hardship. The authorities deny that East Pakistan has a food shortage, but in many villages the situation is so desperate that peasants are eating grass and roots.

There is rising discontent that would probably erupt into violence, were it not for the apathy induced by malnutrition and Muslim fatalism. Many Bengalis have told me that conditions in general were immeasurably better under the British regime, and that personally they are far worse off now than before partition. A severe taxation policy specifies that even the villager who owns a chicken has to pay a tax on it.

Attempts to introduce co-operatives into East Pakistan have met with indifferent results; mainly because the spirit of co-operation has never taken root here. Harsh economic conditions preclude the idea of mutual self-help, and Islam has not fostered attitudes of co-operative endeavour. Outside the family circle, East Bengalis live by a jungle code, pitting their wits against each other rather than against nature.

Islam as practiced in Pakistan enjoins no ethical code that might affect daily dealings between Pakistanis. Its stress is on the outer observance, the five daily prayers, the Ramadan fasting period, and occasional almsgiving. Apart from the apathetic fatalism it engenders, Islam is not a cohesive force in Pakistan. A great gulf exists between the

Western-educated intellectual and the peasant, underlining the lack of agreement as to what the true function of Islam should be.

Only two things unite East Pakistan today: a sense of hopelessness concerning the national future, and resentment of India. Many Bengalis privately admit that partition was a profound mistake from which they have gained nothing. When asked what the future of East Pakistan is likely to be, they shake their heads and answer, "God knows."

An undefined segment of Bengalis would prefer to be **re-united with India**; it looks to Calcutta as its Mecca, a political fact that is disturbing to the authorities in Rawalpindi. "We have to hate India," a Bengali intellectual told me, "for without that we would have no reason to exist as a nation." But Western arms aid to India has aroused bad feeling against both the U.S. and India among many Bengalis.

In a very real sense the East Pakistanis today, like their counterparts in West Pakistan, are not a nation but an ill-assorted group of divergent elements divided against themselves, disunited except for a negative attitude to India. Pakistan was not ready for nationhood in 1947, and it is still not ready. President Ayub Khan is the one leader who shows any statesmanship, but he is like a man in search of a country. He is resented by many Bengalis because he is from West Pakistan, and the animosity shown to the West wing in Bengal rivals the resentment against India. The two wings are not in any sense united.

Not a few U.S. aid workers have returned home from East Pakistan in recent months with deep misgivings about the wisdom of giving millions of dollars to a people whose defiant ignorance, fatalism, and extreme backwardness render them painfully ill-equipped to help themselves or face the realities of the 20th century. The outlook for East Pakistan is dark and grim. Quite apart from the Chinese danger only 300 miles to the north, there is no prospect that conditions for the Bengalis will get any better.

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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NOTES

The World

Last months World events of particular interest centred round the Security Council of the U.N.O. Pakistan went to the Security Council with two specific charges against India: (1) There was an open revolt in Kashmir and (2) India was integrating Kashmir with the territories of the Indian Union. The second country to move the Security Council was Cyprus, but by a queer quirk of diplomatic manoeuvres the British forestalled the move of Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus to approach the Security Council to intervene in the turmoil that is going on in that unhappy island, whose Turkish minorities are being threatened with extermination or expulsion by the extreme wing of Greek Cypriot underground fighters. It should be noted that the Turkish Cypriots form only 20 per cent of the population.

The debate over Pakistan's charges against India was finally adjourned for an indefinite period after it became apparent that the majority of the members were not convinced that any positive decision was either practicable or necessary under the circumstances and that quite a few of the member countries like the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bolivia, Nationalist China (Formosa), France and some others firmly stated that the Kashmir issue should be considered more realistically in the context of the present situation. The urgent case of Cyprus is still under consideration.

Apart from these there has been another coup d'état in South Vietman, which has been bloodless on this occasion, a savage uprising in the Congo and the aftermath of the forays by Somalis and counter thrusts, with jet planes and tanks, by Ethiopia that came in the course of the territorial disputes between the Somali Republic and Ethiopia over the Ogaden Province of the latter State. The shortlived military uprisings in Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda were also finally dealt with. Tanganyika's President Julius Nyerere disbanded the aberrant askaris of the two Tanganyika Rifle battalions, replacing the rebels with the members of his parties' militant Youth Wing. Uganda's Prime Minister, Apollo Milton Obote, had the ringleaders of the uprising arrested and then disarmed and dispersed some 500 more of the Uganda Rifles into the back country. Kenya's Prime Minister and strongman, Jomo Kenyatta, took a far more firm and harsh line with the rebels, who were in the 11th Battalion of the Kenya Rifles. A military tribunal went into the question of the culpability of each individual accused soldier-suspects, who were sorted out as "black" (guilty of armed and active mutiny) grey (doubtful) or "white", (not guilty). About a hundred were deemed guilty and Kenyatta has decided that they would be speedily tried by a court-martial, where the maximum penalty could be execution by a firing squad.

Pakistan's External Affairs Minister Z. A. Bhutto made the opening statement before the Security Council on February 3. He started with a characteristically Pakistani flourish which is so reminiscent of the performances of their British mentors. He went on to make brazen statements about the people of Kashmir being in open rebellion, due to the Indians' not keeping the pledge of plebiscite, carefully suppressing the fact that the condition precedent to the plebiscite, namely the vacating of the aggression by Pakistan on Kashmir had been ignored by Pakistan with the connivance of Britain and U.S.A. And then followed an appeal to the Security Council to look after the rights of smaller nations, which was somewhat modified by the utterance of a veiled threat of armed action in case the Security Council did not act in accordance with Pakistani plans. Some of the gems from Mr. Bhutto's peroration are appended below.

Mr. Bhutto said the Pakistani Government had requested for the meeting to "draw attention to the serious deterioration in relations between Pakistan and India and the far-reaching and incalculable results of this situation if it is not improved."

Considering that one-sixth of the human race was involved, "we cannot continue in this way without in the end inviting an eruption which would be catastrophic to both," the Pakistani Minister said.

"When we requested for this meeting, the permanent representative of India is reported to have said at a Press conference that all that can come out of it (presumably a reference to this meeting) is a little more mud-throwing."

"To, Sir, the stakes are too high, the issues too vital, the number of people involved too great for us to seek through mud-throwing the solution of a dispute which carries with it the seeds of a major international upheaval. It is our contention that justice and not mud-throwing will ultimately resolve this issue and we are here to place before you the justice of our complaint."

Mr. Bhutto said that though 16 years had passed without the agreement on a plebiscite in Kashmir being carried out, there had never been any time when there had been any acquiescence on the part of Pakistan, or the people of Kashmir, in India's occupation of the major part of the State.

"There has never been any time when we have abated or abandoned our rightful claim. There has never been any time when a search was not pending for a peaceful solution of the problem consistent with the basic principle agreed between the parties. And there has never been a time when the strain of the dispute in the entire India-Pakistan situation has shown any sign of being eased or when the tensions that it causes have relaxed."

"I venture to submit here that if the doctrine of the passage of time resulting in an advantage to one party in an international dispute is upheld, then it would be just as well if we consider the Charter of the U.N. to have been abrogated."

"The world has witnessed two global wars in this century which were fought ostensibly for the preservation of the rights of smaller States. If a precedent is now established in Kashmir which allows the rights and claims of a smaller State to be overborne by a stronger party, aided by the passage of time, and an international agreement to be disregarded, then the principles of the Charter and of all other statements, like those issued recently by Mr. Khrushchev and President Johnson regarding the renunciation of force in the settlement of territorial disputes, lose their meaning."

"I have come before this august body earnestly to urge, in the name of my Government and, above all, in the name of humanity, that the Security Council take appropriate action to ensure that the Kashmir dispute moves rapidly towards an honourable and just solution in the interest of the well-being of the people of the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent and to the interest of peace in Asia."

"The people of Kashmir have unmistakably risen in open rebellion and, unless we refuse to hear their voice, we can no longer doubt that they are unreconciled to Indian

occupation, any passage of time notwithstanding.

"Pakistan is pledged to ensure that the people of Jammu and Kashmir exercise their right of self-determination as spelled out in the resolutions of the Security Council and the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan.

"The latest measures show that India is determined to continue to flout the Security Council by reducing the State to the level of a mere administrative unit of India. It is manifest that the people of Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir would have none of this 'integration' with India."

Mr. Bhutto then referred to the "present upheaval" in Kashmir, and said the Government of India did not pay heed to the "anguished protest of the people of Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir against the denial of their inalienable rights". There was no indication of any change of heart on India's part. It was "determined to continue with its plans for the forcible annexation of the State".

India's "iniquitous policies" had led to upheavals in Jammu and Kashmir. The present rebellion had further aggravated relations between Pakistan and India and led to communal riots in the two countries.

To the deep regret of the Government of Pakistan, the tension over the "Hajratbal and Kishtwar outrages and the subsequent regime of repression in Indian-occupied Kashmir" found expression in some regrettable incidents on January 3 against the Hindu minority in Khulna and Jessore districts of East Pakistan, he said, adding: "The disorder was promptly suppressed and normal life restored in the two districts". Exaggerated reports of these incidents in East Pakistan were published by the Indian Press, he said.

The communal situation in the affected areas of both countries remained tense and needed continued vigilance, Mr. Bhutto said. It was the paramount duty of any civilized Government to protect basic human rights of all its citizens, regardless of their faith.

"The reason, Mr. President, why I have referred to the recent communal riots in India and Pakistan is not to engage in an apportionment of praise or blame. It is axiomatic that the safety of all their peoples, regardless of faith or persuasion, is the responsibility of the Government concerned.

"The Indian case on Kashmir is always presented with a great deal of rhetoric about the secular nature of the Indian State. The reality is that the denial of the right of self-determination to the people of Jammu and Kashmir is embittering the relations between India and Pakistan, a direct result of which is the poisoning of relations between Hindus and Muslims in the two countries.

The leader of the Indian Delegation, our Education Minister Chagla, very effectively demolished the Pakistani case, by pointing out the suppressions and distortions of truth and showing up the difference between Pakistan's contention and moral protestations and the actual performance of her executives. It would be impossible to reproduce either the 14000 word speech or to give an adequate summary in these columns. But some of the points made by him may be given in summary.

Mr. Chagla labelled Mr. Bhutto's charges as pure fiction. He said the basic principle underlying Pakistan's foreign policy was opposition to India on every front. It was only a logical development that Pakistan at present was involved in a conspiracy with China to make India domestically and internationally weak. Mr. Chagla said that India today is perhaps the only country which can stand up to Chinese expansion and aggression.

If India failed, there will be nothing to control the Chinese forward policy. It is therefore, not only in the interest of India itself but also in the interest of peace that India should be strong. We are very grateful for the aid that we have received from friendly countries. But the whole purpose of this would be completely nullified if India becomes domestically weak. No country can be internationally strong if she does not also have domestic strength. The

domestic strength of India depends upon her secularism, upon the vital necessity of the different communities that reside within her, living in peace and harmony. Pakistan does not want India to be strong; it wants to weaken her both internationally and domestically. Its recent flirtation with China is clear evidence of this fact. In this context, Kashmir assumes great importance."

Mr. Chagla then said that Pakistan which complained that India was changing the status quo in Kashmir had itself committed a gross change in the status quo by handing over to China 2,000 square miles of the area to which Pakistan had no right or title.

He then added: "But apart from the fact that legally and constitutionally Kashmir is part of India, apart from the fact that we do not subscribe to the theory that Hindus and Muslims are two nations and apart from the fact that Kashmir is the symbol and guarantee of our secularism. Kashmir has now assumed vital importance because of the continuing menace of China. A mere glance at the map of India will be sufficient to illustrate this."

After analysing Pakistan's attitude towards India's offer to cooperate with Pakistan in any definite attempt to restore normalcy and inter-communal amity in disturbed areas, he went on to say that the present application to the Security Council is merely the culmination of the campaign of hatred that has been ceaselessly carried on against India by it. He quoted the **London Times** remark that "The loadstone of every aspect of Pakistan's foreign policy is bad relations with India," and describing the charges made by Pakistan as a horror story, ended by saying "I shall satisfy you that all this is a figment of vivid imagination."

Then he quoted from official documents on record, the history of Kashmir's accession to India, the facts regarding Pakistan's aggression—which was first denied and then had to be confessed before the U.N.C.I.P. by Pakistan when it visited Karachi in July 1948, when it was found that the saintly blameless pose of Pakistan could not be

maintained—and the basis of the two resolutions of the U.N.C.I.P. of August 1948 and January 1949, which were accepted by India in that context. He said:

"These were the only two resolutions, apart from the resolution of January 1948, to which we agreed. The very foundation of these resolutions was that the presence of Pakistan in parts of Jammu and Kashmir was illegal and she must withdraw her troops and vacate aggression against India.

UNCIP recognized a "material change in the situation" in the presence of Pakistani troops and, as the resolution said Pakistan agreed to withdraw its troops from that State. The holding of a plebiscite could arise only when Pakistan fulfilled its condition.

It was often forgotten, Mr. Chagla continued, that when Pakistan approached the Council she did so as an aggressor who had not vacated her aggression. "My submission to you is that Pakistan has been guilty of gross contempt of this august body and she has no right to be heard till she comes with clean hands. She had not only not washed her hands and tries not only to justify her aggression but seeks to challenge the legal validity of an accession which has been accepted by the UNCIP and on the basis of which Pakistan's presence in Kashmir has been held to be illegal and contrary to international law.

"Memories are so short that I sometimes am surprised that Pakistan should be permitted to reverse the roles of itself and India before the Security Council. It comes here in the innocent garb of an aggrieved party which makes charges against us as if we were aggressors. Throughout this Kashmir controversy, which in all conscience, has been sufficiently long and protracted, it continued to be the aggressor. Even today it is guilty of continuing aggression and in my submission it has no locus standi whatsoever to make any complaint with regard to what India is doing in an integral part of our country."

About assurances of Indian leaders that the people's wishes in the State would be consulted Mr. Chagla said: "These assurances were always given in the context of

vacation of Pakistani aggression and withdrawal of Pakistan from Kashmir as a condition precedent."

He then went on to detail the real reasons behind the the fabrication of the horror story and the demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir:

"Democracy, like charity, begins at home and before Pakistan preaches to us how we should ascertain the wishes of the people of a part of our country she should first make at least a beginning in establishing democratic institutions at home. I need hardly say that since its existence it has never sufficiently trusted its own people to permit them to participate in a general and direct election for the creation of legislative and parliamentary bodies. . . .

"Pakistan's President has repeatedly stated that the people of Pakistan were not fit to exercise such democratic rights and after 17 years of independence Pakistan's people are still being educated in basic democracies which, I need hardly say, are a very diluted form of democracy.

"The real reason for insisting on a plebiscite is to try and see whether it cannot inflame communal passions in Kashmir by appealing to the inhabitants of that State that their religion is in danger and to bring about a recurrence of the terrible events of the partition of India in 1947—bloodshed, migrations and untold human misery."

Dismissing as "baseless and mischievous" the connexion which Pakistan had sought to establish between India and Kashmir and the theft of the holy relic from the Hazratbal shrine, Mr. Chagla said Pakistan had tried to give a communal turn to incidents in Kashmir.

When the relic was stolen, Pakistan expected there would be communal riots in Kashmir. Not only did it expect this, it did its best to incite them.

Mr. Chagla said that unfortunately for Pakistan, there was not only complete communal amity inside Kashmir—and it required a modern, secular, rational outlook to understand this phenomenon—but a further significant fact was that these demonstrations inside Kashmir were not only not aimed against the Indian Government, but showed

complete confidence in the policies of the Indian Government.

The people of the State appealed to the Indian Government that they rather than the local administration, should investigate this crime and bring the guilty to book.

He then refuted every detail of Pakistani charges by cold facts. The eviction of Indian Muslims was one such allegation, which he demolished by "cold statistical facts for which there could be no answer," such as the official census figures of Pakistan, which showed very small increases in the Muslim population in the East Pakistan districts adjoining India and abnormal increases in the Muslim population of Indian border districts. The respective decreases and increase both deviated abnormally from the averages.

It might be said that Mr. Chagla left Mr. Bhutto not a leg to stand upon. But Mr. Bhutto was not at all daunted. He exercised his right of reply.

Mr. Bhutto spoke for 125 minutes, longer than his opening speech and towards the end he was slightly incoherent.

His lengthy arguments were mostly repetitious, but, in line with his need for Western support to get a resolution through the Council, he departed from the text to swear Pakistan's commitment to the two Western sponsored defence alliances.

Constantly looking towards Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Patrick Dean and speaking in a high-pitched voice, Mr. Bhutto said: "I am sure members around the Council will be able to distinguish between allies and opportunists. We are committed in two defensive alliances and we take the advantages and disadvantages of the alliances. We take their benefits and their non-benefits . . . including possible nuclear annihilation."

Apart from not making any new point, Mr. Bhutto slurred over and dismissed as domestic issues the questions posed by Mr. Chagla on Wednesday about Pakistan's lack of democracy, its treatment of minorities and the cold facts of census figures to prove Pakistani infiltration into the neighbouring Indian areas.

The last issue he dismissed as a "pedantic controversy" and asked the Council not to be bothered by cold statistics, but to consider what he called the human, personal tragedy of the uprooted humanity.

Mr. Bhutto's appeal to the patrons of Pakistan, the Tories of Britain and their dupes in the U.S., did not go in vain. Britain's Chief delegate Sir Patrick Dean took an extremely and one-sided stand as a partisan of Pakistan in the Security Council discussions, disregarding all considerations of truth or reason. As a brazen exhibition of die-hard Toryisms, hatred for India and an exposition of malice aforethought, Dean's performance was in line with the old-time British traditions, which some people think the British have given up. But it seems that the leopard cannot change his spots. Mr. Stevenson, the U.S. representative followed suit, but in a more restrained fashion. The only other country that went part of the way with those Allies of Pakistan, was Brazil as represented by its delegate, who presided over the Council meetings. As the other countries, including France and China, either refused to subscribe to the same view, or expressed diametrically opposite views, as did the Soviets and Czechoslovakia, Pakistan's bid for getting India indicted in the Security Council failed. But that of course does not mean that Pakistan will stop her campaign of hate or that she would abate her malicious propaganda.

The case of Cyprus is still before the Security Council. The internecine warfare between the Greek Cypriots (80 per cent majority) and the Turkish minority (20 per cent) has caused deep concern among the NATO powers. The reasons as given by an editorial in **The New York Times** are:

"The southern flank of NATO in Europe is guarded by Greece and Turkey, neighbors and historic rivals. Together, they are vital to the Western alliance. Greece (area 51,169

square miles, population 8.3 million) has assigned eight of its 12 divisions to NATO. Turkey (area 299,992 square miles, population 26.5 million) has assigned 14 of its 16 divisions to the alliance. Strategically, they border four Communist countries—the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania—and control the northeastern shores of the Mediterranean. Thus the friction between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus has aroused deep concern in NATO capitals."

Savage and organized attacks on the Turkish Cypriots in the seaport town of Limassol, (31000 Greeks 6000 Turks) brought the tension to the breaking point in the third week of February. The British and the U.S. presented a plan for a 10000 man peace-keeping force, drawn mainly from the British Commonwealth nations and the U.S. But, the President of Cyprus Archbishop Makarios firmly rejected it, and he said quite clearly that he was going to take it to the Security Council and ask for a resolution, condemning any attempt at aggression and referring to the territorial integrity of the island. He is supposed to be attempting thereby to stave-off any attempt by Turkey to come to the aid of the Turkish Cypriots. The mainland of Turkey is only 40 miles from Cyprus.

The case was finally brought before the Security Council. The British, after trying their utter-most to prevent the case from going to the Security Council as that might alter the beautifully balanced hold Britain has got on it, finally decided after the failure of the U.S. Under Secretary of State, George W. Ball's mission, to go to the Security Council on their own. As a result the application to the Security Council to intervene in Cyprus was made by Britain. It is to be seen as yet as to what twist is given to the Cyprus case by Britain and her experts at diplomatic legerdemain.

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

Population Growth and the Communities
There have been numerous studies of the trends of population growth in India since the results of the 1961 Census enumerations had been published. The five decades since 1901, it is necessary to remember in this context, cover the period from 1901 to 1947 when India had not yet been partitioned into two separate countries and the figures of popu-

lation relate to the subcontinent as a whole. From 1947 to 1961, however, the figures relate to the population within the Indian Union only and exclude the population of that part of former undivided India which is now included within the territories of Pakistan. The following table compiled from officially published figures, should be of more than ordinary interest:

Trends of Population Growth in India: 1901-1961 *

Year	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Population	23,62,22	25,20,34	25,12,71	27,89,06	31,85,79	36,09,92	43,90,73
Increase	....	1,58,12	— 76,30	2,76,35	3,96,73	4,24,13	7,80,81
Percentage Increase		6.27%	— .30%	10.90%	14.20%	13.30%	21.90%

This would demonstrate that while the population of undivided India increased by 6.27 per cent during the decade from 1901 to 1911, or at the average rate of .627 per cent per annum; by 10.90 per cent or at 1.09 per cent during the decade 1921-31; by 14.20 per cent during 1931-41 or at the rate of 1.42 per cent per annum; the rate appears to have decreased slightly to 1.30 per cent (by 13.30 per cent for the decennial period) between 1941 and 1951, it suddenly exploded to as high a figure as 21.90 per cent for the period between 1951 and 1961 which works out at 2.19 per cent per annum and accounts for a gross increase between the two decennial periods 1941-51 and 1951-61 of as much as 8.57 per cent. Divided in the two major communities in the country, that is, Hindu and Muslim, the increase in the respective communities over the ten year period between 1951 and 1961 appears to have been of the order of 5,99,81,420 and 89,17,481 or 20 per cent and 26.7 per cent respectively. This would appear to be both interesting and significant.

A State-wise analysis of the population explosion in the country during the ten-year period under discussion, the trends as available from a break up of the last Census

figures would appear to be even more interesting and significant:

Table showing State-wise Population Increase*

State Population increase between the years 1951-1961			
	General	Hindu	Muslim
All India	21.90%	20.00%	36.70%
Ahmdra	14.00%	15.96%	12.65%
Bihar	19.80%	18.96%	32.29%
Gujrat	26.87%	28.21%	20.25%
Kerala	24.83%	23.23%	27.50%
Madhya Pradesh	24.16%	23.13%	25.45%
Madras	11.84%	11.13%	08.14%
Maha-rashtra	23.50%	13.85%	24.54%
Mysore	21.57%	21.90%	19.40%
Orissa	19.14%	19.59%	22.21%
Rajasthan	26.20%	25.44%	32.62%
Uttar Pradesh	16.65%	16.13%	19.48%
Assam	39.30%	33.96%	38.56%
West Bengal	32.06%	32.63%	36.48%
Punjab	25.85%	30.86%	38.01%

* Source : India 1963.

As already seen above, there is a significant differential in the rate of population growth as between the Hindu and the Muslim communities in India, the respective percentage of increase during the 1951-61 ten year period being 20 per cent and 36.70 per cent. But when one looks into the fact that by far the more overwhelming increase in the Muslim population in the country appears to have occurred in the States adjoining Pakistan, it would appear to assume an added significance. But even in regions remote from the borders of Pakistan, but which had a sizeable residual Muslim population, the percentage increase of the population within the community during the last decennial Census period would appear to have been sizeably much larger than among the Hindus; thus in Bihar, Maharashtra and Kerala. This may have a significance the implications of which may not yet have dawned upon the country at large. So far as the States adjoining Pakistan are concerned; such as Assam, West Bengal and, to a certain extent, also the Punjab, the implications of the sizeably much larger Muslim population during the last Census decennium should be obvious. The fact has even been officially admitted that there have been systematic and large-scale infiltration of Pakistanis into these States against which the Government of the country did not consider it necessary to devise any effective measures until only very recently.

Official and, to a certain extent, general public indifference to these trends, significant as they would now seem to be, may have been accounted for by the fact that, by and large, the general desire for limiting population growth has never been known to have been shared by the Muslim community in the country. On the contrary, if one were to recall the pre-Independence days, there had been, during the hey day of the Muslim League, even deliberate and consistent propaganda amongst the Muslims for rapid and large population growth among the community as a measure of political expediency. Besides, the Muslims in India have generally been a comparatively far less sophisticated community than the

Hindus in general and have never been known to accept the beneficent role of a limited family as a measure of social progress. The Hindu community as a whole, despite the backwardness of large masses of its population, has in gradual stages come to accept the benefits of a limited rate of population growth as not merely a necessary precondition to substantial economic progress but also as a measure of necessary social hygiene. The differential in the rate of population growth as between these two major Indian communities may sound both plausible and logical looked at from this particular point of view.

It is not, however, possible to conjure away at the same time the indisputable fact that large scale infiltrations of Pakistani Muslims has been going on for years past into Indian States adjoining the borders of Pakistan not all of which can be explained away by the complacent self-assurance that these have been merely harmless job seekers who have been forced to this expedient by sheer economic necessity. On the contrary, having regard to the Official attitude of Pakistan on the question and her reactions to the recently adopted measures of eviction of illegal immigrants, there would seem to be a deliberate pattern in these processes of Pakistani infiltration into India. It would be sheer folly and criminal complacency on India's part—and she has been foolish enough already in such matters to a degree which would normally be unbelievable by any dispassionate but appropriately sophisticated observer—ignore this as being a matter of minor importance.

Lack of the necessary measure of political sagacity, it must be admitted has always marked our Congress leaders' dealings with the Muslim community even from pre-Independence days. This has been underlined by the increasing measures of appeasement of Muslim political demands that has marked Congress policy for years before independence obviously with a view to curbing the latter's desire for a separate State by a vivisection of the country. This was a demand which, events proved, the Congress had ultimately to concede at what

price to the country, is yet to be assessed in factual terms. It was one of the rare instances of history where a ten per cent population of a country was able, by its hectoring demand, to carve out a sizeable portion of the country's territory to form a separate State for itself. What is significant about this is that when it actually came to a division of territories and the birth of a separate State, only about sixty per cent of the Muslim community elected to become its nationals while as many as something like forty per cent of the total chose to remain Indian nationals. What, however, would appear to have been far worse than what had gone before was that this partition had been accepted and effected with a measure of criminal haphazardness without carrying it to its obvious logical conclusion. It was notorious that the late Mr. M. A. Jinnah had said that the logic of partition was mutual exchange of populations and that Mahatma Gandhi himself had endorsed this view. The Mahatma never endorsed the agreement to partition the country, but was reported to have stated that if it at all had to be conceded, the inevitable logic of the situation demands that there should also be mutual exchange of populations. This appears to have shocked the sensibilities of Mahatma Gandhi's principal lieutenants, notably Nehru, who literally gagged Mahatmaji from further pursuing the matter.

But why was it so? is the question that must be both asked and answered even as late as now if a durable and reasonable solution has to be sought to the present unhappy problems of Indo-Pakistani relations. Was it because such a suggestion militated against the principles of so-called secularism of the Indian State-to-be? It cannot be a satisfactory answer because even as Congress accepted the communally-based demand for a division of the country and the creation of an adjoining and wholly anachronistic State as Pakistan, the essential principle of secularism had been already sacrificed. By evading the issue as, obviously the Congress leaders under Nehru's tutelage had done, India's flanks were left wide

open and the essential principle of national integrity was led to the shambles. India has already paid a large price for this folly and God alone knows when the account will be finally closed or if it will ever be possible to finally close it.

It may be said that Indian Muslims are loyal citizens of the country. One hopes that they, or at least the majority of them really are. But there are obvious signs to suspect that the Muslim elite in India—for, being followers of a mandatory religion the ordinarily unlettered, unsophisticated lot who are the large majority of the community can never be depended upon to follow lines except those laid down by their leaders and mullahs in either country—have not been emotionally and otherwise fully integrated into the Indian nation. Many instances to support such a view could be cited but to mention only a very recent one, the brutal atrocities upon the Hindus in East Pakistan last month and their mass killings did not seem to have provoked the natural measure of horror and disgust in our Muslim elite in this country until actually the Calcutta disturbance, endangering the lives of Muslims (some of them) in the city had started, that they considered it necessary to say even one word in condemnation of the Pakistani brutalities. One does not, by any means, condone what had happened in Calcutta and West Bengal for the simple and obvious reason that one wrong can never justify another. One cannot, at same time, ignore the obvious fact that what had happened here—at least in the scale which it had eventually assumed—was largely the result of official ineptitude, administrative inefficiency and lack of imagination on the part of the Government and, especially that of the Chief Minister of West Bengal. This was not the first time that what would appear to be even remotely communal in implication seems to send the whole of the Congress Party and the Governments manned by it into a veritable trauma and the measures then devised by them to deal with such instances become themselves usually generative of far worse trouble than even the grossest misanthrope would even think of

predicting. That the beneficiaries of the last West Bengal disturbance were generally that community of anti-social marauders, and both Hindus and Muslims suffered as a result in almost equal measure, would seem hardly to be in doubt now. But of course, only an impartial judicial inquiry, to which, however, Mr. P. C. Sen seems to be so terribly allergic, could alone reveal facts for what they actually were.

The trends of population growth in India as between the Hindu and the Muslim communities, especially in certain selected regions where they would seem to be even more significant than elsewhere, would seem to need a more careful study and analysis than appears to have been accorded to it so far either by official or unofficial agencies. We cannot afford to forget that only about ten per cent Indians (although they claimed to be a separate nation even then) had, not so long ago, wrested a separate country from us. The trends of more than proportionately growing Muslim numbers in India today, may have implications in the eventual future which it may not be quite pleasant to think about, but which may nevertheless be fraught with the gravest dangers to the future of the country. That these trends may have also something to do with the increasing cleavages in Indo-Pakistani relations is also something which it may not be quite wise to brush out of court.

Rising Growth Rate ?

The Union Finance Minister presented to both houses of Parliament an elaborate survey of the country's present condition of the economy which, according to him, is said to present a "promise of rising growth rates" in the basic fields of industry. These rates, the Finance Minister was said to have conceded were, however, somewhat below Plan expectations. It is not quite clear what Plan expectation the Finance Minister actually referred to ? For, if he meant the original assumptions of the Third Plan, the mid-term appraisal of Plan progress essayed by the Commission sometime ago and which was debated at pretty

extensive length by Parliament, would seem to have already proved that these expectations were no longer to be relied upon as Plan achievements during the first two years have been very much below what were originally assumed in this behalf and it was equally clear that accelerated tempo of Plan implementation now essayed could not be expected to carry the Plan forward, during the remaining two and a half years of the Plan to its originally targetted level of achievements over the aggregate period. Indeed, the Planning Commission has been very wisely reticent about what the level of Plan achievements would now be likely to be and would not give any figures in this behalf. Independent economists assessed possible achievement during the remaining three years of the Plan at perhaps no more than 3.5 per cent per annum in terms of increase in the national income which, together with the 2.35 per cent annual rate of growth assessed to have been achieved by the Planning Commission during the first two years, would account for an aggregate rise in the national income over the entire Plan period, of no more than 15.2 per cent against the originally targetted 36 per cent.

If Mr. Krishnamachari meant when he referred to the growth rate that it was below the original expectations of the Third Plan but above the rate of increase evinced during the First two years of the Plan period and not less than the expectation of the rate of growth during the following three years as assessed by independent economists, there is not much that one could find to congratulate himself upon the performance. If, however, he really meant that the rate of growth actually evinced in the meanwhile was really beyond the level of the dismal prophecies of these independent economists, there would seem to be both cause for hope and self-congratulation.

The Finance Minister's survey, it would seem, recorded the increasing trends evinced in the growth rate in industry, especially in the basic sectors. Mr. Krishnamachari is, perhaps, the only realist in the Government of India and he takes care to warn, almost in the same breath, of the need for "strengthening the forces" which contribute to a

higher level of growth rate in both industry and agriculture, especially agriculture. Agriculture, it would seem, is of the most crucial and fundamental importance in this context and the Finance Minister's anxiety that nothing must be allowed to impede progress in this field is reflected in the statement that the continued dependence of agricultural production upon the mercy of the seasons should be progressively reduced and the industry must be made both self-sustaining and progressive to yield the requisite base for industrial advance.

The crux of the survey would, however, seem to be embodied in the exhortation that the present favourable situation should be taken advantage of for pushing up production and income to progressively higher levels. This according to the Finance Minister, is related to the vital problem of prices. There was need, he conceded, for continuing vigilance in regard to prices and he referred to current trends of wholesale and consumer prices which reflected growing pressures on the supplies of food grains and other essential consumables. This, according to the Finance Minister was attributable to both a rise in aggregate demand as well as a shift in the pattern of the peoples' consumption habits. A part of this pressure, he said, was inevitable in a growing and developing economy, but part of it must also be accounted for by the position of supply of food grains related to the increasing consumer demand on the one hand and by a shift in the pattern of demand occasioned by improving living standards. One concedes that the Finance Minister's economic survey is essentially a public relations document and it was inevitable that he should seek to play down the failures and shortfalls and correspondingly highlight the achievements. Nevertheless it would seem that to ascribe consumer pressures on essential consumable, food grains included, to shifts in demand flowing from rising living standards would seem to have been going too far, indeed. We have, repeatedly over the months since the question of national income distribution and the living standards of the vast sector of poorer Indians was brought to the notice

of Parliament by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, discussed the matter in these columns and we have no doubt but that we have been able to demonstrate by reference to facts that the so-called rise in the living standards has been confined to a microscopic section of the community. Living standards for the average Indian barring, perhaps, the top-income-earning twenty per cent of the population, has remained both rudimentary and the continual price pressures upon his resources of existence have reduced him, as so unwittingly revealed by the Union Home Minister, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda (then Union Minister of Planning), to a position in which he is obliged to spend for bare existence even, a little more than the actual available disposable income. This is a demonstrable fact of the present Indian economy which no amount of wishful demagogy will be able to conjure away and one wishes that Government were both realist enough and sufficiently honest to acknowledge the situation for what it really is and not what one would like it to be.

The fact of the matter seems to be that the unrelenting price pressures especially upon food grains and other essential consumables is not so much the result of development and a gradually rising standard of living as claimed by the Finance Minister—for development achievements to whatever extent they may so far have eventuated, have not demonstrably filtered down to the bottom layers of the economy, but has really been sieved up to a much higher level—but must be ascribed to that sinister fact which, in rather vague and general terms, are described as speculative hoarding. The policy of credit squeeze clamped down by the Finance Minister earlier and which Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari has recently relaxed to a certain extent, if it did not quite arrest this trend had, to a certain extent at least, modified the impact of such abuse of credit. It is far too early yet to arrive at any realistic assessment of the ultimate effects of present relaxation in this behalf upon the price structure. But as Krishnamachari had, on an earlier occasion, frankly confessed, the

dangers, of speculative pressures upon the price structure especially in food grains and other similar essential consumption sectors, do not really flow from the organized money market, the operations of which is amenable to a great deal of circumspection and control, but from that rather comparatively vast unorganized sector of the money market, the operations of which are neither easy to detect nor to effectively check. That such a money market of considerable magnitude is constantly in operation in the country has recently been repeatedly confessed by the Union Finance Minister and that most of its operations lend grist to the speculator's mill is also practically without any question. No one would have any quarrel with the Finance Minister's thesis that the solution of the problem of price "lay only in production." But that the incentive to intensified productive effort would, in their turn, largely depend upon a stable price structure, is something about which there can hardly be any two opinions. Mr. Krishnarachari would not have any "undue proliferation of controls which might impede progress," but that stable prices are an essential precondition of progress and growth is also without question. If the Finance Minister would not have any "undue proliferation of controls"—and frankly we are inclined to agree with him that it might be impossible, as past experience in this behalf has already demonstrated, to ensure rational and effective use of controls—ways and means must be found to ensure that the price line may be held. Ascribing inflationary pressure upon the price structure merely to the alleged increase in demand as the result of improving standards of living or increasing income is a piece of obvious self-delusion which is not likely to serve any useful purpose at all. The fact must be faced that it is primarily speculative pressures upon the price structure, especially in the essential consumer sectors which have been the principal culprit in this matter and if other measures than controls are likely to effectively moderate these pressures and induce a stability in price trends, one would be to glad to heartily welcome such measures.

The Finance Minister has talked of controls over distribution that are already in operation and has opined that these should be able to moderate the influence of speculative pressures in large measure. Controls, one must underline, even merely at the distribution end, have only led to rampant black-marketing. That black-markets can thrive in commodities the distribution of which is channelled through well defined courses, is in itself an indictment of such controls. Since the Government are demonstrably unable to administer these controls, even at the levels at which they are in operation, diverting large stocks of various essential commodities into concealed hoards for black market operations—for instance it is notorious that there is a thriving black market in sugar in every large city and consumption centre in the country, or black marketing in cement has always been rampant—one is inclined to favour the view that it might not altogether be an unwise expedient to remove all official controls at all levels and let the normal juxtaposition between demand and supply effect a spontaneous equilibrium of their own to reach a stable price level. We have had experience of such courageous and bold action by the late Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai even when the country was allegedly suffering from an acute shortage of supplies of food grains. Confounding the prophets of disaster then, food grains prices all over the country registered a steep and very favourable decline almost immediately following withdrawal of controls. It may even be worthwhile to repeat the experiment even now—and one certainly heartily endorses the Finance Minister's view that any undue proliferation of controls at this stage beyond those already in operation may be disastrous not so much because they might impede growth as the Finance Minister seems to apprehend—for the simple reason that the price situation in the country could not possibly be any worse than it already is in a free market economy. This would be likely, on the other hand, to impede the rapid growth of monopolies and price-cartels towards which the commerce of the country appears to have been fast proceeding under our present planned programmes of development and progress!

Indeed, the Finance Minister's economic survey, except for rather unduly highlighting the measure of improvement in the growth rate of industry and the corresponding increase in the national income in comparison with the first two years of the current Plan, would seem to paint rather a dismal picture as a whole. There was an obvious measure of anxiety over the increasing measure of external debts which would fall due for repayment over the next few years. Increasing export earnings have been somewhat of a relief and last year's excise impost on kerosene appears to have attenuated demand to a certain extent correspondingly affording relief in the measure of imports of the commodity.

The emphasis of the Finance Minister's survey, as already mentioned in passing has been on an analysis of production and on price trends, as was only inevitable in the circumstances. But analysing the various factors that appear to have been putting pressure on the price levels, the Finance Minister appears to have deliberately evaded any discussion of current taxation trends and their possible impact on the price levels. In fact, in one aspect of the matter, this would also seem to have direct relation to that part of the resolution on democracy and socialism adopted at the last Bhubaneswar session of the Congress which emphasizes the need to arrest current trends of increasing disparities in wealth and income and the determination to put a ceiling on private wealth and income. The need to curb present trends of increasing disparities which are already said to have assumed levels never before touched and the equally insistent need to ensure a stable price structure, especially in that vital sector of the economy which directly conditions the peoples' living levels, would seem to postulate that a consideration of the existing taxation structure and the need for its thorough and complete revision, would present both a fruitful and a crucial field. One does not by any means repudiate the need for increasing taxation. One does not even assume that it may be possible to adequately serve the twin needs of defence and development by altogether relieving the poorer sectors of the population of the need to share the burdens of

taxation along with the more affluent sectors. The poor must bear his due share of the burdens of both defence and development along with the richer sections of the community. What is needed, however, is that the burdens of taxation must be redistributed in accordance with the ability to pay and they must be so refashioned so as neither to compel the poor to shoulder a proportionately heavier burden than his economic condition would justify nor to generally destroy the incentives for development and increasing productions. Certain incentives are, of course, in operation already even in the vast sector of agricultural production as well as in essential industry, but they are not enough in themselves, for a great deal of this incentive is in effect nullified by the impact of the taxation structure on this incentive. A great deal of the increasing price pressure especially in essential food grains and other consumables can be demonstrated to have emanated from the present unwise taxation structure in the country, although one does not deny that speculation and other allied factors have also been playing their appropriate parts in the process. One does not plead for any attenuation of the gross burdens of taxation in the country at the present juncture,—this would really be crying for the moon, and for all that one knows so far, there may have to be further additional taxation measures listed in the Budget that is to be presented to Parliament within the next few days as we write. What one desires most earnestly and insistently is that the taxation structure may be rationalized to more evenly distribute the burden than has been the case so far and that the present heavy incidence of indirect excise and other imposts upon essential taxation, a great deal of it in the share of consumables and raw materials and producer bases for small industry, may be suitably amended to effect a rational balance in the taxation system. Excise levies must be confined to such commodities only the restriction of the consumption of which would be good public policy but not on commodities which enter directly into the living of the people or affect their fruitful economic activities. The survey has been a sore disappointment from this point of view.

The State Budget This Year

There is not much that the West Bengal State can do, problem-ridden and truncated as she continues to be, to devise and present any very fresh features in her annual budgets. Yet it must be conceded that Mr. S. K. Mukherjee, the State's new Finance Minister, has been able to present a clear picture of the condition of the State's economy and of his Government's constructive plans. His budget speech also gave a more or less clearer enunciation of the broader aims of policy which must be regarded as a welcome feature of the budget presentation. In all India planning there has always been evident a certain disregard of basic economic laws and human nature and the confused enunciations of policy and objectives, often disregarding such mundane matters as incentives for hard work and initiative and capital formation, has inevitably led development to a sort of cul-de-sac from which the Government have been currently hard put to retrieve it and set the processes of development on the way to that faster rate of growth which is an imperative of the times.

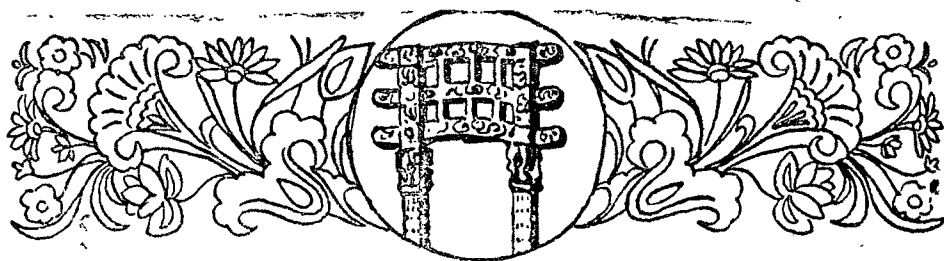
So far as West Bengal is concerned, the Centre certainly owes it to the State to take a more realistic view of her many needs, especially at this juncture when, at least initially, the financial and administrative burdens that are bound to be laid upon her on account of the fresh influx of large masses of displaced persons from East Pakistan would be bound to devolve upon her shoulders. West Bengal has long been pressing very cogently her claims to a proper share of centrally raised resources. The need for revision of Central policies in this regard has now become unavoidably extremely urgent and insistent. The Finance Minister says that the Centre should, without hesitation, come forward now to achieve a minimum Plan investment for the State of Rs. 327 crores which, in the background of the State's needs, would appear to be very modest indeed. That justice has never been accorded in full

measure to this harassed and problem-ridden State can not longer be repudiated and what the Finance Minister claims would only appear to be a very modest statement of essential requirements. West Bengal's claim should get a more sympathetic hearing especially in view of the fact, as the Finance Minister has so ably sought to demonstrate, that in terms of the mid-term appraisal of the all-India Plan, West Bengal has, indeed, done very well with its existing Plan outlay.

Two crucial sectors, agricultural development and the improvement of the urban-industrial complex in Calcutta, should call for the closest and immediate attention. On both large growth of populations impinge and with all the expansion, actual and prospective, in this part of the country, civic amenities in Calcutta must have the highest priority in the thinking of the Central Government.

The Finance Minister has also given an estimate of the investment that would be called for in the Fourth Plan to sustain a reasonably rapid rate of economic growth, but it would seem doubtful in the context of the present Centre-State pattern of financing, if this can be realistically hoped for. Pressures must be brought to bear upon the Centre so that its thinking may be conditioned eventually to look upon West Bengal's needs with a measure of justice and fairness so far absent in their dealings with the State.

The Finance Minister should also deserve congratulations for the announcement that he made in the Budget of certain benefits to selected categories of Government employees. The new imposts that he has proposed in the budget are neither too extensive nor many, but their implications upon the finances of the State may, however, prove to be rather too burdensome. But that is a matter which would require a closer examination before judgement can be pronounced. The fact that the Budget discloses a deficit should not, however, be looked upon with any very great trepidation.



THE ADVENT OF YOUTH

By the late ACHARYA BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL

[The following hitherto unpublished article from the pen of Acharya Brajendra Nath Seal, which has only been recently discovered, should form a fitting prelude to the ensuing birthday centenary celebrations of the Acharya. Composed as an address to the Bangalore Branch of the League of Youth on the occasion of its inauguration in 1924, it was never actually delivered. The last page of the typed mss. is also missing and the article ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence. We feel it were best to publish it exactly in the form it has come to us. Editor, *Modern Review*.]

If Nature has her cycles of the seasons and the hours, so also has the growth of the Spirit in human history. Man has his spring of roseate fancy, his summer of green luxuriant vigour, his autumn of golden harvesting and his winter of pale decay. If this is a true account of the history of Mankind, and if Shakespeare's seven ages of man were recounted as typical of the individual, Lessing gave us a four-fold division of human history, its four periods of childhood, youth, manhood and old age. But the burning question for us is—to what division does our epoch belong? Are we but *children* crying for the Moon, and getting only sugar-candy,—and, perhaps, the Moon itself is only a crystal of glorified sugar-candy,—from the paternal Providence presiding over man's history, who gives us now and then a Versailles for the fourteen points or phases of our Moon!—or are we *manly* Columbuses bent on a Voyage of Discovery to the farthest limits of the stellar or the atomic Universe, according as the fancy takes us for the big or the little glass,—or, at the other end of the scale, are we the fabled Tithonus, groaning under the weight of Age without Hope, and—Wisdom without Love?

Of a truth, old controversies have come home to us in new ways. Are we the ancients of the world, more ancient than our fore-fathers, or are we but the newest and youngest in the generations of man? Lord Verulam was content with claiming the higher wisdom for the latest adult progeny of Mother Earth, but those sapient youths, our children and grand-children, are better logicians than the 'Master of those who know' and claim the true inspiration for themselves as veritably the last of the race!

The true inspiration : that is Youth's claim. And this, they say, has scriptural authority. "Your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions," says the Prophet. So Youth has the higher blessing. For visions are not so unsubstantial as dreams and are clearer intimations of verity. Now mark some wiseacres wagging their venerable beards at the Prophet for thus giving priority to the Young. But the Prophet knew God's truth better. Youth, indeed, shakes itself free from the shackles of the Earth, and is the inheritor of a transcendental sphere, while experienced age mingles something of the earth, earthy, even in its Messianic dreams. There lies the kernel of the matter!

The question is—what is Youth?—a more profitable question to my mind than Pilate's—what is Truth? Youth, at least, is not an unattainable chimera:—Every one passes through it, except, perhaps, the one who is born old like our friend the cynical young man,—while Truth,—well, men are yet discussing the lineaments of Truth and whether there is such an entity at all! But the man who challenges the existence or credentials of Youth must have passed through it, and beyond it,—more's the pity!

Youth, above every thing else, is young: it is its duty to be young, if there is such a word in its vocabulary as duty! Call it the *dharma* of youth, the law of its being.

This *dharma* is the worship of life. Youth lights its lamps to adore the Lord of Life. And if architecture has its seven lamps, Youth has its five *pradipas*, *Pancha-pradipas*, in the ritual of its worship.

The first *pradipa* or lamp of Youth is its subjectivity, its freedom from the law of the

object. As yet the great hard world of the objective fact does not hold the young soul in its iron grip—the iron has not yet entered into the soul. Youth dares to be original:—customs, convention, the Philistine's idol, go to pieces like Dagon, before the *mantram* of Youth. Youth dares to experiment,—is not Youth an experiment in life? Youth dares to be free. An authority that is not vouched for by the inner self, a dogma that does not satisfy the individual judgment, a code that does not attract willing obedience, does not exist for it.

The second *Pradipa* or lamp is its Romance, its exalted sensibility, its sense of a newness in things. Youth, in its timelessness, Youth *sub specie-eter nitatis*, is just the eternally New. For Youth is but Adam born over again in each one of us, looking with Adam's eyes over this big, booming kaleidoscopic world,—in all its first wonder and novelty, its bursting freshness and variety. The flame of life burns intense, burns white, burns pure, on the alter of Youth.

Its third *Pradipa* or lamp is its creativeness, its power of conjuring up a world of its own, and by its own *dhyana*, its own concentration on the image, making this image real. It confesses, it creates. This is Youth's thaumaturgy or magic. Youth is, indeed, a world-builder. And it builds with any material or stuff, however intractable or unpromising. It transmutes the basest metal into its own gold. Such is Youth's alchemy.

Its fourth *Pradipa* is its invincible optimism, its perennial spring of joy and song, of hope and adventure. Youth, like a thing of beauty, is a joy for ever. Youth has an inexhaustible store of songs and tunes like Apollo's golden harp. Youth has heard the song of Sirens, and not closed its ears with wax like self-mistrusting Ulysses. Youth has climbed the Everest and dived into the bottomless sea, has traversed Darkest Africa and reached the Poles, has come to the secrets of the moon and the stars, in the beginningless yore,—Youth, the great Adventurer in all adventures that were, are, or shall be—the great traveller beyond burnes, beyond Land's End into perilous seas in fairy lands forlorn !

And the fifth *Pradipa*, that burns brightest in Youth's *Arati*, that Adoration with the Lamps, is its Immortality, its sense of inextinguishable, irrepressible life. A thing of palpitating life, what should it know of death? And so Youth alone is capable of Love, for there can be no love without

an assured conviction that that love is immortal. And Youth is capable of self-immolating service with a smiling countenance, because such service is natural to one who knows that both the giver and receiver are deathless.

And all the five *Pradipas*, these five lamps, converge into one central light, but it is a light that never was on sea or land;—a light which shines only in the circumambient ether, that transcendental Universe which, in the Youth's consciousness, encompasses and often engulfs the bounded isle of the finite world and the finite self.

Such is the character, or rather, the uncharted freedom, of Youth. Does not Wordsworth, apostrophising Duty, say of the cult of Youth,

"There are who ask not if thine eyes
'Be on them; who, in love and truth
'Where no misgiving is, rely
'Upon the genial sense of youth

.....
'Serene will be our days and bright
'And happy will our nature be
'When love is unerring light
'And joy its own security."

Such is Youth, a prophecy of serener and brighter days when human nature will be more happily composed than now, and love and truth and joy can never err, can never betray those who confide in them.

Does not *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, from his conning tower of Old Age, descry Youth amassing flowers and sighing—"which rose make ours, which lily leave, and then as best recall?"—or perchance, "admiring stars" and yearning.

"Nor Jove nor Mars !

'Mine be some figured flame, which blends,
transcends them all !"

If such is Youth, a great force, a 'demi-urge' or world-builder (if only we knew it), whose world is a new star, a figured flame transcending Jove or Mars, is there no place for it among the various forces that are now working to construct the world afresh from the mass of ruined debris, the great desolation left behind by the Great War? * No challenge to Manhood and Age and their achievements is meant here. *Circumspice*, look around, as one would say, and you will find monuments of *their* glory. But there

* World War I ; 1914-18.

are great gaps in that proud panorama,—the Ruhr, for instance, and other arenas ringing with Hymns of Hate. Let the wise men who govern other people's destinies (and their own) continue to govern in their wonted places. Youth has no wish to share in the government of the world. For Youth may be a Demi-urgus; but is no Demogorgon suddenly descending in a chariot to send Olympian Jupiter about his business! But young men have seen a vision (as is young men's wont, we have been told)—a vision which I, not being privileged that way, will put in the form of a query: What if Youth, with its *dharma*, of freedom and Immortality, were to proclaim its own evangel, its own gospel of deliverance to the nations of the world, its own Vision of a Land of the Rising Sun to the submerged masses in the bottom of this Dead Sea? And what if the Young were to take a vow of perpetual Youth? The question of questions for the hour is—cannot a League of the World's Youth, banded together for a common end, achieve, for mankind as a whole, in the coming generations, if not for the world of their elders, that magic transformation which Youth in the individual works in the soul?

Not that this youthful project is so wild as it looks. The storm and stress of Goethe and Schiller's youthful world, and the French Revolution in its fraternal rejoicings and red-letter days, were experiments in youth, experiments before their time, but we start under better auspices. For, already in the home and the school, the Young have won their Charter. The child rules the home today, and parents take a back seat, at any rate are back numbers. No doubt it will yet take time for things to settle down. Some parents are restive; others have fallen into a jog-trot pace, but what is wanted is neither the rebellion of the fathers, nor their non-co-operation, but a sweet reasonableness in furthering God's own plan and pattern, and a reverent sense of the divineness of the unfolding life of the child. This is Piety towards the child, a natural piety.

The same change has come over the spirit of the times in our school world. The old school-mastering now stands ashamed of its own handiwork, and has abdicated, more or less, its rattan throne and sceptre. It is now the humble servant waiting on the ways of the wayward child. For this is the quintessence of the

pedagogy of our day that wisdom speaketh out of the mouth of babes. Have we not Boy Parliaments, and is not wisdom justified of her children? Have we not Father and Son Weeks that all the lecturing and hectoring may not be on one side? *Audi alteram artem* we say. We have Boy Police and Girl Guides, for they must begin their life work early; we only hope they will not loose their blooming innocence! We have a new festival in our national Calendar, Baby Week, and we will presently have an All Boys' Day. It is Boy writ large over our civilization today. Therein lies hope for the world. A Young World, my Masters!

And now the hour has struck for a new advent. After the Babe and the Boy, his heralds, Youth the Prince is coming. Already the child has made the home a Paradise, and the school a play-ground; cannot Youth "with the vision splendid" bring love and beauty and joy into the world family, and brotherhood and peace into the world arena of the Nations? Indeed, various significant movements of social service have already been rendered possible through the organization of the world's Youth. And in our own country the most significant advance in the life of our Universities has been in this direction. All calls for the relief of distress in widespread havoc or disaster, or for the uplift of the masses, are now promptly responded to by youthful stalwarts working under the guidance of their adult leaders. The task of social uplift and regeneration of the world is in a line with social regeneration. **Both can come only from a previous regeneration of the heart, and that is Youth's heritage.**

The Boy Scout, the knight errant of our modern chivalry, has been a scout and a herald too. And he heralded the advent of the Youth Movement.

First came the Wander-vogel, the Wander-birds, and the Free German Youths with their "revolt against artificiality" and their experiments in communal living. They know no fashions for the soul, no *shibboleth* or tag, not even committing themselves to Futurism, that *shibboleth* against all *shibboleths*. And when the War lost them the Vaterland (Father Land), they turned to the worship of the Mother, "assembling in the woods or on hill tops, staring for hours into the fire, and singing old chants to the Nature gods of ancient Germany. The Wander-birds dance the

folk dances, get up mystery plays in the woods, and sing of the mystic Tree of Life and Rose of Love, of emblematic blue flowers and white lilies. To quote an eye-witness, "a green tree sometimes goes before them, sometimes a red flag. They know each other when they meet and call each other 'Thou'—three or four millions of them, one-third of all the youth of the land." There were other Youth Movements in other lands, the Woodcrafts Movements with their return to Nature, the Standard Efficiency Training Movements, all filled with the spirit of Youth. Last came the International League of Youth, to link up the various bands of different nationalities into one great Brotherhood of Youth.

Founded at the end of the War by a Young Dane, Hermod Lannung, the International League of Youth called conferences of all Youth Movements first at Copenhagen, and then at Hamburg. The first conference declared :

"The aim of the International League of Youth is to awaken Youth to the inherent unity of the peoples of the world, and to make future wars impossible by a fellowship based on trust and friendship.

"In the meantime, believing in the principle of compulsory arbitration, the League advocates the limitation of armaments, with a view to their ultimate abolition and the substitution of an International Police Force for the present National Military System. It will do all in its

power to further the establishment of a true League of Nations."

But even Youth, though it refuses to govern, must organize itself. So they resolved at the Hamburg Conference :

(a) To act as Central International Bureau for Youth of All Nations by means of : International Conferences and Holiday Tours ; a Correspondence Bureau ; and the exchange of speakers, students and children. Also to circulate monthly reports of the work of the different Youth Movements, and also a true report of the conditions in different countries.

(b) To present its cause to Youth throughout the world by means of : Public Meetings ; Conferences ; Study Circles ; Articles in the Press ; General and Individual Propaganda.

British and Indian Sections of the League have been since started in pursuance of these lines of work, and today's celebrations mark the advent of Youth and its League at Bangalore.

The Youth of the world has come to make one brotherhood of all mankind. But I am in despair. Will the elders and their Government be excluded from this Universal Brotherhood ? We hope not. Though we cannot any longer claim *loco parentis* where all are brothers and none are parents, we may not be held unworthy of a place if only as elder

(Here the article abruptly ends)



PERSPECTIVE OF INDIA'S PLANNED PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY

BY PROF. C. L. KHANNA

LANDSLIDE attacks have invariably been hurled on the means and ends of our national plans formulated for the social and economic regeneration of our motherland. At one extremity are those who denounce the very idea of planned development of our backward economy even in this scientifically and technologically advanced age. They affirm, with vengeance, that the Third Five-Year Plan's "hopes are a heap of miscellaneous ruin and are playing havoc with the public morale." Such fastidious critics are, of course, in an infinitesimally small minority. Moreover, if hopes are dupes, fears are liars, they say. At the other extreme are the pro-planners, dogmatic and irretrievably wedded to the process of planning. With them planning is a 'fad,' for they advocate regimentation and totalitarianism. In between the two are those who hold divided opinions on the plan patterns, resource mobilisation, modes of implementation, quantum of achievement, economic policies and programmes subsidiary to the plan processes. It is none of our purpose here to proclaim judgement in favour of one or the other school of thought. We only propose to probe into the limitations within which our democratic plans have to be worked out and see whether any measure of success has been achieved. Let us first discuss the limitations.

We are all agreed that India must be lifted out of the abysmal depths of poverty, human misery and social degradation. Imbued with idealistic enthusiasm our leaders embarked upon a mighty venture 13 years ago for the development of India's depressed economy through democratic planning. This was a unique experiment in the world in as much as planning had been known in a totalitarian governmental set-up, but not in a democratically-governed society. A combination of democracy and planning is a rarity. We may justifiably gloat over this novel venture. But what is the measure of our achievements during this period?

It may be pertinent to recall here in this connection the observations made by Prime

Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who is also the Chairman of the Planning Commission—the supreme planning authority in the country—on August 22, 1963, during the course of his reply to the 4-day debate on the no-confidence motion tabled in the Indian Parliament by the non-Communist Opposition Group:

"In spite of poverty, there is greater well-being in India today, except in some pockets, than ever before. People are eating more and better food and are wearing more clothes. They have better housing. Schools are coming up and there are more health facilities."

Though it is not a statistical, but an impressionistic picture of modern India, it is largely not incorrect. Speaking in the same optimistic vein about the Third Five-Year Plan, Mr. Nehru held the same day: "Although the Government started the third plan with difficulties, they were carrying on a little better than expected. In spite of various difficulties, the third plan will improve the economic conditions in the country a good deal more than the second plan" (Italics mine).

We have, thus, taken another step forward in the tremendous task of economic emancipation, according to our Prime Minister. But is it really so? Some critics of the plans have dubbed it as a "tall claim" on the part of the Government and the planners. They hold that the plan can serve the country best if it is farmer-oriented and not industry-oriented. There are others who consider it to be more beneficial to have the plan agriculture-employment-oriented. Still others would like to impart a technical bias to the plan. Obviously, these divergent approaches stem from the differences in plan-priorities. They are not interpretable as an argument to scrap the plans. The question of according precedence to one economic sector over the other is always open to discussion in planning which is conditioned by democratic thinking. That also lends an element of flexibility and continuity to our five-year plans. The targets set out therein are only sign-

posts which our nation must endeavour and aspire to achieve. There is no sacrosanctity about them.¹ It does not mean that the targets are arbitrarily determined or that the failure in our attainments should be a matter of no significance. On the contrary, shortfalls are to be taken as opportunities for introspection and dedication to the national cause.

It must be remembered that in democratic planning the pace of progress must inevitably be slow—slower than that attainable under the coercive planning of the U.S.S.R. and other dictatorial or Fascist countries. More so, in the case of India which is steeped in illiteracy and ignorance, where plan-consciousness has been aroused only to a limited extent.

Secondly, planning by persuasion leaves much room for disagreement among planners, politicians with different party labels and loyalties and power-maniacs are busy in the tussle for power and position rather than economic reconstruction or creativeness. Fault-finding and party allegiances are the key-notes of these opportunist politicians. Putting spokes in the wheels of plan mechanism, they thwart the achievements of the plan objectives and make the planners, the Government and the plans the scape-goats. This is not to claim that plans are perfect or that the planners are infallible. But it undoubtedly implies that destructive critics masquerading as democrats cannot escape the responsibility for the shortfalls.

Thirdly, as a backward economy India suffers from inadequacy of suitable resources, human as well as material. For many productive enterprises she has to depend on countries abroad for aid. If foreign aid is delayed or if it trickles down to our motherland in insufficient quantities, the execution of our "aided" projects is vitally affected. The "Bokhoro story" is an apt illustration. In the light of our past experience and also from the sentimental point of view, our Government has, time and again, been urged to reorientate the plan schemes so as to minimise the aid factor. This proposition is not looked with favour either by the Government or Indian economic experts. Acquiescence in this might, it is believed by them, retard the tempo of development.

Finally, in a predominantly agricultural country like India, the vagaries of Nature exercise, by and large, decisive influence on the developmental trends. Unfavourable monsoons,

inclemencies of weather, natural calamities, such as floods and locust-swarms etc., affect the tempo of our plans. We may suffer scarcity in food and industrial raw materials (like raw jute, cotton, oil seeds etc.) where plenty reigned supreme earlier. The economy is subject to "agricultural cycles." Economic transformation through agriculture implies, therefore, control over the invincible forces of Nature. The rigours of Nature can be mitigated in two ways :

(i) by reorientating Nature-dependent farming, which means increased reliance on man-made devices of land cultivation, modernisation of agriculture through mechanised farming, increased use of artificial fertilizers, provision of irrigational facilities through canal water supply, land utilization schemes and introduction of institutional reforms ;

(ii) by widening our industrial base in order to augment the community's earnings. At present, the major contribution to the national dividend is by agriculture. The level of national income is inevitably contingent on the vicissitudes to which Indian farming is exposed. Its stability is, therefore, the end-product of the determinateness of the agricultural sector..

Plans when studied in the context of these limitations of the democratic form of planning will provide the correct perspective for criticism of the Government, the planners and others. This takes us to the second part of our proposition.

Taking the case of the Third Five-Year Plan, it is designed to achieve self-sufficiency in food ; promote rapid industrialization with a bias for heavy industries ; create more jobs for the swelling population ; increase the national dividend and form an egalitarian society. The ultimate objective is not merely to jerk our economy from subsistence to a self-sustaining stage but also to bring about a social transformation.

AGRICULTURE

Despite 60 per cent rise in food from 50 million tons in 1950-51 to 80 million tons in 1962-63, the food problem has persisted in an unmitigated measure during the last two years and a half. Indian experts are not very optimistic

about achieving the 100-million target envisaged in the plan. Even if it is attained, the ideal of food self-sufficiency might remain out of our reach as a result of the unprecedented population growth as the following figures show :

TABLE I : Growth of Population
(In millions)

Year	Second Five-Year Plan estimate	1961 Study group.	Quinquennial increase, as per col. 3
1	2	3	4
1951	361	361	..
1961	408	439	78
1966	434	492	53
1971	465	555	63
1976	499	625	130

The population has registered a rise from 361 million in 1951 to 439 million in 1961—that is an increase of 78 million mouths during a decade or 2.16 per cent per year. This is nearly 72 percent higher rate of growth in population than that envisaged in the first plan period. It was estimated that during the five-year period 1951-56 the additional annual requirement of food to feed the additional population will be of the order of 4.5 lakh tons or 2.5 million tons over the entire plan period. In other words, if the present rate of increase in population continues unmitigated throughout the third plan period, we shall require about 3.87 million tons of additional food to maintain the existing sub-human nutritional standards. With the spurt in consumption norms and propensity following the increase in income and population, the food requirement is bound to be higher. Shall we be able to match the two—the population stream and the food supply ?

Mr. Sherwood M. Fine, director of O. E. C. D. Development Department, says that about half of the growth in real product in the less developed countries is offset by increases in the number of mouths to be fed. The projected increase of about 300 million new population in the less developed nations for the period 1962-70 (mostly in India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Nigeria) is a source of considerable worry in as much as the total income of the less developed part of the world would have to increase by almost \$40 million from the present \$180 million merely to maintain current per capita income levels.

On the contrary, Mr. Martin Jones, former professor of Agricultural Botany at Kings College, Newcastle upon Tyne, at the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held on August 31, 1963 ;

“The idea that there would be soon more people than the world could feed was one of the most misleading conceptions that has even been promulgated. Ten times more food could be produced if man harnessed the world's water and irrigated tropical deserts and there were limitless opportunities for increasing food production to keep pace with the increase in population for at least 200 years.”

Speaking about India, Prof. Jones observed that land in India had gone out of cultivation because of cheap American wheat having become available and the Indian wheat grower having fell out of step in the competition for markets. India could grow wheat on a tremendous scale—and more cheaply than in large tracts of America and Canada—with the aid of a 100-mile water pipe. This approach of ‘minimal imports’ of foodgrains might be welcome by the critics of our food policies.

The Advisory Committee on Economic Policy of the Planning Commission believed that the shortfall in agricultural produce was *inter alia* due to the fact that “the improved methods of cultivation were not percolating sufficiently to the district level and there was a gross lack of ‘local approach’ to matters relevant to land”

The Reserve Bank of India's latest Annual Report expressed deep concern that even after 13 years of planning agriculture still remained the “weakest link.”

A study on “Agricultural incomes by States” made by the National Council of Applied Economic Research has revealed that the total net value of the agricultural output of India in 1960-61 stood as Rs. 6,272 crore, that is, Rs. 270 crores above the official estimates. The study has brought into bold relief the inter-State (besides intra-state) disparities in productivity, whether it is gross, net or per acre productivity. The gross output per acre, for instance, varies from as high as Rs. 522 for Kerala to as low as Rs. 84 for Rajasthan. The range of variation in net output per acre is also of the same order. In the case of agricultural output per worker, Kerala tops with Rs. 1,159 followed by the Punjab

will Rs. 861 and West Bengal Rs. 824. At the lowest rung of the ladder stands Himachal Pradesh with productivity at Rs. 214.

In consonance with our ideal of a socialist society, planned outlay should be canalised to liquidate the inter-State and intra-State inequalities. From the outlays spread over the three plan periods it is evident that planned expenditure has not been employed as an "economic equaliser." The statistics tabulated below were eloquent on this conclusion :

departments, want of cheap fertilizers and quality seeds etc. The net result is that hunger stalks the ancient land of milk and honey—a land which was once known for plenitude all the world over. This is not an admission of the sloven and blatant charge that the Sisyphean efforts of our planners have miserably failed and that nothing has been done since Independence. It does, however, focus our attention to the lacunae in our economy.

It might be of some interest to note here that for more effective and profitable utilization

TABLE II : Showing outlays by States during 1951-66

State/Union Territory.	In Mn. Population 1961	1951-56 (actual)	(In Rs. Crores)	
			1956-61 (estimated)	1961-66 (programme outlay)
1. Andhra Pradesh	35.9	108	175	305
2. Assam	12.2	28	51	120
3. Bihar	46.5	102	166	337
4. Gujarat	20.6	224	143	235
5. Jammu & Kashmir	3.6	13	25	75
6. Kerala	16.9	44	76	170
7. Madhya Pradesh	32.4	94	145	300
8. Madras	33.7	85	167	290.9
9. Maharashtra	39.6	..	207	390
10. Mysore	23.6	94	122	250
11. Orissa	17.5	85	85	160
12. Punjab	20.3	163	148	231.4
13. Rajasthan	20.2	67	99	236
14. Uttar Pradesh	73.7	166	227	497
15. West Bengal	34.9	154	145	250
Total—States	431.6	1427	1981	3847.3
16. Andaman and Nicobar	0.06	2	3	9.8
17. Delhi	2.7	10	14	81.8
18. Himachal Pradesh	1.4	8	16	27.9
19. Manipur	0.8	2	6	12.9
20. N. H. and T. A.	..	..	4	7.1
21. Tripura	1.1	3	9	16.3
22. Lacadive, Aminidive	0.02	..	0.4	1.0
23. N.E.F.A.	..	4	5.6	7.1
24. Pondicherry	0.4	1	4	6.9
Total—Union Territories	6.48	30	62	174.8
Total—INDIA	438.08	1457	2043	4022

(Source : Third Plan Report Page 89 and India, 1963, Page 7.)

Indian agriculture still suffers from the traditional ills of soil corrosion, dwarf and fragmentary holdings, inadequate irrigational facilities due to the farmers' inertia and un-co-ordinated work of the various Government

of our limited land resources, a working group of the Planning Commission has recommended recently a survey of the soil phased over a period of 20 years.⁵ For efficient mechanisation of farms, the Government of India has arranged for the

import of 2290 tractors from the U.S.S.R. and 1000 tractors from Poland to meet urgent requirements⁶ of the farm sector. The setting up of a network of seed multiplication farms, co-operative joint farming societies, intensification of the "package programme" and the re-orientation of co-operative credit are some of the other measures taken for the improvement of Indian farming.

INDUSTRIALIZATION °

Even more important (in certain respects) than the first objective of the Third or, for that matter, any of our plans, is the rapid industrialization of our country. India must appear soon, and prominently, on the industrial map of the world. Like the two sides of a medal, the industrial sector has to be developed *pari passu* with agriculture.

The basis for industrial growth were enumerated even before the birth of the five-year plans. In fact, the conception of planned development is incorporated in the resolution of the Industrial Policy proclaimed by Shri Shyama Prasad Mukherji, the Minister for Industries, as far back as April 6, 1948. According to this policy, both old and new industrialization must mean self-sufficiency in the key and heavy industries, not, of course, at the cost of small or consumer goods industries nor of genetic industries. In order to curb industrial monopolies and concentration of wealth and income, the Government adopted, what is called, a "mixed economy" policy with a bias for the State as would be evident from the table given below :

The statistics given in Table III show that the outlay on projects within the ambit of the State sector was increased from 52 per cent in the first five-year plan to 60 per cent in the second and 65 per cent in the current plan. The outlay on the private sector correspondingly declined from 48 per cent to 35 per cent during the same period (1951-66). The basic reason for this "waxing State expenditure" is that the Government launched on infra-structure industries such as iron and steel, transport, coal mining and power generation. The key and heavy industries have a long gestation period and, therefore, the investment cannot but exert pressure on the available quantum of output of consumer goods making it difficult to hold the price line. The developmental expenditure has outpaced the volume of consumption goods and generated an inflationary potential and a fall in the real income.

As a result of the industrial policy, the index number of industrial production stood at 194 in 1960-61 and is expected to shoot up to 329 by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan compared with 1950-51 as the base year. In the agricultural sector, the index number was 153 at the end of the second plan and would move up to 176 by 1965-66, taking the same base year.

According to an unofficial study on private industrial investment, the net fixed assets together with the inventories are put at Rs. 312 crores during 1962-63 as against Rs. 289 crores in the preceding year. The growth rate trends of the fixed assets as revealed by the same study.

TABLE III : Showing Sector-Wise Distribution of Outlay and Investment

Plan	Investment			Outlay		
	Private	Public	Total	Private	Public	Total
First Plan	1800	1560	3360	1800(48)	1960(52)	3760
Second Plan	3100	3650	6750	3100(40)	4600(60)	7700
Third Plan	4100	6300	10400	4100(35)	7500(65)	11600

N.B. : Figures in brackets represent the percentages of outlays over the total outlay in each plan.

based on an analysis of 808 public limited companies; are as follows :

TABLE IV : Growth-Rate of Gross Fixed Assets of Public Ltd. Cos.

Year	Gross assets rate of growth	Year	Gross assets rate of growth
19.1-52	5.9	1957-58	16.5
19.2-53	7.8	1958-59	11.8
19.3-54	7.6	1959-60	7.5
19.4-55	9.3	1960-61	9.1
19.5-56	10.8	1961-62	11.0
19.6-57	14.6	1962-63	10.7

It is clear that out of the 12 years (1951-62), the growth rate curve of fixed capital formation during the first six years have been moving up—or convex to the x-axis along which the years are measures—during the seventh year (1957-58) it touched the peak and then roll back to form a U-shape trough in the following five years. More or less the same trend has been exhibited by the net fixed asset formation.

This analytical study by the unofficial body (as also the one by the Planning Commission) has come to the disconcerting conclusion that “the fixed capital formation in the private industrial sector is going on at a pace far slower than that envisaged in the Third Plan.” It follows that there would be a sizeable spill-over of industry in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. There is no doubt that the average of 10 per cent in the matter of gross fixed asset formation has been maintained well even during the first two years of the Third Plan, but this is *not* sufficient. The capital market has sagged. But this phenomenon is only a passing phase.

All the same, the bridging of the gap between the target and the achievement of the private sector becomes an added and imperative obligation of the Public sector. Non-fulfilment of this might undermine the tempo of social and economic revolution creeping over India.

Industrial growth is linked with the employment potential. There is a short-range and a long-range aspect of the employment-oriented economic growth. In the short-run, the cottage industries provide an efficacious remedy. But rural industrialization through integrated rural development programmes is only a palliative. It has been urged that agro-industries should be

embarked upon to stop the migration of the village folk to towns and to avoid the social evils following thereafter. Accent has shifted from localization to diversification of industries, structurally, geographically and in content.

The real strategy of industrializing the country lies in producing goods of higher order that might ultimately help in the production of goods yielding direct satisfaction. In other words, we require machines for the manufacture of iron and steel, cement, chemicals, fertilizers and so on. They are capital intensive and time-consuming industries. The capital expenditure incurred swells up the income-stream without making a corresponding increase in inventories. The employment potential also does not show any significant rise in proportion to the outlay. Notwithstanding these handicaps, the key and heavy industries constitute an important plank of our developmental schemes.

EMPLOYMENT

In so far as the utilization of human resources is concerned, Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda, former Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and the Minister for Planning, admitted that “we have not succeeded to a remarkable degree in resolving the problem of better utilization of human assets” (Speech in the Lok Sabha on August 31, 1963). He opined that for this purpose, rural works and rural industrialization must be woven into the structure of the Plan.

Industrial and agricultural development are only partially helpful in syphoning off and absorbing the surplus unemployed or under-employed population. With the basic structure of the Indian economy remaining intact, the pressure of the population on the existing resources cannot be relaxed. The additional working force outstrips the new employment avenues. Ever-increasing backlogs are the inevitable result.

While employment in the public sector has shown an upward trend in all the areas, in the private sector it has shown a rise in 61 areas—the position in the remaining areas has either been static or indicated a slight decline. Employment in the public sector went up by 5.2 per cent during the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan and 7.2 per cent during the second

plan ; employment in the private sector increased by 2.4 per cent during the first year of the Third Plan and by 5.6 per cent during the Second Plan. The backlog of unemployment at the end of the Third Plan would be higher than what it was at the beginning as shown below :

TABLE V : Showing Employment Situation

Plan	Backlog of unemployment.	Additional labour force.	Total employment seekers.	(In Millions) Approximate New employment created.
1	2	3	4	5
First Plan.	5	4	5	3.6
Second Plan.	5.3	10	15.3	6.5
Third Plan.	9 (about)	17*	26**	14

N.B. : *Additional labour force will be 23 million in the Fourth and 30 million in the Fifth Plans.

**Excludes 15 to 18 million under-employed.

One of the most important contributory factors to growing unemployment despite the growing plan expenditure is the declining mortality rate together with the almost static birth-rate. The plan is not to blame. We are responsible for the shortfalls resulting from half-hearted or defective implementation. oriented or unless there is a fundamental change in our attitudes of the mind. The myth of dignity of labour is to be exploded and our innate weakness for the soft-handed jobs should be overcome.

NATIONAL INCOME

It is noteworthy that the educated unemployed, constituting the most explosive social material, will continue unabated unless the educational pattern undergoes a radical change so as to become more and more employment- Raising the aggregate and per capita income is the ultimate object of our national plans. How this object has been forged ahead is evident from the statistics given below :

TABLE VI : Net National Output (At Factor Cost)

Year	At current prices		(In Crores of Rupees) At constant (1948) prices	
	Aggregate	Per capita income.	Aggregate	Per capita income.
1. 1948-49	8650	249.6	8650	249.6
2. 1949-50	9010	256.0	8820	250.6
3. 1950-51	9530	266.5	8850	247.5
4. 1951-52	9970	274.2	9100	250.3
5. 1952-53	9820	265.4	9460	255.7
6. 1953-54	10480	278.1	10030	266.2
7. 1954-55	9610	250.3	10280	267.8
8. 1955-56	9980	255.0	10480	267.8
9. 1956-57	11310	283.3	11000	275.6
10. 1957-58	11390	279.6	10890	267.3
11. 1958-59	12600	303.0	11650	280.1
12. 1959-60	12950	304.8	11860	279.2
13. 1960-61	14160	326.2	12750	293.7
14. 1961-62	14630	329.7	13020	293.4

Source : Estimates of National Income 1948-1961-62, January 1963, issued by C.S.O., Government of India.

While the aggregate national dividend has registered a rise from Rs. 9100 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 13020 crores a decade later at constant price that is, an increase of about 42 percent, the per capita income has stepped up by only 17 per cent during the same period. This upward trend is no true index of national or individual prosperity. It has often been urged that the distributive aspect of the national output has stood neglected. The creation of an egalitarian society in terms of the 1954 Avadi session resolution of the Congress is alleged to be an empty slogan to dupe the public. Actually, the provisions of the resolution are being observed more in the breach than otherwise. The social structure has all these years moved farther away from socialism because economic disparities have widened ever more. The change cannot be challenged or disputed statistically, for the structure of distribution of the entire income has never been

assessed either on a census basis or on a sampling basis, either by an official organisation or unofficially. Only recently the Planning Commission has begun to inquire into income distribution under the chairmanship of Professor Mahalanobis. The report of the Committee is awaited.

Whatever the findings of the Mahalanobis Committee, the fact remains undisputed that there has been no phenomenal change through institutional or other measures adopted by our Government to bring about a radical redistribution of wealth and income in the country. As a result India still remains, and will continue to be so for years, the poorest country in the world.

Look at the rapid advances of the United States of America, for instance. Perspectively, the position of that country in 1973 will be as under :

TABEL VII : Projection of America's Economy in 1973.

Item	Unit	1973	1962	Increase or decrease percent in 1973 over 1962
1. Population	Million.	226	188	20
2. Annual income per family	Dollars.	9300	7100	31
3. Gross National Product	Billion. \$	904	556	62.6
4. Unemployment rate	"	4	5.6	30 (fall)

This perspective outlook stimulates our interest when compared with similar economic environments in our country :

TABLE VIII : Some Projections of India's Economy

Item	Unit	1960-61	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	Change during 15 years
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Population*	Million.	438	492	555	625	42%
2. National Divided	Rs. crore.	14500	19000	25000	33000	231%
					to 38000	
3. Per capita income	Rupees.	330	385	450	530	61%

* N.B. For the years 1961, 1966, 1971 and 1976.

The reason for the more rapid rate of development of U.S.A. than that of India is obvious. The more developed nations register higher growth rates due to their broader income base. It has been estimated that the growth ratio is 20 to 1 in advanced and less developed

countries. The average increase in the more developed countries is about \$60 per annum and in the less developed countries about \$3 per annum. This disparity is not bridgeable in the foreseeable future.

The position of some of the countries in

regard to the average growth-rate of the Gross National Product presents an interesting study.

TABLE IX : Showing Comparision of Growth Rates of GNP

Country	Percentage of growth rate of GNP
1. Chile	3.0
2. Egypt	3.0
3. India	3.0
4. Israel	12.5
5. Kenya	3.0
6. Mexico	6.0
8. Paraguay	1.8
9. Taiwan	7.0
10. Tunisia	3.0
11. Yugoslavia	10.0

Out of these countries, seven are below the over-all average of 4 per cent for the period 1953-60 and only four are above it. The less developed countries (including India) have to increase their Gross National Product by about 22.5 per cent of the existing level of \$180 billion only to maintain the existing per capita income. The increase in the GNP, if any, will evidently be absorbed by the 'torrents of babies.' This poses a big challenge not only to India but to the whole of the less developed or under-developed regions of the world. Why blame so wantonly only the Indian planners or top-ranking leaders? Why not treat it as an international problem? It is a happy augury that the United Nations Organisation and its allied agencies have started to realize the import of this all-important question and are keen to take far-reaching decisions.

But the problems admit of no easy solution. They call for certain radical socio-politico-economic changes. A keen determination to pursue growth objectives, a functioning elite with a real sense of national purpose, a reasonably competent and honest government, an adequate flow of investment capital, a workable schedule of priorities among numerous claimants for investment capital, a supply of relevant technical skills and a manageable level of population increase are some of the factors which will determine their satisfactory rate of economic progress.

Studied in the context of these premises, the perspective of planned progress and prosperity cannot brook the criticism that the Third Five-

Year Plan's hopes are a "heap of miscellaneous ruin." Our democratic plans have certain weaknesses embedded in their very nature. If the capital market is in disarray, production is stagnant, prices are spiralling and playing havoc with the public morale, one must not run amuck with the idea that the plans must be thrown overboard. Planning by persuasion, just as we have been doing, needs occasionally some psychological shake-up to wean the people from a mood of drift, listlessness or mental stagnation. For creating a new dynamism, we need dynamic leadership capable of injecting vigour and vitality into our thought and action. The younger generation has to shoulder this long and arduous responsibility in their life journey—the task of rejuvenating stagnant minds and of filling the nation with a new buoyancy for a better life.

1. The task is not merely one of reaching fixed or static point, such as doubling of living standards, but of generating a dynamism in the economy which will lift it to continually higher levels of material well-being and of intellectual and cultural achievement. Page 21, *Second Plan Report*.

2. The F.A.O. in a recent study on "possibilities of increasing world food production" came to the conclusion that the lower Ganges-Brahmaputra basin, including Bengal and Assam, can produce about four times as much food as it does now.

3. Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Prime Minister, said in a public speech at Ludhiana: "India's failure to attain self-sufficiency in food even 15 years after independence disturbs my mind more than Chinese aggression. I often hang my head in shame when I think that a nation with 70 per cent of its population engaged in agriculture depends on foreign countries for its food requirements."

4. Mr. Nehru observed amidst cheers in Parliament on August 22, 1963: "I am convinced that there is no choice for India, party or no party, other than socialism. No party, whatever it may feel, can stop this march to socialism, democratic socialism in this country."

5. During the last 60 years, the annual average productivity per cent has fallen from 940 lbs. to 643 lbs. according to official estimates, while yields in many other countries have registered increases by 300 to 400 per cent.

6. The demand for tractors is estimated at 10,000 per year by 1965-66—*Economic Times*, September 29, 1963, page 1, column 5.

THE GHAZNAVIDE INVASION OF INDIA

By ABRAHAM ERALY

(Madras Christian College, Tambaram)

By the second half of the ninth century A.D. the Arab Empire was cracking into bits like a clay field in summer. The Caliphs had never quite mastered the technique of imperial administration; and the Arab chieftains, galloping into far lands on their own initiative, would accept no more than a mere nominal control from Baghdad. The Caliph, if vigorous and alert, could ride this high wave of conquest; but he could hardly ever control or direct it. And as the wealth from a thousand plundered cities poured into Baghdad, the Caliph developed the dangerous habit of sporting on the quicksands of luxury, and merrily sank ever deeper into the vile depravities of his seraglio. When the nucleus of power thus dissipated itself into impotence, the provinces fell apart, and the Caliph became a mere phantom emperor.

The most successful of the powers emerging from the ruin of the Arab Empire was the Samanid dynasty of Transoxiana, which for a time, almost completely eclipsed the power of the Caliphate. However, its decline was as rapid as its ascension. In 963 A.D. Alptagin, the Lord Chamberlain of the Samanid ruler of Khurasan, rebelled against his master and founded the independent kingdom of Ghazni. He gained a certain renown as a just ruler, but died within a year of assuming sovereignty, and was succeeded by three rulers of no great consequence: Is-haq, Balkatigin and Piritigin. Piritigin, "a very depraved ruler,"¹ a slave raised to high power, a hapless ruler who provoked internal and external enemies to action against him, was overthrown in 977, and Subuktigin, slave and son-in-law of Alptagin, assumed royal power and laid the foundations of an empire that was to spell terror among the princes and people of the Indian subcontinent during the reign of his son Mahmud.

The Ghaznavide kingdom was a vigorous and growing power which certainly would not be contained within the mountain confines of Ghazni; and as it is the nature of the strong to wage war and seek power, the independence of all the peripheral powers was in immediate danger of violent extinction. King Jaipala of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty of Punjab, close to the eastern frontiers of Ghazni, was intensely aware of this danger, the imminence of which became brutally clear when the Turks raided, time and again, the outer provinces of his kingdom, making "his lands grow narrow under his feet."² Preferring not to be smothered by overwhelming events, Jaipala decided to fight, and he rose with his many relations and generals and vassals, and hastened with his huge war elephants towards Ghazni. The ensuing battle was prolonged and indecisive, and did not altogether go too well for the Ghaznavides. Then took place one of those miracles seldom absent in the Muslim chronicles of their victory. Close to the Hindu camp, on a high mountain, was a clear water magic fountain, which, if contaminated, would rouse the wrath of the elements and would not be pacified "until red death supervened."³ Subuktigin, baffled in the battle-field, decided to invoke the supernatural, and had some filth thrown into the fountain. Suddenly, "the horrors of the day of resurrection rose up before the wicked infidels,"⁴ black rain clouds collected, whirlwinds rose accompanied by loud claps of thunder, the summits of the mountain became black, rain fell. Thick black vapours enveloped the Hindu army, and their food and water were filled with dust, and they fled though they could not even see the way to flee!*

Faced with such strange adversities Jaipala decided to solicit peace. Sabuktigin was inclined to grant it. But his son Mahmud, crazed by the bloodletting and the prospect

of plunder, raised his voice to demand the total victory fit for Islam's honour. Hearing this, Jaipala threatened to "mount the horse of stern determination, destroy our property, take out the eyes of our elephants, cast our children into fire, and rush on each other with sword and spear, so that all that will be left to you, is stones and dirt, and dead bodies, and scattered bones."⁵ Sabuktigin knew this to be no mere boast, and granted peace on the promise of heavy tribute and the cession of some territories.

Jaipala was an honourable prince, respected even by Sabuktigin, and to him treaty commitments were sacred, inviolable. But such was the threat to the survival of his kingdom that he now set expediency as the sole guide to political action, imprisoned the Ghaznavide deputies in his court, formed alliances with the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms, and prepared to stake fortunes once again in the battlefield. Sabuktigin promptly responded by raiding the Punjab, and plundering and burning the towns and the temples of the "polluted wretches" and "wounding and killing beyond all measure."⁶ Jaipala now marched with his army of one hundred thousand. Sabuktigin, who set out to meet the enemy, "ascended a lofty hill from which he could see the whole army of the infidels, which resembled scattered ants and locusts, and he felt like a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep."⁷ In this battle Sabuktigin confounded the numerically superior Hindu army with a revolutionary tactic: one after another he sent relays of fresh groups of five-hundred horsemen to harass the Hindu army, and when at last the enemy ranks were disarrayed and the soldiers baffled and flagging, the Sultan ordered a united charge of all his forces, and thus routed the Hindu army. The Hindus, according to Ferishta, "fell like corn before the hands of the reaper."⁸ Once again Jaipala agreed to dishonourable peace.

Sabuktigin died in 997, at the age of fifty-six. With his death ended the first round of the struggle between the Turks and the Indians, the round of confrontation and probing. This early part of the saga differs from its bloody sequel in showing a chivalry

and a classic heroism in its protagonists. There was a spaciousness about Sabuktigin's character, and though there were aberrations of babrarity in his career he was not without magnimity or compassion. He was noble. Minhaj-us Siraj informs us that the Sultan was "a wise, just, brave, and religious man; faithful to his agreements, truthful to his words and not avaricious for wealth."⁹ His son and successor, Mahmud, though a great military genius and a patron of culture, was nevertheless venomous and demoniac, utterly lacking in nobility of character.

Sabuktigin had not meant Mahmud to wear the crown: he favoured his younger son, Ismail. But a father's will was no barrier to an ambitious prince in an age when the sword was the final arbiter of princely destinies. Mahmud, who was away from Ghazni at the time of his father's death, wrote to Ismail protesting his brotherly affection and suggesting that since Ismail did not have the competence or experience to govern the state effectively he should relinquish the crown and accept the governorship of Balkh and Khurasan. But Ismail was not willing, and so was overthrown and imprisoned, and Mahmud, twentyseven years old, assumed royal power. In 999 A.D. his claims to sovereignty was confirmed by the Caliph, who sent him a robe of investment and conferred on him the titles Yamin-ud-Daulah and Amin-ul-Millah. It was in the course of the formal ceremony of receiving these honours that Mahmud, overwhelmed by the occasion, reversed his earlier decision to conquer Sistan, and vowed to undertake Jihad, holy war, against India every year of his reign. He almost kept his word.

The second millennium A.D. thus opened for India with the fiercest ever onslaught on her immemorial civilization. Mahmud's avowed purpose in invading India—"of exalting the standard of religion, of widening the plain of right, of illuminating the words of truth, and of strengthening the power of justice"¹⁰—was, of course, very noble. But then, seldom is a conqueror so brazenly crude as not to justify his base

actions with protests of high purpose. In A.D. 1000 Mahmud raided the Punjab, and pillaged the neighbourhood of Peshawar. The following year he defeated and captured king Jaipala, who had thrice opposed Sabuktigin. The Indian king, who had to suffer many humiliations in captivity, and had to ransom himself and face the derision of his people, mounted the funeral pyre and perished in flames. In 1004 Mahmud, "in his happiness,"¹¹ attacked Bhatinda, a wealthy and well-fortified city on the left bank of Jhelum, ruled over by Baji Ray, a courageous king and a great general, whose only fault was his impetuosity. Abandoning the security of his fortifications he marched out to attack the invaders. The war raged on for four days, but on the evening of the fourth day the Hindus were routed, and Ray, who fled to the neighbouring forests, stabbed himself to death when about to be captured by the Muslim pursuers. The army of the Sultan then swept into the city and glutted their sadistic fury by turning it into shambles. Only those who embraced Islam escaped.

Mahmud in his bigotry knew no distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims of the heterodox sects, and the prospect of plunder was a perennial fascination to him. So he now turned against the Ismailin heretics of Multan. As the Indus on the way to Multan was swollen with flood water, Mahmud desired to march the easy way, through the Shahiya kingdom. Anandapala, the son and successor of Jaipala, and ally of Sultan Daud of Multan, rejected Mahmud's request for permission to march through his kingdom. Mahmud then "stretched out upon him the hand of slaughter, imprisonment, pillage, depopulation, and fire, and hunted him from ambush to ambush," and pursued him "over hill and dale, over soft and hard ground of his territory, and his followers either became a feast to the rapacious wild beasts of the passes and plains, or fled in distraction to the neighbourhood of Kashmir."¹² When Daud heard of this calamity he lost nerve, and "notwithstanding all his power and the lofty walls of his fort, and his shining sword,"¹³ fled from Multan with his kinsmen and treasures. Mahmud then

entered the city and imposed on its people a tribute of 20,000 dirhams.

Next Mahmud turned against the Shahiya king, Anandapala, who had greatly incensed him by daring to oppose him during his Multan campaign. The raids of Mahmud was a strange and revealing experience to the Hindus, for whom even war had its own Dharma. But the Turks, who had never heard of the Dharmasastras, obeyed only their barbarous nature which urged them to kill and pillage and ravish, or to perish. Terrible were the atrocities committed. Faced with such savagery the princes of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer rallied their forces under the leadership of Anandapala. "The Hindu females," Ferishta tells us, "on this occasion, sold their jewels, and sent the proceeds from distant parts to their husbands, so that they, being supplied with all the necessities of the march, might be earnest in the war. Those who were poor contributed from their earnings by spinning cotton, and other labour."¹⁴ A comfortable and decadent civilization was being jolted out of its complaisant lethargy.

In 1008 the opposing forces lay encamped between Und and Peshwar, and for forty days none dared to make a move. At the end of this forty days of waiting Anandapala committed the one mistake he could not afford: he attacked the entrenched Ghaznavide army. Even then the savage thrust of the Khokhars caused such havoc among the Turks that Mahmud contemplated retreat. But a diversive tactic of Mahmud, of attacking the Hindu rear with a small force, and the incident of Anandapala's wound-crazed elephant fleeing from the battle scene, created such confusion among the Hindus that they, almost on the point of victory, turned tail and fled. Anandapala, deciding that discretion was the better part of valour, came to terms with Mahmud, and became a tributary to the Ghaznavide power. His successors, Jaipala II and Nidar (Fearless) Bhimpala, breaking peace, made feeble attempts at self-assertion, but were easily trampled down. Punjab was finally annexed by Mahmud in 1019, thus bringing to a close

a struggle which lasted nearly half a century. As Al-Biruni writes, "The Hindu Shahiya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing."¹⁵ Later on, when fortune no longer blessed the Ghaznavides, the successors of Mahmud were to make their final stand in this foreign province of the Punjab.

With the Punjab fallen, the rich Indo-Gangetic plain was open to the Ghaznavide inroads. In 1009 the rich city of Nagarkot fell, and with it enormous booty. In 1011 Mahmud raided the sacred city of Thaneswar, and sent the great idol of the city to Ghazni to be buried in a public thoroughfare where the faithful might tread on it to gain religious merit. In 1018 he once again set out from Ghazni. He streaked through the Indo-Gangetic plain, captured the imperial city of Kanauj (defended by forty forts and containing 10,000 temples) from its timorous ruler, and even penetrated into the territories beyond it.

On his way to Kanauj, Mahmud sacked the city of Mathura, the reputed birth place of Lord Krishna. Mahmud was astounded by the architectural grandeur of the central temple of the city, of which he said: "If anyone should wish to construct a building equal to this, he would not be able to do it without expending a hundred thousand dinars,—and it would occupy two-hundred years, even though the most experienced and able workmen were employed."¹⁶ This aesthetic appreciation, however, did not restrain the Sultan from ordering "that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire, and levelled to the ground."¹⁷ To Mahmud beauty had meaning only as an exaltation of truth, and the truth as he saw it was the truth of Islam; and so, to him, these wondrous temples were miasmal, exalting evil. It was, then, his sacred duty to destroy them.

This was Mahmud's most successful expedition. The treasure taken was enormous: 20,000,000 dirhams worth of plunder,

53,000 slaves and 350 elephants. Returning home Mahmud built in his capital city, as a befitting monument of his vastly successful expedition, the great Friday Mosque, the Bride of Heaven. A University, a library with books in many languages, and a museum "full of natural curiosities" were also built with his beneficence. The Ghaznavide nobles emulated their monarch, and all of a sudden culture blossomed in the mountain city. The Turks were not without noble instincts—when their lower appetites were glutted.

The next major raid of Mahmud was made in 1021—this time to avenge the humiliation of a Hindu prince! The cowardly behaviour of the Pratihara Raja Rajyapala of Kanauj in the face of the Turkish army had made it a disgrace to Rajput honour to allow him to continue on the imperial throne. Rajyapala had forfeited his right to be a Rajput and a king. If the nation could not be defended, at least its honour would be. So the Chandella Raja Vidyadhara of Kalinjar, taking on himself the responsibility of purifying Kanauj of the pollution of its cowardly prince, formed a confederacy of Rajput princes, attacked, defeated, and killed Rajyapala. Nothing was proved by this action, and its only result was to rouse the wrath of Mahmud against the ancient fort of Kalinjar.

On the banks of the river Sai, Mahmud found Vidyadhara waiting for him with an army of 36,000 cavalry, 105,000 infantry and 640 elephants.¹⁸ When Mahmud saw these multitudes, his heart sank, and he cursed his impetuosity in starting from Ghazni. But he had advanced too far into India, and there was no question of retreat. So, trusting his fortunes to Allah, he prepared for battle. But while there was resolution in the face of adversity on the part of Mahmud, Vidyadhara, the self-appointed embodiment and defender of Rajput heroism, showed a singular lack of the qualities of which he was the defender. Unnerved by the presence of Mahmud, he sneaked away from his camp in the dead of the night, leaving his numerous allies and

followers at the mercy of the invader. This was so irrational and cowardly an act that Mahmud would not for some time believe in his good fortune, and he feared the flight to be some cunning tactical manoeuvre on the part of the enemy. When he verified the fact, Mahmud considered himself lucky, and daring not to tempt fortune any further, he quietly returned to Ghazni. However, he returned the very next year to reduce Vidyadhara to the submission he deserved. Vidyadhara was a poet, and according to a possibly apocryphal account the Rajput procured favourable treatment from Mahmud by addressing an encomiastic poem to him.

North India lay desolate, bleeding from a thousand wounds, violated by a sacrilegious ravisher. Her morale was broken, her ancient temples defiled, her wealth plundered and her men killed, her women and children carried away into slavery. Yet news reached Mahmud of the arrogant claim of the priests of the temple of Somanatha in Gujarat that Aryavarta was punished with death and destruction only because of the disloyalty of the people to the Supreme God Somanatha, Siva. Mahmud was curious. He made discreet inquiries. What he heard excited his imagination and iconoclastic zeal. Nowhere else in India was a temple of such splendour, commanding such faith. Daily a thousand Brahmins attended to the rituals of its great phallic idol which was washed every day with holy water brought from Ganges, seven hundred and fifty miles away; three hundred and fifty devadasis (among them princesses) and singers in rotation continually sang and danced before it. Three hundred barbers served the daily influx of pilgrims. Revenue of ten thousand villages was necessary for the expense of the temple. Rumour had it that fabulous treasures were buried beneath its idol. These garish details excited Mahmud, and he decided to measure the might of Allah against the might of Somanatha—for the edification of the true believer, to open the eyes of the 'ignorant idolaters' to the falsity of their faith, and, incidentally, to add another precious heap of treasures to the royal treasury at Ghazni!

On October 17, 1024 a mighty army rolled from Ghazni towards Somanath, sweeping all before it. The Brahmins of Somanath were unimpressed. They awaited the Turk with scorn, being assured in their faith that Siva was drawing the enemy to Gujarat, like a moth to the flame, only to annihilate them. Only the commander of the garrison of Somanath doubted the possibility of favourable divine intervention, and prudently escaped to a neighbouring island, taking with him his family and his treasure. But the priests, busy chanting incantations, had no eye for mere reality. As the Turks approached the city they were astounded to find the Hindus crowding the walls of the city, armed mainly with curses and jeers. But, contrary to the Hindu expectations, the Muslims did not oblige by falling down and perishing; instead they scaled the walls and turned the city into shambles. Lord Somanatha had not yet elected to act. So "band after band of defenders entered the temple with their hands clasped around their necks, wept passionately"¹⁹ and implored Somanatha's favour, and then again rushed forth, till they were all slain. For three days the battle raged. At length a handful of survivors, giving up their desperate hopes, fled towards the sea and attempted to escape in boats; but Mahmud had foreseen this, and all were cut down.

With the carnage over, Mahmud entered the temple. It was "a great and antique structure,"²⁰ its roof supported by fifty wooden pillars "curiously carved" and set with precious stones. Inside the temple was dusk and gloom. The oil lamps burned unflickering, and the air was heavy with fumes. There was death in the air. The glitter of the jewelled canopy and chandelier and the golden chain and bell over the stone linga only stressed the eeriness of this house of God. But Mahmud, destroyer of a thousand temples, unimpressed, advanced and raised his mace to strike the idol. But the attending Brahmins, bent in supplication, exhorted Mahmud not to destroy the idol, tempting him with an offer of fabulous wealth. His ministers counselled him to accept the ransom. To the prince whose ruling passion

was greed the bribe offered was a terrible temptation; but Mahmud's sense of drama was stronger than his venality, and he exclaimed: "I desire that on the day of resurrection I should be summoned with the words, 'Where is that Mahmud who broke the greatest of the heathen idols?,' rather than by these: 'Where is that Mahmud who sold the greatest of the heathen idols?'"²¹ So saying he struck, smashing the linga. As it split open gems worth a hundred times the ransom offered spilled iridescent on the oil smeared granite floor.²² And Mahmud, much delighted, razed the ancient temple to the ground, and sent the fragments of the idol to Ghazni, Mecca and Medina, to be buried under the thoroughfares and at the gates of Mosques.

Mahmud was well pleased with his success, and finding Gujarat a rich and extensive land, abounding in gold and precious stones, with "the air so salubrious and pure,"²³ he wished to fix his residence there for some years.²⁴ But his ministers prevailed against him. So, after resting at Somnath for a fortnight, and appointing a Hindu ruler as his tributary in Gujarat, Mahmud set out to return to Ghazni. But the daring man who never shirked a battle was all caution now. When the neighbouring Hindu chiefs, under the leadership of Paramadeva, got ready to intercept him, Mahmud led his army through a devious westerly route to avoid battle. However, on his way, he attacked and defeated, for a second time, Chalukya Raja Bhima I at Kanthakot, by crossing the sea inlet between Kutch and Kathiawar at considerable risk of losing his army and all his treasures if the tide turned too soon. Marching through Kutch, Mahmud eventually crossed over to Sindh, and there engaged a guide to take him through the desert. But the guide was a devotee of Somnatha and seething to avenge the humiliation of his God, led the Ghaznavide army to the centre of a waterless wasteland, and then announced to Mahmud that there was no escape and all would perish in the desert. Mahmud promptly had the man slain, and sought Allah's help. Eventually, after much suffering—his soldiers raging mad from the intolerable heat and thirst,

many dying—, but with the plunder safe, Mahmud reached Ghazni in the spring of 1026. There he received a complimentary letter from Caliph al-Qadhir Billah, conferring titles and distinctions on Mahmud and his sons, and recognizing the Sultan as the ruler of Khurasan, Hindustan, Sistan and Khavarazam.

This marks the pinnacle of Mahmud's career. His days were now drawing to a close, and a life spent in violence was coming to its peaceful end. He had a few skirmishes with the Saljuq Turks, who were raiding his western frontiers; and he led a punitive expedition against the Jats, who had harassed his army on their return from Somnath. But for these minor engagements Mahmud's last year were uneventful. During the expedition against the Jats Mahmud had contracted malaria which, now complicated by consumption and chronic diarrhoea, weakened Mahmud though the indomitable Sultan would allow himself no rest. But will has only a limited mastery over matter, and in the evening of Thursday, 30th April 1030, at the time of *asha* prayer, the great Sultan passed away—but not lying down, but sitting propped up in his bed, wilful to the end. From his death-bed he ordered his treasures to be brought to his bed chamber. The sight of these treasures surely evoked in him memories of the thousand perils and triumphs of his career, of the power he had over men and circumstances, and also the awareness of the futility of it all, the tragedy of his life, the tragedy of all life, that each man dies alone, naked. Mahmud died weeping. And that redeems him.

Altogether Mahmud raided India some sixteen times. He was a great military genius, capable of daring tactical improvisations, invincible in the battlefield. His Indian expeditions were all successful, except in the one instance when the inclement climate of Kashmir compelled him to raise the siege of Loharkob in 1015. Siraj tells us that at the moment of Mahmud's birth Sabuktigin "saw in a dream that a tree sprang from the fire-place in the midst of his house, and grew so high that it covered the whole world with its shadow."²⁵ This was a fitting augury to Mahmud's career.

The Sultan was of demoniac energy, and his nature, says Al Utbi, "was contrary to the disposition of (men), which induce (them) to prefer a soft to a hard couch, and the splendour of the cheeks of pomegranate-besomed girls to well-tempered sword blades."²⁶ According to his courtier Baihaki, "the king was singularly good in everything," even "a clever architect, not excelled by any mathematician."²⁷ He was inflexible in justice, steadfast in purpose, a good friend and a deadly enemy.

The Sultan was, no doubt, greedy; and he was bigoted. And worse still, his bigotry manifested itself only in destruction: he did not proselytise—he merely butchered the Hindus and desecrated their temples; and, though belligerent, he did not build an empire—he merely scorched the earth and plundered homes. He was a restless soul, a man without patience, and he never consolidated his triumphs. And so it seems that all his grand efforts were without a purpose other than the consummation of the violence of his nature.

Yet, one can be too harsh in judging Mahmud. If he was greedy, it was not with the petty greed of a dribbling miser. When famine broke out in Khurasan in 1010-11 Mahmud opened up his treasury to alleviate the suffering of the people. And wealth symbolized power to him: often he used to exhibit his treasures on carpets in the royal courtyard to awe the foreign ambassadors and local citizenry. And he spent much wealth to patronise culture and to beautify the imperial city.

According to Ferishta, the Sultan had "a great propensity to poetry,"²⁸ and delighted in religious and literary discussions. A galaxy of poets and scholars adorned his court. There was al-Biruni, mathematician, philosopher, astronomer and Sanskrit scholar; there was Firdausi, the celebrated author of *Shahnama*; there was Farbi and Balaki, historians and philosophers; and Unsurī, Farrukhi and Asjadi, the poets. Certainly, Firdausi's slander that Mahmud was "not a prince but a boor" is the measure of his disappointment with the compensation he received for *Shahnama*, rather than a true assessment of the man, for though

Mahmud was often a boor he was very much of a prince too. True, he was bigoted and violent; but then, toleration and *vinaya* were not then much known to civilizations outside India. Mahmud belonged to an elemental race intoxicated with the zest for life, with the sweat and the blood and the daring and the doing of it all. Asjadi has captured the spirit of the times in these wine hazed lines:

I do repent of wine and talk of wine
Of idols fair with chins like silver fine
A lip-repentance and a lustful heart,
O God, forgive this penitence of mine.

What Stanley Lane Pool wrote of Babur—that though cultured in the humanities, he often forgot to be humane—can be truthfully said of Mahmud also. Yet this greedy, bigoted and demoniac man was all too human. He was ugly in appearance, and very much conscious of it. "The sight of a king," he once remarked sadly, "should brighten the eyes of beholders; but nature has been so capricious to me, that my aspect seems the picture of misfortune."²⁹ When he fell in love with one of his slave girls and wanted to espouse her, he was afraid of social disapproval. "Will not the neighbouring kings call me a fool," he asked his confidant and servant, Abu Nasr Mishkani; "and will not you also, my servants and slaves speak ill of me in respectable society?"³⁰ And Mahmud's intimacy with the handsome Turkoman slave Uymaq has a poignancy of its own. And it must also be noted that the Sultan, though often impatient of contradiction, could take a just rebuke. Once, when an old woman of Khurasan complained to Mahmud about the death of her merchant son (killed along the caravan route because of the insecurity of the road) and suggested that the Sultan "keep no more territory than you can manage,"³¹ Mahmud bowed to her and accepted her rebuke.

Ultimately, Mahmud evokes compassion, and not wrath, because he was a very unhappy man, more at war with himself than with the world. Once, in one of his rare moments of repose he said of himself: "I... considered that after..... (my father's) demise I should be a great king. But the

truth was revealed to me when he died and his shadow was removed from my head, for since his departure I have not had one day's happiness. You think I drink this wine for pleasure, but this is a great mistake. I take it merely as a device to gain a few days' peace, and to relieve the people from all annoyance from me."³² Human life is all too poignant.

In India the death of Mahmud was greeted with a sigh of relief. As one historian puts it, Mahmud's were raids of devastation, looked upon by the Hindus of the time as acts of God, like plague, before which they fled. The great Rajput dynasties all ingloriously succumbed to the invader. Perhaps the fault of the tragedy rests with India. The Rajput patriotism was local and clannish, not national, and their military strategy and political attitudes were shackled to dead traditions, not dynamically related to historical realities. The fatalistic religious and also the enervating climate of India had probably something to do with India's failure. The Indian, weary under the torrid sun, sustained by fatalism, seeking only *nirvana* beyond the transient miseries and tinsel vanities of inconsequential life, learned to endure with equanimity all the mutations of fortune. And the caste system, which made over national vigilance entirely to the Kshatriyas, left the majority of the people to shrug their shoulders indifferently in the face of aggression. But while there was only stagnation and apathy in India, the invader was all fire and fury, disciplined and inspired by a religion which claimed the sword to be the key to heaven and hell. Perhaps it is that civilization condemns men to a melancholy fatalism, and the innocent, but youthful, barbarian always triumphs; or perhaps, as some think, there is in all these matters a divine dispensation which is not amenable to human will.

Though shocking in itself, the effects of Mahmud's raids were largely ephemeral. No permanent harm was one. When at last the tide receded, the cities were repopulated, and they prospered again; the villages resumed their sluggish course, and the temples were rebuilt, sometimes with

even greater than their original grandeur, as in the case of the Somanath temple. Tremendous was the economic resilience of this country. The only political result of Mahmud's invasion was that the Punjab was annexed to the Ghaznavide kingdom. But this is important, because it gave the Turks a foothold right inside India, and so, in the context of the decadence of Indian civilization and the political disintegration of the Indo-Gangetic plain, it became no longer a question of whether, but when the Turks-Afghans would rule over India.

The story of Ghazni after the death of Mahmud is of chaos and violence, with the state breaking up rapidly. The wealth plundered from India avenged India's dishonour by luring the once vigorous Turks to a life of dissipation and waste. Mahmud had nominated his younger son Muhammad to succeed him, and secured the Caliph's sanction for it; but Masud, another son, had other ideas, and he remarked: "the sword is a truer prophet than the pen."²³ History was now to repeat itself. Masud, like his father before him, usurped power against his father's will by ousting his brother Muhammad, who was a poet and a voluptuary, too gentle and languorous to govern the state in those troubled times.

Masud was vigorous and decisive—in the rare occasions when he was sober. He was inclined to sloth; but he was also avaricious, short-tempered, arrogant, heedless of advice. He too led an expedition into India, and captured the fortress of Hansi, known as the virgin, because it had never been taken by an invader. However, the Indian expedition, undertaken against the advice of the royal counsellors, proved to be a grave blunder, because the Saljuq Turks attacked Ghazni during the Sultan's absence. Masud rushed back home, only to receive a crushing blow from the Saljuqs and to double back to India for refuge. But on his way back the Turkish and Hindu slaves of his army mutinied, and Masud was assassinated.

Muhammad, the poet, now blind, was brought out of his prison and placed on the throne. But he was soon overthrown by Maudud, son of Masud, and he in turn was

followed, in rapid succession, by a number of rulers—some ruling for less than two months—who were not altogether bad, as rulers of the times went, but were utterly incompetent. These wretched princes, clinging on to their tottering throne, more like timorous children than enthroned rulers, were all sucked into the whirlpool of chaos. And as the schismatic forces multiplied within the state, the external enemies, breaking in through the barely guarded frontiers, converged on Ghazni. Bahram "handsome, manly, liberal, just and a friend of his people,"³⁴ the fourteenth ruler after Mahmud within eighty-eight years, was defeated by Ala-ud-din Husain, prince of Ghor, who burned down to ashes the city of Ghazni, and thus came to be known in history as Ala-ud-din the World Burner. For seven days the city burned, and the Ghaznavide rulers were torn from their great monuments erected by Mahmud perished. The remains of the Ghaznavide rulers were torn from their graves to make a bonfire. All the male inhabitants of the city were slaughtered, and all the women and children carried away into slavery.

At last, pressed beyond all endurance, the descendants of Mahmud found uncertain refuge in the land of Punjab which they had once so wantonly desecrated. Bahram's successor, Khusrav Shah, was the last prince of the lineage of Sabuktigin to rule from Ghazni: he was expelled to the Punjab by the Ghuzz Turkmans. In 1187 his successor, Khusrav Malik, a prince who was exceedingly gentle,³⁵ was hunted down near Lahore by Muhammad Ghori, and eventually died in a prison whimpering over his fate. And with him ended the line of Sabuktigin.

References :

1. *Siraj*. (E & D : II : 268).
2. *Al-Utbi* (E & D : II : 19).

3. *Ibid.*, 20.
4. *Ibid.*, 20.
5. *Ibid.*, 21.
6. *Ibid.*, 22.
7. *Ibid.*, 23.
8. *Ferishta* (A. Dow) : 29.
9. *Siraj*. (E & D : II : 24).
10. *Al-Utbi* (E & D : II : 24).
11. *Ibid.*, 28.
12. *Ibid.*, 31.
13. *Ibid.*, 31.
14. *Ferishta*. E & D : II : 447.
15. *Al-Biruni*. Quoted in the *History and Culture of Indian People*, [Vol. V : 17. (Vidya Bhavan Publications)]
16. *Al-Utbi* : (E & D : II : 14).
17. *Ibid.*, 15.
18. This is the figure given by Nizam-ud-din. According to *Ferishta* the size of the infantry was only 45,000.
19. *Ibn Asir* : E & D : II : 470.
20. *Ferishta* : Dow : 74.
21. *Tarikh i-Alfi* : E & D : II : 472.
22. This is the story told by *Ferishta* ; it is rather improbable as lingas are invariably soiled. However, as Al Biruni indicates, the top of the linga was garnished with gold and precious stones ; and probably there were also treasures beneath the linga.
23. *Ferishta* : Dow : 78.
24. *Rauzat-u-Safa* : E & D : II : 475.
25. *Siraj* : E & D : II : 269.
26. *Al-Utbi* : E & D : II : 33.
27. *Baihaki* : E & D : II :
28. *Ferishta* : Dow : 40.
29. *Ibid.*, 40.
30. *Muhamma 'Ufi* : E & D : II : 183.
31. *Muhammad-i Husna* : E & D : II : 506.
32. *'Ufi* : E & D : II : 190.
33. *Siraj* : E & D : II : 272.
34. *Ibid.*, 279.
35. *Ibid.*, 281.

** But a courtier commented : Only one in tenthousand sees your face ; but all know of your virtue. It was a sophisticated court !

* Nine centuries later, an invading British Indian army was confounded by a similar but not so miraculous snow storm in Afghanistan.

MAHAKAVI VALLATHOL

"Tagore" of Kerala.

By Dr. ABRAHAM PAUL

Even though Mahakavi Vallathol came to be known outside Kerala through the Kerala Kalamandalam, to the people of Kerala, he is their most outstanding poet of modern times. He has sometimes been referred to as the "Tagore" of Kerala, "The People's Poet" or "the poor man's poet." No other literary man of Kerala has equaled Vallathol's tremendous literary and intellectual output.

Childhood and Education

Vallathol Narayana Menon was born on 12th October, 1879 in an aristocratic Nair family of Ponnani taluk in Malabar. His father, Damodaran Elayathu, though not a learned man, had ample general knowledge and was very much interested in Kathakali. The boy, Narayana, started his education at the age of five, under Variamparampil Kunjan Nair, who taught him the three R's and the elements of astrology and Sanskrit. He started to learn the epics at the age of eight under his uncle, Ramunni Menon, who was a scholar, astrologer and ayurvedic physician. The boy started writing poems at the age of twelve. By the age of fifteen, he had mastered the epics and began to teach students under his uncle's guidance. He sent poems to Malayalam newspapers and journals and by the age of twenty, he had earned the reputation of being a good poet. Vallathol was a voracious reader and possessed unusual powers of concentration and retention. He could recite a poem after hearing it once and he earned the reputation of being an "Ekasruthadharan." Between 1895 and 1900, he published several poems, of which the most important was "Rithuvilasam", an adaptation from Kalidasa, which was noteworthy for its beauty of diction and richness of meaning and imagination.

Family Life

In 1902, the poet married Madhavi Amma, his uncle's daughter. It was a kind of love marriage, which was not without obstacles. A year later, a daughter was born and the poet wrote a poem to celebrate the event. Madhavi Amma was a model house-wife and the couple had, in all, eight children, five sons and three daughters. In 1905, Vallathol started translating Valmiki's Ramayana into Malayalam and completed it in two years. It has become one of the rare treasures in the Malayalam language. During this time, he took up the management of the Kerala Kalpadhrumam Press at Trichur and, in the course of five years, put its finances on a sound basis. In 1910, he left the job and was given a grand send-off and presented with a diamond-studded ring and a lamp.

Vallathol's Poetry.

Poet Vallathol was a self-made man. Except the Sanskrit education he received from his uncle, all his knowledge was acquired by self-study. He read not only epics and Puranas, but on diverse subjects and his wide knowledge was reflected in his poetry. When Vallathol started writing poetry, the pattern in vogue was that of "Venmani Mahan", which was characterised by ornament of language and beauty of diction. But Vallathol, who dived deeply into the Sanskrit classics, was not satisfied with this technique, which was light-hearted and lacked depth. He, therefore, embarked into new realms and evolved his own technique and style. He kept aloof from the controversy on alliteration in poetry between Valia Koyil-Thamburan and Raja Raja Varma and was of opinion that learning, aptitude and perseverance were the essential requisites for a poet. Even though he wrote poems in

both Malayalam and Sanskrit, his real love was for his mother-tongue and he dedicated his life to the enrichment of Malayalam, by producing original works and translations and adaptations from Sanskrit. His "Rithuvilāṣm" and "Vilasalathika" are adaptations from Sanskrit. "Vilasalathika" is one of the most beautiful and dignified romantic epics in Malayalam. Vallathol was capable of extemporaneous poetry-making in Sanskrit and Malayalam. Often he wrote to and replied other poets in poems, replete with his native humour. His letters in Sanskrit and Malayalam verse, will alone comprise a big volume.

His art and Method

Vallathol's poetry was an intimate conversation with nature. He was a keen student of nature and a votary at the altar of beauty. Beauty is the chief hallmark of all his works. He loved life and the beautiful things there-of. Children and flowers formed a common subject of many of his beautiful descriptions. Even the most insignificant subject was made attractive by Vallathol's beauty of diction and construction. He gave a "new look" to many puranic themes, but he always maintained a sense of propriety, as for example in "Anirudhar" and "Father and Daughter." Vallathol's art and method were different from those of other poets. He formed the lines in his mind, while lying awake in bed or during his evening walk. When he began to write down or dictate to his secretary, there would be only some finishing touches or minor alterations to be made. But Vallathol was very much influenced by the Sanskrit poets, Kalidasa, Bhavabhūti, and Sriharsha. Of these, he had the greatest love and veneration for Kalidasa. He was particularly fond of Kalidasa's "Raghuvamśa" and there was a time when he used to read it daily, before going to bed. Vallathol was fond of emulating the style of the old masters and in his great epic, "Chithrayogam", he shows the style of different poets in different portions. Even though he did not know English, he acquainted himself with the method and style of English poets, through his English-knowing friends.

Dravidian Metres

After 1915, there was a profound change in Vallathol's poetry. He stopped writing poems in Sanskrit, except on rare occasions. He felt that it was his duty to serve his poor mother-tongue rather than the rich Sanskrit. He also began to write in the once-forgotten Dravidian metres, like Kaka, Kakali, Makandhamanjari etc. Vallathol was chiefly responsible for their revival in modern Malayalam. To write in Dravidian metres, one should be familiar with the notes and rhythm of Indian music. Vallathol's beauty of construction, depth of ideas and sense of propriety imparted a particular attractiveness to the Dravidian metres. It was from this time that he began to write many of his "Khanda-Kavyas" or smaller epics. In the opinion of some critics, it is the smaller works that make him a "Mahakavi" rather than great epics like "Chithrayogam". Vallathol was not only a poet, but a writer of good Malayalam prose. Sardar K. M. Panikkar has compared his prose style to the style of the English Bible. He was also a humorous speaker and his speeches were simple and full of anecdotes and literary interest.

Part in Freedom Struggle

Poet Vallathol played a notable part in India's freedom struggle by rousing the national consciousness of the people through his powerful pen. He considered Gandhiji as his "Guru" and tried to propagate Gandhiji's ideals through his works. His poem, "My Master" and another one on Khadi have been translated into English and won the admiration of Gandhiji himself. His poem, "Bapuji", describes the events from the time of Gandhiji's assassination to the immersion of his ashes. Sardar Panikkar has praised this work, as being next in excellence, only to the poet's own inimitable work, "Mary Magdalene". "Mary Magdalene" has been translated into English and published in England. The poet has written a soul-stirring song, "Pora Pora", in salutation of the National flag. Though a nationalist to the core, Vallathol was

proud of Kerala, her scenic beauty and rich culture. He tried to reflect, through his poetry, the political, social and economic disabilities and aspirations of the people. He was also influenced by Marxist thought in his ideas, as evidenced in his works, "Song of the peasants" and "Thirur-Ponnani river". Poet Vallathol received several honours from the Maharajas of Travancore and Cochin, including the titles of "Kavithilakan" and "Kavi-Sarvabhouman". In 1948, the Congress Government of Madras appointed him Poet Laureate of Kerala and granted him an allowance of Rs. 1,000/- per year.

His Deafness

A handicap from which the poet suffered throughout his life, was his deafness, which started about the year 1910 and defied all treatment. He once humorously remarked that even though he had lost his power of hearing, he never felt like committing suicide! He has however, bewailed about his defect in the poem, "Badhira-Vilapam", which is one of his priceless gifts to the Malayalam language. But deafness has not stood in the way of his extensive travels in India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon, to popularise "Kathakali" and collect funds for the Kerala Kalamandalam. He also met and made the acquaintance of several eminent persons like Gandhiji, Tagore, Malaviya and Jawaharlal Nehru. In 1951, he went to Warsaw at the invitation of the World Peace Conference. From there, he went to London and stayed there as the guest of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, High Commissioner for India. During the same year, he visited Russia at the invitation of the Russians Writers' Conference. These travels enlarged his knowledge and experience and contributed to the enrichment of his poetry.

Kerala Kalamandalam

Poet Vallathol was no mere dreamer. The Kerala Kalamandalam at Cheruthuruthi, in Kerala, is a standing memorial to the poet's organising ability, perseverance and interest in Art. The Kalamandalam, where

Kathakali artistes are trained, is the first institution of its kind in India and has produced several talented artistes like Arundha Sivaram, Gopinath, Madhavan, Jara Choudhry, Ragini Devi and Leela Dada. Vallathol was interested in Kathakali from his childhood and used to walk several miles, accompanied by his father, to witness Kathakali performances. Seeing the poor state into which the ancient art of Kathakali had fallen, the poet, with the assistance and co-operation of Manakkalath Mukundaraja and other friends, established the Kerala Kalamandalam. He raised funds for the institution, by conducting a lottery and going on a tour of Malaya, from where he collected a substantial amount. He also toured Burma and the major cities of India, with a Kathakali troupe, and conducted Kathakali performances. In 1938 he visited Shantiniketan with a troupe and won the approbation of Poet Tagore, who described Kathakali as an art of a very high order. Poet Vallathol personally supervised the training of Kathakali artistes at the Kalamandalam. The celebrated dancer, Uday Shankar, has visited the Kalamandalam more than once. Many distinguished visitors from all over the world came to the place to witness Kathakali. The poet also revived "Mohiniyattam", another ancient art, which is characterised by beauty of movement and song. With great difficulty, he found a woman who was trained in the art and arranged training of girls under her. Due to the economic depression of the thirties, the Kalamandalam got into financial difficulties and the poet handed over the institution to the Cochin Government. The Government appointed a committee to manage the institution, with Poet Vallathol as President and Art Director.

Vallathol the Man

Poet Vallathol's life was a happy combination of the old and the new. Faith in God and respect for elders were among his noble qualities. He disliked the extremes of atheism and asceticism and he was against superstition and the evils of caste. His principle was to love, enjoy and serve

the world. Even though he was not afraid of death, he used to say humorously, "Supposing one goes to heaven, what is the guarantee that there will be Kathakali there?" What imparted a particular lustre to his scholarship were his simplicity and sincerity. He has helped many aspiring poets with his constructive advice and by correcting their works. He had no exaggerated notions about his own poetry and he often ignored praise or criticism about his works. He was humble enough to revise his translation of Valmiki's Ramayana, thrice, before each succeeding edition. Vallathol lived a happy and comfortable life, depending solely on the income from his earnings. He passed away in the year 1958 at the age of seventy-nine.

THE WORLD COMMUNITY DAY CELEBRATION

BY DR. HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR*

The World Community Day, which has been observed by the Church women of this country for the last 20 years, is a specially significant day. You launched the World Community Day 2 years before the U. N. was born, just as I wrote my book, *The United Nations of the World*, three years before the San Francisco Conference was held to write the Charter for the United Nations Organization. Since the birth of the U. N., you have been observing the World Community Day in terms of the promise the United Nations holds for mankind.

Since 1945 mankind has gone through a number of setbacks in the quest for peace: World War allies fell apart, and instead of the One World we had all hoped for and prayed for, we found ourselves in the midst of a Divided World—a world divided ideologically between communism and democracy, a world suffering from the cold war, which blew up into a hot war in Korea a decade ago. We have a divided Berlin, a divided Germany, a divided India, a divided Korea, a divided Vietnam. This division of the world into blocs, the communist and the free, and this fracturing of national entities into two parts, are a setback to the general tendency of the twentieth century, which is the consolidation of small parts into a large whole.

* Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, a co-worker of the late Mahatma Gandhi has been an American citizen since 1947. He is at present Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Dean of the Division of Arts and Sciences at A. M. & N. College, Pine Bluff, Ark, U.S.A.

As a matter of fact, this distraught world of ours may be viewed from another perspective, from a positive perspective. The same post-war years that saw a divided world also bear testimony to the constructive tendency of our age. First, there emerged the economic union of the Benelux countries—Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg. This economic union served as a foundation for the Common Market, which may one day lead to the formation of the United States of Europe—a hope cherished by William Penn the Quaker and by Immanuel Kant the philosopher.

The war-shattered economies of European nations were rebuilt and put on their feet by American aid through the Marshall Plan; so well did we do our job that Germany and Japan are today shining examples of miracles of rebirth, industrially speaking. Divided though she is, Germany is assuming her role as the workshop of Europe. And in the Orient Japan has resumed her role as the workshop of Asia.

The miracle of the post-war years is, however, not the rebirth of a dynamic Germany and a dynamic Japan; to me, the real miracle of our times is the birth of free nations in Asia and Africa. Peoples who had been held in subjection to foreign rule have come into their own. Today no country in Asia is under foreign tutelage. The Asian Continent which contains more than half the population of the world and Africa with one-tenth of the world's population today presents the spectacle of free nations, engaged in the challenging task of solving the problems of freedom.

The subject peoples of yester-year in Asia

and in Africa are realizing, for the first time, perhaps, that the attainment of freedom, the achievement of nationhood, is the beginning of the road, not the end of the road. And the road they have to traverse is marked: (1) maintenance of freedom, (2) improvement of the economic lot of the masses, (3) introduction of free and compulsory education for all the children of school-going age, (4) development of machinery for maintaining internal peace and stability and (5) for promoting peaceful contacts, in terms of trade and diplomacy, with the rest of the world.

These five signs on the highway to peace, prosperity and progress require the best efforts and eternal vigilance even of well established nations like the United States of America, Great Britain, and others. That they will put a heavy strain on the newly freed nations is a forgone conclusion. These newly freed nations of Asia and Africa have a vast reservoir of man-power, but it is mostly an unskilled man-power. Hence one of their primary tasks is to train their man-power for the machine age. Second, some of these nations have abundant resources—on land, and underground, and in the water—but they are lying dormant because of the underdeveloped state of their economy. Third, illiteracy, unemployment, underproduction, hunger, malnutrition, disease, stalk over most of these lands.

It is in these areas that the know-how and experience of well established, older, more prosperous nations can be of great help to the new nations of Asia and Africa. And I may say in passing that the people of the United States have risen equal to the challenge of our times. The aid we have given to the underdeveloped and developing nations of the world, in terms of food, clothing, funds, capital goods, and skilled personnel, is without parallel in the annals of human history. We may humbly thank God that we have been recipients of His bounties and that He has guided us on the path of service to our fellow men.

But while our motives have been pure, sometimes—I might say, quite often—our ways of rendering service have done harm to ourselves as well as to those whom we were trying to serve. The techniques and the resources with which we solve our problems here in America are usually

unsuited to an underdeveloped country. Furthermore, unacquainted as we are with the folkways and mores of the host country, we may unintentionally offend those peoples and hurt their pride. The lessons from such complexities are sometimes learned after irreparable harm is done in international relations. Finally, I must castigate in no uncertain terms the foolish attitude of our State Department that we must aid all and sundry if they can assure us that they are anti-communist. The tragedy of this attitude of our government is to be found in the misuse made of our aid by the government of South Vietnam which has been using our funds and military equipment to persecute innocent Buddhists who constitute over 75 per cent of the population of the country.

Our enemy in the newly freed nations of Asia and Africa is not the communist ideology: our real enemy is poverty and hunger, disease and death, illiteracy and superstition, unemployment and underproduction, unbridled autocracy and feudalism. These are the enemies we must fight. If these enemies are successfully overcome, communism will liquidate itself.

We are learning. We have come to realize what Mahatma Gandhi had preached over a decade ago. The world community and peace on this earth can be achieved, not through imposition by the powerful nations of the world but through the voluntary co-operation of all free nations. Thus freedom for all nations is a precondition to the evolution of our world community and to the establishment of a warless world.

Let me quote Gandhi's own words: "Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact, *i.e.*, when peoples belonging to different countries have organized themselves and are able to act as one man." But Gandhi's nationalism had no truck with "narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness." For him, patriotism was the same as humanity. To quote his immortal words once again: "I am patriotic because I am human and humane. My patriotism includes the good of mankind in general Isolated independence is not the goal of world States. It is voluntary interdependence I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal interdependence rather than independence."

This concept of patriotism as being synony-

more with the world community needs to govern the thinking and actions of older nations as well as of newly freed nations. Happily for our generation, the United Nations Organization provides a machinery which helps us to identify patriotism with the good of all mankind. A hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln observed, "This nation cannot endure half free and half slave." Today, we have to raise our sights to the global scale and say: "This world community of ours cannot endure peacefully long half free and half slave, half prosperous and half hungry."

In the United Nations, over a hundred nations, most of them underdeveloped, some developing, a few developed, are co-operating one with another as equal members of a team. I hope the wise insights of some of these economically underdeveloped but culturally developed nations will be availed of by us and by the other economically developed nations for the common good of all mankind.

I may conclude by congratulating the Church Women of Pine Bluff and of the whole world on their vision and persistence in promoting the goal of a world community. You are engaged in a pioneering task, but soon you will be joined by men of goodwill the world over. My own book, *The United Nations of the World*, first published in 1942, was a pioneer concept. I have the satisfaction of seeing the United Nations Organization actually formed and functioning for eighteen years. What is more, I take humble pride in the fact that some of the points advocated by me in 1942 have become a reality in our day—and

may yet lead to the transformation of the United Nations Organization into the United Nations of the World.

For instance, I was the first one to use the word "underdeveloped" instead of "backward" countries. Again, the concept of "human rights" was for the first time set forth in my book—now we have the Human Rights Charter of the United Nations. My picture of the many agencies of the UNW (United Nations of the World) has been realized in the organization of the UNO (United Nations Organization) whose agencies are doing excellent nation-building work the world over: UNESCO, WHO, Social and Economic Council, to mention but three agencies.

The past twenty years, you, the Church Women, have been engaged in the pioneer task of promoting the idea of a world community. If the world community is to be a reality in the next twenty years, you and I and all of us will have to pray for God's blessings and guidance that we may put into practice the twin precepts: (1) "God hath made of one blood all the nations of the world to dwell on the face of this earth," and (2) "I am my neighbor's keeper." These twin precepts are derived from the two commandments of Jesus, implicit in all High Religion: Love of God and Love of Fellow Man.

I hope twenty years later it may be possible for those who celebrate the World Community Day to say that the way is cleared for the turning of the sword into the plowshare and for the establishment of peace on earth and goodwill among men.



METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF RURAL RESEARCH

By BISHWA B. CHATTERJEE
National Institute of Community Development

Introduction

Basic research processes in the social sciences have, over the last few decades, been fairly clearly articulated. A common frame of reference is shared by the accepted research techniques. However the techniques themselves need suitable modification for adapting them to particular areas in which the problem happens to lie. Thus the research methods suited to small primary groups may not prove useful when applied to larger communities. Social anthropological studies covering entire communities or culture groups, fall back heavily upon survey methods, which are admittedly again very different from those which call for experimental manipulations of selected variables under standardized conditions. Only the latter lend themselves to drawing conclusions about depth phenomena in human relations and activities. Thus research in the rural setting is found to possess certain special features, which will be discussed in this paper.

Methods of Rural Research

The usual methods of research which appear to be fairly standardized and find extensive application for rural studies are first briefly described below.

1. USING AVAILABLE RECORDS AS SOURCE MATERIAL: A variety of records and documents can be used for rural research. Census reports, records maintained by the village patwari, records maintained by different departments like Agriculture, Irrigation, Health etc; records of village schools, village dispensaries, etc., may all be used for obtaining valuable information. Accounts maintained by the village grocer, records of births, deaths and marriages, genealogical tables maintained by the village priest, and records of pancha-

yat samitis and gram panchayats are examples of rich sources of original data which can be tapped for particular studies. The researcher has to show ingenuity and insight in discovering and making use of such available records, as emphasized by Rallis (1955). What sort of records may prove useful will depend upon the precise formulation of the aim of the research in question.

Personal documents like diary, autobiographical records, letters, even school essays, etc., are theoretically acceptable material for utilization, though these types of primary records will not be found in abundance in the village. However, a problem that is common to the use of any type of records for research purposes is the question of validity of their contents. It is essential to ensure that the material which is taken as evidence has intrinsic validity. The whole issue becomes quite complicated when use is made of contents of the usual mass communication media like the press, the radio, movies, literary productions, etc. While their relevance to rural studies may not be very great, the possibility of distortion of their contents is considerable, as happens frequently in such processes as spreading of rumour, formation of prejudices and ethnic stereotypes, etc.

2. OBSERVATIONAL METHODS:

Methods under this class are usually subdivided into three subclasses:

- (a) Participant Observation
- (b) Systematic Observation
- (c) Observation in standardized experimental or test situations.

Of these the first two classes appear to have considerable scope for rural studies. The last one has many limitations for rural research. Good descriptions of these methods are to be found in Jahoda et. al. (1951), and in the article by Whyte (1951).

All, are agreed that the first important

step in the participation observation method is to gain community or group co-operation, for which the following four guide points may be useful.

- (i) The investigator should give brief and simple explanation of the purpose of the study.
- (ii) Explanation should generally cover the entire range of activities, so that fresh explanations are not called for from time to time.
- (iii) Support and co-operation of some key persons in the community should be enlisted. Implicit support of the sarpanch, or the Dalpati of the Village Voluntary Force, or the local school teacher or the village priest will enable the investigator to obtain requisite co-operation from larger sections of the community.
- (iv) Assistance may also be sought from a few key persons of a different type in the community: those who are themselves good observers and are placed in strategic positions to observe others unobtrusively.

Another question relates to the amount and extent of participation by the observer. The optimum level of 'immersion' by the observer-participant has to be determined carefully: too little 'immersion' prevents a free flow of information, and too much of 'immersion' prevents objective, accurate and complete recording of data. The following suggestions made by Whyte (1951) are useful:

- (a) Total 'immersion' should not be aimed at.
- (b) Active sympathy to the community and its aims should be shown, but in judicious quantity.
- (c) There should be frequent contacts with the villagers, of moderate duration.
- (d) Taking sides in group conflicts should be avoided, unless the matter involves an overbearing moral issue, or apprehended breach of law and order.

Systematic observation techniques applied to small groups have made consider-

able progress in recent times. For example, the Bales technique, and its variants (see Zander for a brief description, 1951), can be extended to studies in the rural setting, and can be adapted for studying various problems like identification of rural leaders, decision making in gram panchayats, communication patterns in group meetings, etc., etc.

3. INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES AND APPROACHES: These techniques differ from the foregoing in one important dimension: in being more structured. Within the interview, the degree of its structuredness can be systematically varied, from the highly structured formal interviews to completely unstructured, permissive, non-directive interviews of the client-centered type. In recent times the open-ended, semi-structured interview method has gained in popularity, because the greater permissiveness of the interview situation appears to favour spontaneity on the part of the respondents. Client-centered techniques which possess a marked therapeutic orientation seem to offer considerable scope for rural research. As a general principle it may be stated that in situations where respondents are likely to feel constrained or threatened due to the formality of the atmosphere, non-directive interviewing may elicit the needed information, without in any way sacrificing the precision of the data obtained thereby.

4. SOCIOMETRIC TECHNIQUES. These techniques, depending upon the gathering of social preference data, may also be used in certain types of rural studies, such as identifying local leaders, and local factions and tensions, and for measuring various types of group characteristics like group solidarity, group cohesivity, inter-group attraction and repulsion etc.

5. ACTION RESEARCH PROGRAMMES:

Action research programmes are not so much methods of research as methods of initiating controlled change in a social situation by manipulating relevant group variables. In addition to its pragmatic and applied orientation, it is based on clearly formulated hypotheses or premises, and the important variables are clearly recognized,

and the outcome of the action programme is utilized for further refining and reformulating the theoretical underpinnings of the action programme itself. In a miniature scale, role playing or psychodrama, if arranged with a clearly formulated therapeutic aim, is an action research program. Such terms as social engineering and human engineering as used by the sociologists are gaining relevance to the extent that well formulated action research programmes are carried out scientifically, and the outcomes are incorporated into still larger action programmes involving large numbers of people. To cite one example: it was found that displaced persons from East Bengal had a tendency to abandon some of the colonies meant for their settlement and return to the hardships of the Calcutta pavements. Various remedies were suggested and tried from time to time with indifferent results. Here, a few well formulated action research programmes could have been tried, the results of which could be used fruitfully in indicating the overall rehabilitation procedure likely to prove most effective for this class of displaced persons. It may be seen that many community development programmes can be more successful if these are based upon the results of some select action research studies.

6. PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES. These utilize sophisticated application of specialized psychological instruments to one individual at a time. The stimulus material presented is very unstructured and ambiguous, so that the responses elicited are related to the deeper levels of motivation and personality of the respondent. By their very nature the projective techniques have limited application for rural research in our country.

Philosophy of Rural Research Methodology

The methods of study and research briefly described above find general application in various discipline as of the social sciences. Adaptation of these techniques to rural studies have to take into consideration

the basic philosophy of rural research methodology. Srinivas (1955) has rightly pointed out that when a social scientist goes to stay in the village for months or even years, his primary aim not merely to collect a mass of unsystematic information, say about curious social customs or beliefs or peculiar social customs or rituals; his main aim is to study a theoretical sociological problem with its manifold implications and ramifications, so as to contribute to the growing body of theoretical knowledge about the nature of human societies and its functions. According to Srinivas, too much stress on utilitarian research may become self-defeating and responsible for lowering of intellectual standards. Yang (1955) very clearly states that the primary objective of social research is the desire to derive sociological generalizations from the facts observed, though in some surveys with immediate practical purpose the formulation of the social theory may not be emphasized. However, even with the aims of the social scientist clearly articulated in terms of their theoretical underpinnings, the methodological aspects of the research process itself deserve clear understanding. Following Rallis (1955) the main issues involved may be stated thus: the social theorist is interested in the answers to such questions as: What is going on? What sort of interactions are present? What type of relationships is active? How are group and individual behaviours patterned? What are the various motives, attitudes, prejudices, etc. that are operating and being projected? The research methodologist, in turn, is interested in finding out the **right methods** of ascertaining what is happening, and what are the dominant interactions. He intends to standardize the methods and procedures to ascertain, record, codify, measure, gauge, index and communicate, after proper analysis, the social inter-relationships, motives, attitudes and patterns of group and individual behaviours. Thus, as Rallis puts it, the methodologists, "are the theoreticians to the practitioners of empirical research." Rallis has also listed certain pre-requisites for making social science research methodology yield the right instruments for the

appropriate research situations. The prerequisites are:

1. Deep insight into the component parts of the research process; understanding of the basic methodological aspects inherent in the research design.
2. Clear differentiation between the inductive and the deductive analysis of data gathered from the field.
3. Flexibility of the research question and its adaptability to the level of proof or validation attempted.
4. Appropriateness of the context.
5. Role and impact of the investigator on the group.
6. Precise and unambiguous definition of the research situation, with clear spelling out of the domain of response data included in the study.
7. Enlisting rapport and co-operation of the community.
8. Methods of verification and proper sampling of response data.
9. Scope for utilizing data from convergent sources and their relative freedom from distortion.
10. Technological facilities with regard to data gathering, codification and processing.

A clear understanding of these prerequisites of rural research will point to certain methodological problems which are discussed below:

Methodological Problems of Rural Research

Any study of a rural problem or phenomenon, irrespective of its scope, orientation, content, types of instruments used for data collection, the level of language used, the techniques used for data collection and processing, and the depth of data analysis, has got to give first consideration to the overall **setting**. The totality of the village setting is determined by a number of factors:

1. Physical factors such as the area of the village; population; density of population; other ecological factors.
2. Caste and class composition; stratification based upon religion, ethnic

composition, language, means of livelihood.

3. Channels of communication available and preferred; degree of isolation from similar settlements, centers of resources, of legislation, of social and cultural influences.
4. Power structure and political hierarchy; leadership characteristics; composition of administrative bodies like village panchayats; relationship between official and non-official sources of power and leadership.
5. Occupational patterns; level of employment; means of subsistence; extent of co-operative facilities and collective bargaining characteristics.
6. Nature of community organizations present such as welfare agencies, educational institutions, recreation centers.
7. Intra—and inter—group characteristics; factions, cliques and coteries.

Keeping the above criteria in view, some of the problems that the research methodologists face, with regard to village setting are discussed now.

(a) **Problem of rapport**: The building of rapport with the village community presents some intriguing problems. From the theoretical point of view the elements of the rapport building are known. Rallis (1955) lists the following as ingredients for the building of rapport:

- i. Understanding of mutual communication system.
- ii. Congruence of frames of reference.
- iii. Acceptance of reciprocal values.
- iv. Trust, confidence and lack of reticence.

It follows that an approach which favours intimacy of face to face contact between the researcher and the villagers, which provides evidence of friendliness and positive effect, which enhances the feeling of security, which invites opening up and spontaneous expression of opinions, will tend to foster the process of rapport building.

Dube (1955) has pointed out that abstract rules as listed above, have to be translated into concrete actions in the rural setting. First the convenience of the villager

has to be given attention. The villager is periodically busy and idle; the time sequence of his busy period and the lean period has to be co-ordinated with the data gathering operation. The reaction of the village community toward the investigator is an important limiting factor with regard to rapport building. If the investigator does not know the language or dialect of the people, if he dresses differently, has different food and living habits, and by his gestures and words gives the impression that he is critical of village customs and people, rapport cannot be easily established. Lack of literacy of the villager may also delay the building of rapport. The villager will open his mouth when he is fully certain that it is safe to do so before the investigator. The shy and reticent villager who recoils from the individual interview situation may be drawn into a lively discussion in a group situation, if judiciously prodded and provoked by his fellow men. Thus data which may be difficult to obtain in a face-to-face structured situation are made available in a group situation which is less structured. Of course group discussions in the rural setting present some complexities which tax the ingenuity and tactfulness of the investigator, who has to control the general direction of the group discussion and has to see that it does not become discursive, purposeless and acrimonious. Skillfully guided, the group discussion held under a permissive atmosphere is a source of rich sociological data.

A particular method of establishing rapport, which succeeds in one situation, may fail in another situation. The method of establishing rapport and seeking co-operation from the community has to be flexible to suit the particular occasion. The writer was once conducting a house to house survey of toys and play-things available in rural homes in Mewar, Rajasthan. The team of investigators which included a couple of girls conversant with the local dialect was not meeting with much success in building rapport with the village children from whom the data had to be collected on the spot, essentially consisting of making an inventory of toys and playthings present in each

home. However an idea borrowed from another research project that was simultaneously going on helped the team to solve its problem. This other research was a projective test called the Toy World Test in which a collection of toys and made-to-scale replicas of material possessions found in typical Indian homes, was being used. Out of this collection a small kit was made containing some interesting and attractive toys which was carried by the team while visiting the rural homes. After reaching a home, the team would call the children, open the kit before them, and invite the children to play with them; thereby the initial shyness of the children would be overcome. A little later the children would be urged to bring their own toys to be shown to the team. By that time the children would be eager to show their possessions to them, so that an on-the-spot inventory could easily be made. This method which succeeded well with unsophisticated village children might not work with sophisticated urban children.

(b) Problem of Sampling: In any rural study another question that has to be answered is: What is going to be the unit of observation? How many such units are to be included in the research study? The basic unit of observation will depend upon the nature of the study. One investigator was studying the pattern of acceptance and adoption of improved methods of agriculture by a community. Here the most natural unit is the 'family,' and the head of the family or any other responsible member of the family is able to provide the data sought. Another study on rural indebtedness pattern, taking the family as a unit may not do so well so far as the precision of information is concerned. In still another study on prevalent child rearing practices the family as the basic unit will be too large to provide the intra-familial variability which is relevant to this study. Thus the size and composition of the unit of observation, and the number of such units to be included within the sample have to be carefully decided in the light of the total setting and the aim of the study.

The ecological factors of rural settle-

ment pattern have also to be considered. It is a far cry from the anthropological studies of small tribal communities to studying entire rural or semi-rural communities possessing multi-dimensional stratification of great complexity depending upon its proximity with an urban centre, their channels of communication and transport, their employment pattern, and their social institutions. Adequate sampling will ensure that the various substructures within the community under study have been fully represented.

In this connection the factor of the scope and extent of interaction between the rural community on one hand and the urban centers of administrative power and supply lines should be clearly recognized. The mere fact of geographical distance of a rural settlement from an urban center may hide important factors, and may even give a distorted picture of the setting. Thus the culture of the bustees of Calcutta, chawls of Bombay and the juggis and jhonpras of Delhi, by cutting across rural and urban patterns, partake of a complexity which defies description. In pre-partition East Bengal, there was a village 200 miles away from Calcutta, 100 miles away from the nearest rail-head and reached after a steamer journey followed by a three mile boat journey, which had the proud nickname of "Calcutta-Calcutta" which had some justification in terms of its palatial buildings, broad roads, hospitals, schools, a well-laid out 'hat' (market-place) and other amenities. The social scientist will ask the question: What are the factors responsible for this type of a typical situation? What are the complex interactional forces that give rise to the culture of the slums in the very heart of the metropolis, and the prosperous, clean village far away from the capital city? Social research does not confine itself to the descriptive, taxonomical level, but tries to go to the roots, to unravel the interplay of the complex causative factors giving rise to a particular patterning of socio-cultural phenomenon.

(3) Problem of Validity of Evidence: The rural scientist does not ignore the historical

records available within a community, but is also cautious to minimize bias in his data. Modern 'historiography' sets much store upon contemporary chronicled records. But many contemporary village records are full of errors and mis-representation of facts. The record of the village patwari, by themselves a valuable source information, if uncritically accepted may lead to erroneous conclusions. Social anthropologists and rural sociologists set much store on folklore, folktales, folk-songs and similar cultural media. These are admittedly rich source of data if only used critically along with other concurrent material. This is imperative if theoretical conclusions are sought to be drawn on the basis of content analysis of such cultural material obtained from the community.

(d) Problems of the Extent of Depth: Large rural studies fare better if instead of only one or two investigators, a well chosen team is used which may profitably include a few who belong to the local community, and who have been properly trained in the fieldwork aspects of the problem under study. This training will ensure that the local field investigator does not ignore such rural phenomena which appear trivial and insignificant to him because of his familiarity, and yet may have important scientific implications. Another problem arises if the investigator is a purely local man: other villagers may identify him with a particular interest group, and to the extent of this group identification they may withdraw from opening out before him, by attributing to him motives, interests and leanings, obtained from his alleged group membership.

Action research programmes, as pointed out by Pareek and Khanna (1961) may provide material suitable for depth studies. But this is possible if the relevant variables are controlled to a reasonable degree. The careful attention to rigorous control of relevant variables that is a pre-requisite for all projective studies is not easily attainable in the rural setting, which limits their use. Conclusions drawn from projective tests applied to village people have to be treated with caution for this reason.

Summary and Conclusions

A research project can be launched upon only after taking into full consideration the total rural setting in all its ramifications and overlapping permeations of influences and counter-influences operating upon the community. The specific instruments to be used, the way they are to be used for obtaining the required data would have to reflect the complexity of the phenomena being observed. The instrument has to be so flexible and tailor-made that they fit the occasion. When the villager is fully pre-occupied with his work in the field say with harvesting, or irrigation or sowing operations, to confront him with a long questionnaire is not a desirable procedure. Participation-observation technique, which may be useful here, may be self-defeating if applied to a study of the village panchayat working.

The scope for rural research in this country is vast. The need of the hour is the raising of the standard of the current rural research practices in our country, so that much of the social planning and economic development programmes which depend upon the conclusions derived from these studies may have a firm footing. One major way of raising the research standard, with the limited resources available for this purpose, is by stricter adherence to the methodological aspects of the research problems, some of which have been discussed in this article.

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BUDDHIST CULTURE IN BENGAL

By SUDHANSU BIMAL BARUA, M.A.,
Research Student, University of Calcutta

The dying flame of Buddhism took its last shelter in the soil of Bengal. She kept this flame ablaze for many hundred years with all her earnestness in the teeth of various oppositions. This flame, in course of time enkindled the whole of Asia. Thus Lord Buddha's India receives the homage of Asia and the whole of the world through the noble efforts of the Bengalees. Bengalee life received an inspiration unprecedented in its history by contact with Buddhism, a clear manifestation of which may be found in our national life and literature.

Buddha's Visit to Bengal

Among the chief disciples of the Buddha there was a Bengalee. His name was Bergisa. He was gifted with poetic talents. It is stated in the Theragatha : Baṅge Yatoti Bengiso vacane issarotica—He is rightly called Bengisa being born in Bengal where poetry is much appreciated, and himself being a poet. It is also stated in the Sanyukta Nikaya that once Lord Buddha himself paid a visit to Setakanagara of Sumbhabhumi in Bengal. We have no other evidence of the Buddha's visit as referred to in the tale of Sumagadha, the daughter of the famous Banker Anathapindikā. By this time the Buddha had been staying at Pundrabardhana (Northern Bengal) for about six months. Hiuen-Tsang, the famous Chinese traveller narrated in his accounts that the Buddha himself came down to Bengal and preached his religion at Pundrabardhana, Samatata and Karnasuvarna. But modern historians do not give so much importance to this. So one cannot ascertain whether Buddhism was preached in Bengal during the lifetime of Gautama the Buddha.

Buddhism in Bengal

But it is beyond doubt that Buddhism had obtained a footing in North Bengal

before the Maurya Emperor Asoka (273-232 B.C.). This is best illustrated by the votive inscription of Sanchi Stupa. One of the donors who met the expenditure of erecting the gates of the Sanchi Stupas was a Bengalee lady : Dhamataya danam Punnavadhana—The gift of Dhamata or Dharma-datta, inhabitant of Pundrabardhana. This proves that Buddhism spread over Pundrabardhana before the second century B.C. During the reign of the Emperor Asoka Buddhism got a sound footing in Bengal. In the fifth century A.D. Buddhism flourished in Bengal. This can be known from the accounts of the Chinese traveller Fa-hien. At that time he learnt Buddhist Philosophy at Tamralipti for two years. He saw twenty two Buddhist monasteries at Tamralipti. One can rightly deduce from this as to what extent Buddhism spread over Bengal.

Hiuen-Tsang left a vivid account to show that Buddhism was found to be the dominating religion in Bengal by the seventh century A.D. At that time there lived thousands of Buddhist monks in the various monasteries at Samatata, Kajangal, Pundrabardhana; Tamralipti and Karnasuvarna. Besides, from the accounts given by the two other Chinese travellers, I-Tsing and Sheng-Chi, we can have a nice history of the condition of Buddhism in Bengal and also of the culture and wisdom of the Bengalee Buddhists. The name of Silabhadra, who was the abbot of Nalanda University, may be mentioned in this connection. This illustrious son of Bengal will remain ever bright in the memory of the Bengalees.

Pala Period

In the middle of the 8th century A.D. Buddhism became very influential in Bengal with the rise of the Pala Kings. The age of the Palas is known as the Golden Period in the history of Bengal. The Pala period was matchless for achievements in the various

spheres of our national life. "During the four centuries of their rule, Bengal and Bihar remained the last stronghold of Buddhism which gradually lost hold in India. But it was precisely during this period that Mahayana Buddhism, under the patronage of the Palas, became a powerful international force, and exercised dominant influence from Tibet in the north to the islands of the Malay Archipelago in the South." (R. C. Majumdar—**History of Bengal** Vol. I). Vikramshila, Sompur Vihar, Odantapur Vihar, Jagaddal and the Nalanda University were immortal achievements of the Palas.

Sahajayana and Charyapada

Before the advent of the 8th century A.D. Buddhism underwent a change. The Mahayana form of Buddhism had developed into a form of mysticism. This religion remained dominant in Bengal and Bihar for centuries. Its influence spread outside India over Tibet, Java, Malay, Sumatra, etc. This mystic form of Buddhism is generally known as Tantrayana. One of the main systems of the Tantrayana is Sahajayana. The Sahajia Yogis composed some verses known as Charyapadas to popularise their religion. These were generally composed roughly between 10th and 12th century A.D. These Charyapadas were the first sources from which sprang forth the fountain of Bengali language and literature. The Sahajias had no belief in worship and mantras. They expressed their disregard for all these external rites and performances :

Mantana tantana dheyana dharana,
sabbabi re bada biobhamakarana.

—All these incantations, rites and worships are only causes leading to puzzles. From their subtle criticism of those old ceremonies and beliefs we can easily have an idea as to how free thinking and intellectual growth were working in them.

Voidness (Sunyata) and compassion (Karuna) together form the most peaceful state of the Bodhichitta which is the only desirable thing of the Sahajias. This peaceful state was the foundation of their meditation. The philosophical interpretation of the

charyapadas were not only the proofs of their superiority, but had their literary value nonetheless. Besides, the historical value found delineated there in about the contemporary society of Bengal is by no means insignificant. These rhymes augers what we call in common parlance—'people's literature' and have, indeed, built up the edifices of the Bengali literature. The religious thoughts of the Bauls and the Vaishnavas of Bengal and other mystic saints of the middle ages were also highly influenced by the Sahajia Buddhism. But it is very essential to remember that the amalgamation of the trend of Tantrism in Bengal with the pondering moods of the Sahajias reached such a state that it deviated to a great extent from the ideals of original Buddhism.

Age of Reactions: Advent of the Sena Rulers: Muslim Invasion

Then came the age of reactions against Buddhism. This age extends roughly from the thirteenth century to the Seventeenth century. The thirteenth century is an age of revival of the Brahminical religion in the history of India. By this time at the advent of the Senas, the Shaiva and the Vaishnava religion got a tremendous impetus and again the Vedic and the mythological ceremonies, rites and rituals regained their supremacy. At that time Buddhism was not only deprived of the royal patronage of the Palas and the Chandras but it had to confront many oppositions. The Senas and the Burmans were very conservative. They had no such liberal outlook as the Palas and the Chandras. It is important to note that neither the Senas nor the Burmans were originally Bengalees. They were immigrants in Bengal. In this respect the Palas and the Chandras were really Bengalees. The Bengalees still enshrine the memory of their beloved Mahipal, Yogipal and Bhogipal in their folk songs. At that time Buddhism had to face a two fold opposition—on one side the reactionary force of the Brahminical society and the Muslim invasion on the other side. By the inhuman cruelty of the Muslim invaders the Buddhist monasteries

which were the nucleus of Buddhism were destroyed. Thus the dying Buddhism of Bengal took its last shelter in the frontiers of Bengal mainly in the regions of Chittagong and Tripura. These Buddhists of the Eastern part of Bengal have been keeping the dying flames of Buddhism burning.

The reaction of the Brahminical society against Buddhism has expressed itself in many ways. The revived Brahminism made every effort to wipe out a great and noble chapter of Buddhism from the pages of Indian history. Though once they declared the Buddha one of the incarnations (Avatara) of Vishnu and composed a few lines praising the Buddha, still it finds very little room in the vast scriptures of Brahminical society. Works like Chaitanya Bhagavat (of Vrindaban Das), Chaitanya Charitamrita (of Krishna Das Kaviraj) and Danasagar (by Ballal Sen) show the stern antipathy of the Brahminical religion towards Buddhism. In one chapter of the Chaitanya Bhagavat we find that Nityananda Mahaprabhu, one of the chief disciples of Chaitanyadeva, angrily kicks on the heads of the peaceloving Buddhists and drives them away. We can find other proofs of hatred and spite from the part of the 'modest' Vaishnavas towards the 'atheist' and heretic Buddhists. We hear that the Vaishnava ideal is to cherish unbound love even to the lowest chandalas. But do their attitude and behaviour towards the Buddhists bear any testimony to this? Due to the reactions of the Brahminical society many Buddhist deities had to take various disguises and sometimes the images of Lord Buddha too had to conceal themselves under the guises of Siva, Jagannath etc.

Dark Age

Then came the Age of Oblivion. No longer was such distinct exposition of Buddhist culture to be found in our literature. Since in the last part of the seventeenth century our nation became oblivious of it. There may perhaps be some scattered allusions available here and there. As the Buddha and Buddhist culture lost their pristine positions in our national life so

were they wiped out from literature as well. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen expressed his deep grief in this regard and said, "even the people of Vikramapura totally forgot the name of Dipankara, the illustrious son of Bengal. Did anybody even hear the name of Vikramsila, Nalanda, Odantapur and Suvarna Vihar? We had only learnt to take pride in the name of Yudhisthira, Bhima etc. We had a great fascination for the mythological characters like Dhruva and Prahlada. We even forgot the great war of Kalinga which took place near our house and that by killing millions of soldiers the Emperor Asoka became repentant. But we learn in verse from the legends of old far off days when and where the monkey king Sugriva along with his followers going to fight with the giant Kumbhakarna, entered into his stomach and came out through the holes of his ears, and when and through what direction Maruti taking the Gandhamadan mountain on his shoulder for the recovery of Laksmana from the piercing spear, entered into the kingdom of Lanka."*

(Vrihat Banga)

Age of Revival

But this oblivion of our national life cannot be everlasting. So one day the light dawned tearing the darkness, and came the era of revival. Towards the last part of the nineteenth century, with the reawakening of our national life, the Bengalees again came to realise the glory of the Buddha and Buddhist culture. This was actually quite natural for Bengal where thinkers like Raja Rammohan, Kesab Chandra Sen and Rabindranath Tagore were born. This Buddha consciousness of young Bengal reflected in every sphere of our culture and literature. Savants like Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, Saint Aghorenath, Satyendranath Tagore (elder brother of Rabindranath Tagore), Sarat Chandra Das, Haraprasad Shastri, Charu Chandra Bhattacharya and Isan Chandra Ghosh devoted themselves to the restoration of the Buddhist heritage. Besides, 'Buddhadev Charita' drama (1885 A.D.) of Girish Chandra Ghosh, 'Amitava' (1895

*The legends of Valmiki Ramayana.

A.D.) by Nabin Chandra Sen and also poems like 'Buddhabaran' and 'Buddha Purnima' of Satyendranath Dutta threw much light upon the thought of contemporary Bengal.

Rabindranath Tagore

In Rabindranath Tagore we find the sole expression of Bangali thought for the cultivation of Buddhist culture. Boundless are the contributions made by Rabindranath for the establishment of the Buddha and the Buddhist culture in the annals of Bengal and India. His devotion to Buddhist culture has been beautifully expressed in one of his sayings: "Materials of different shades of Indian thought and culture are confined in Buddhist literature and due to the lack of intimacy with them the entire history of India remains unfulfilled. Being convinced of it, cannot a few youths of our country dedicate themselves to the restoration of the Buddhist heritage and make it a mission in life"? At that time Rabindranath deputed Prof. Nityananda Binode Goswami to Ceylon and Burma for higher studies in Buddhism. Besides, Tagore's Santiniketan is today one of the greatest symposiums of Buddhist culture.

Buddhist culture has found its spontaneous expressions to a deep and great extent in the poems, songs, dramas and essays of Rabindranath. Rabindranath realised that Indian civilization reached its peak through the Buddhist culture. He observes, "The spread of industry, commerce and imperial power was never so prominent in this country as it was during the rise and under the influence of Buddhism." (Jatrar Purbapatra—Pather Sanchay) so the poet looked back again and again to the glorious past of India for solace in the midst of our present agonies. The poet earnestly prays to the Buddha who was the great leader of that glorious chapter of Indian history:

Bring to this country once again the
blessed name

Which made the land of thy birth sacred
to all distant lands!

Let thy great awakening under the
Bodhi tree be fulfilled.

Sweeping away the veil of unreason
and let, at the end of an
oblivious night
Freshly blossom out in India thy remembrance!

—Parisesh Poem. 37.

The flow of Buddhist spirit which Rabindranath had once brought forth in our literature will never stop. It is hopeful that in our present Bengali literature too we find the right cultivation of Buddhist traditions.

Bengalee Buddhist writers of Chittagong

The contributions of the Bengalee Buddhist writers in the revival of Buddhist culture are not less significant in our country. Really speaking, the Buddhist writers of the nineteenth century were the pioneers who introduced Buddhist culture in the field of Bengali literature. Though they remained still unknown to the historians of Bengali literature they were not insignificant. They not only kept alive the lost flame of Buddhism in India but also added a valuable chapter to the Bengali literature. Poet Phulchandra is the foremost amongst the Buddhist writers in Bengal. He was born in the village of Noapara in Chittagong district where poet Nabin Chandra Sen was born. A few ballads written before Phulchandra are also found to be existing. But the names of the authors were unknown. Phulchandra composed 'Baudha Ranjka' (1873?) under the patronage of the Queen Kalindi of Chittagong Hill Tracts. Amongst other writers and poets the names of Pandit Dharmaraj Barua, Nabaraj Barua, Bhikshu Agrasar and poet Sarbananda Barua are worth mentioning. Sarbananda showed his poetic talent in his boyhood. Based on the 'Life' of Gautama the Buddha he wrote 'Jagajyoti' (The Light of the world) which became famous at that time. Going through the manuscripts of 'Jagajyoti' the poet Nabin Chandra exclaimed, "Sarbananda, I would have not written 'Amitava,' if I had knowledge of your 'Jogajyoti.' This sincere appreciation of the poet speaks volumes about the poetic genius of Sarbananda. Besides, many a person took interest in introducing Buddhist thought in Bengal.

literature. By this time amongst the Bodhi may be mentioned. So one can easily understand that the Buddhist writers of Bauddha, Bandhu, Jagarani Buddhist India, Bengal sowed the seeds of Buddhist culture Sanghasaki, Bauddha Bani, Uday and Sam- in our national life and literature.

MAITHILI HAS BEEN FOR A LONG TIME AND IS TODAY A LIVING LANGUAGE

By Dr. JAYAKANTA MISHRA, M.A. D.Phil,
Assistant Professor, Allahabad University

THE words in the title of this essay are quoted from a recent pronouncement by the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is a pity that while many would readily accept the first part of this statement they might be ignorant of the second part. The fate of Mithila and Maithili is in many ways parallel to that of Greek literature and culture. Till recently when a Greek litterateur had won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1963 there was a common belief that Greek literature is a thing of the past and there is perhaps no remarkable achievement of it in modern times.

Glories of early Maithili Literature (10th-15th Century)

It is true Maithili had a very glorious past—perhaps as glorious as that of Greek. The rise of modern vernacular literatures in North India was heralded by Maithili—in the *Bauddha Gan O Loha* of the Siddhas in South-East Mithila, in the large prose work and the dramatic lyrics of Jyotirishwar Thakkura who flourished round about 1324 A.D. and in the wonderful witchery of the prose, drama and lyrics of the great Vidyapati (1360-1448).

Middle Maithili Literature (16th-19th Century)

The influence of Maithili during the later years is also being recognized. Maithili exercised immense influence over the whole of Eastern India—Assam developed its lyrics and dramas in Maithili, Bengal and Orissa their Vaisnab Padavali literature, and Nepal its

dramas. Moreover, the medieval drama of Maithili—the great Kirtaniya Drama—fills a large gap in the history of Indian stage in Northern India. After the downfall of the Sanskrit drama it was in the quiet courts of Mithila that drama found a refuge in the face of the Muslim antipathy towards it as an “anti-religious” form of literature. In the obscure jungles and marshes of Mithila a new vernacular drama arose which kept on the North-Indian tradition of play writing. Several hundred dramas were written and, more important, acted in Maithili during 16th-18th centuries in the Hindu Courts of Mithila and Nepal.

Modern Maithili Literature (1880-1963)

The fact remains to be emphasized that Maithili continued to flourish even after the Early and Middle periods, that even today it is a flourishing and living literature. The trends of Maithili literature have changed, as they must, if a literature and language are a living entity. Today it has almost discarded its old script called Tirhuta and adopted the pan-Indian script of Sanskrit (viz., Devakshar). Maithili has also begun to give greater emphasis to prose. New forms of literature mostly influenced by the Western forms of literature have come to stay. Changed though it is, it is still continuing, alive and kicking. It is futile to attempt to suppress it by refusing to recognise it in the Sahitya Akademi or in the constitution of the land. Let us here make an acquaintance with a few of the very great figures in Modern Maithili literature.

Kavishwar Chanda Jha (1830-1907)

One of the greatest poets of modern times Kavishwar Chanda Jha was the father of modern Maithili literature. He laid the foundations of modern scholarship in Maithili, he created modern Maithili prose and he gave a new turn to the lyric-ridden tradition of Maithili poetry. His *magnum Opus* was *Mithilabhasha Ramayan* (1886) which has become very popular all over Mithila and has run into several editions by now. He helped Sir George A. Grierson in studying the Maithili language and literature (who by the way, was the first modern scholar to literally "discover" Maithili and place it on the linguistic map of India). Chanda Jha also worked for many years in collaboration with the late Sarda Charan Mitter and Babu Nagendranath Gupta when they were compiling the authentic poems of Vidyapati during the eighties of the last century. It goes to the credit of Chanda Jha to have restored Govindadas to Maithili literature and it was largely on the basis of his findings that fifty years later Dr. Amaranath Jha could bring out a scholarly Maithili edition of Govindadas's poems called *Shringerbhajanawali*.

Muralidhar Jha (1868-1921)

Pandit Muralidhar Jha was the architect of modern Maithili journalism. He started a monthly magazine *Moda* in 1906 from Benares and attracted a large number of young and old writers to his magazine. He encouraged them to write freely, and himself wrote fearlessly essays and editorials on a variety of topics—social, literary and political. His style was marked by pungency and *suave satire*. It is regretted that as yet a complete set of his writings has not been published but the twenty-three volumes of *Moda* stand as a permanent monument of the great force he was once upon a time in the growth and development of Maithili prose.

Sitarama Jha (Born 1891)

One of the disciples of Pandit Muralidhar Jha, Sitarama Jha is the oldest living poet of Maithili. He has been described truly as the poets' poet. He has literally made many of the

modern Maithili poets. Among his poetical works may be mentioned *Ambacharita* 1958 (epic), *Suktisudharatnasangraha* (in several parts) and *Lokalakshana* (the characteristics of men).

Mahakavi Raghunandan Das (1860-1945)

Raghunandan Das belongs to the group of Maithili writers : Harkhanatha Jha, Chanda Jha and Vishwanatha Jha. He wrote the famous patriotic drama *Mithila Nataka* and *Putangada Vyaṅṅ* and gave a new turn to Maithili drama. Among his poetical works may be mentioned *Subhadraharan* (epic) and *Vira-Balaka* (Khandakavya).

Laladasa (1873-1920)

A prolific writer Laladas is today remembered for his prose work *Strishiksha* and his epic *Rameshwar Charita Ramayana*.

Mahavaiyakaran Dinabandhu Jha (1874-1950)

Dinabandhu Jha was a great Sanskrit scholar and during his last years adorned the Chair of Vishishta Vidwan in the Mithila Sanskrit Research Institute. His place in the history of Maithili literature is immortal on account of the remarkable dictionary and grammar which he wrote. His grammar *Mithilabhasha-vidyotana* was written in 22 years and is unique because like the great Panini he has presented the entire grammar of Maithili in sutra form. I do not know if such a scholarly grammar exists of any other modern Indian language.

Kavishekhar Badarinatha Jha (Born 1898)

Another learned Sanskrit scholar who has made himself immortal by his contributions to Maithili literature, Kavishekhar Jha is the author of a great epic *Ekavali-Parinaya* (1938) which is full of poetic excellences in the best Indian tradition.

Bhola Das (Born 1897)

A Vakil by profession, Babu Bholadas has been a Founder-Secretary and later President of the All India Maithili Sahitya Parishad of Darbhanga. He is a veteran scholar of Maithili

and has edited many works, including the *Professor Surendra Jha "Suman"* (Born 1910) Panchad magazine *Bharati*.

Bharaneshwarsingh Bhuvan (1907-45)

Fearless critic, experienced editor, thoughtful and forceful essayist "Bhuvan" was an innovator in Maithili lyric. The preface to his collection of poems *Ashaka* (1936) is a standing testimony to it and may well be compared to the 1832 preface of the *Lyrical Ballads* by the English poet Wordsworth. His attempt to reform Maithili spelling in the magazine *Vibhuti* which he edited anonymously has however failed to find followers.

Ramanatha Jha (Born 1906)

One of the most learned of young scholars in Maithili, Ramanatha Jha has written many works of criticism. He is chiefly associated with the quarterly journal which he used to edit several years ago the *Sahitya Patra* and which finally brought into vogue the scientific and the traditional spelling of Maithili which other scholars had long been advocating.

Professor Harimohan Jha (Born 1908)

Professor Harimohan Jha is the greatest and the most popular writer of Maithili. He has written several novels and short stories and is a master of the comic spirit. His famous novels are *Kanyadan* and *Dwivagdan* which are soon going to be filmed.

Saroj (1908-1945)

One of the most ardent Maithili enthusiasts of his day, Saroj died a premature death. He was a good fiction writer and his *Madhavi Madhava* is still read with interest but he could not fulfil himself as he fell a victim to the sorry pecuniary circumstances which unfortunately are the lot of many of our young promising writers in this country who want to adopt writing as a profession.

One of the most accomplished writers of Maithili today Professor Suman is simultaneously poet, critic and editor. He is popularly known as "Sampadakji" in the Maithili world. He is loved and respected by all—he has no group affiliations and nobody is his enemy in this wide world. He has edited the *Mihira* (Weekly), *Swadesh* (daily) and *Vaidehi* (monthly) for a number of years and trained and encouraged a large number of writers. Among his published books of poems may be mentioned *Pratipada* and *Archana*.

Madhupa (Born 1907)

A born poet Shri Madhupa is a poet of great originality. His poems are collected in several volumes, Chief of which are *Shatadal* and *Jhankar*.

Raghavacharya (Born 1917)

One of the most impressive of the poets of the present generation, Raghavacharya is the author of several volumes of poetry *Banakusum*, *Madhukana*, *Jwalamukhi* etc.

It is neither possible nor it is my intention to present here all the writers—not even all the writers who count. All that has been done here is to introduce a few great writers—rather arbitrarily chosen, as many important ones have been left out. To name a few such eminent whom it would be equally if not more delightful to meet and make even a similar cursory acquaintance of, I may be permitted to mention: Harkhanath (1847-1898), Vindhyanath, Ganath (1869-1913), Jivan Jha (1845-1912), Baladeva Mishra, Jyotishi (Born 1890), Mm. Parameshwar Jha (1856-1924), Janasidane (1869-1950), Mm. Bakhshi (1860-1938), Yaduvara (1888-1935), "Madhupa," Gangapati Singha, Ishanatha Jha, Unesha Mishra, Ramakara, Dutta brothers, Kiran, Narendranathadas, Yatri, Subhadia Jha, "Amara" and many, many others.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

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Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

EADPUR—A WEST BENGAL VILLAGE : Published by the Socio-argoe-economic Organization, Department of Agriculture, Government of West Bengal and authoured by Sri Santi Priya Bose, assisted by Messrs. Satadal Das Gupta, Social Anthropologist, Bani Rudra, Asstt. Agricultural Chemist and Tarit Biswas, Agronomist. Demy 8 Vo. Pp. 70, price not mentioned.

This little brochure is ostensibly a study in the rice yields of a West Bengal Village. The occasion for such a study, as described in the Foreward, was the report that came to the Department of Agriculture that rice yields in this village was very high even compared to those from contiguous areas in the same subdivision with comparable levels of soil potentials and facilities and their lack being indetical.

The importance of increasing agricultural yields, especially in the essential foodgrains sectors, in the context of economic advancement and progress is all too obvious to need any stress. In fact, according to most schools of economic thinking in this country (what little may still seem to serve the increasing regimentation into a predetermined grooves) and also abroad, one of the fundamental defects of economic planning as it is currently being essayed in this country under Government sponsorship, has been the premature emphasis that would seem to being laid upon rapid and massive industrialization before the necessary bases of agricultural surpluses have been laid. In fact, if the statistical material that are being cooked up from time to time in the kitchens of the various official statistical organizations can be relied upon to even remotely indicate actual trends, there would not seem to be any question but that India will have

to travel a long way ahead and make up for a great deal of already subsisting shortfalls before she can hope to get out of her present rather enormous dependence on imports for even her basic food requirements which are at somewhat rudimentary levels. True, the Planning Commission have, from time to time, been spelling out targets of production which, if they were realised, would take the country on to self-sufficiency. Unfortunately targets in this behalf have never, so far, been realised even within what may be described as reasonable margins ; neither during the first two quinquennial plans, nor are they likely, on present showing, to do so during the current Plan.

In the meanwhile the Planning Commission have been glibly spelling out over-widening industrial targets at enormous expense of resources, a great deal of which is being borrowed from abroad at what may only be regarded as ruinous cost. The whole process, in its entirety, has not nearly been inevitably affecting the over-all dynamics of economic progress but has also been overlaying the very constitutional foundations of this so-called process of progress. While it cannot be denied that there has been some increase in over-all production as indexed by the increase in the gross national product (claimed to have been some 42 per cent during the first decade of planning), it is also demonstrable that its benefits to the nation has been more than off-set by progressively increasing concentration of both income and wealth in fewer and fewer hands as never before as well as in the increasing impoverishment of the masses by the twin process of spiralling price levels and continuously mounting levels of indirect taxation

directly and, often far more than proportionately, affecting basic living costs.

It is also correspondingly demonstrable that agriculture, except for spelling out ambitions targets which have always been predestined to remain substantially unrealised, has been receiving very little of the attention it should have been given. The history of the more industrially advanced countries of the West would show that rapid industrialization in those countries has always followed, not preceded, the laying down of a sound and surplus agricultural economy. Even as recently as in post-world war II Europe, the basic strength of the EEC and their bargaining advantages even compared to other industrially advanced countries have been founded on and reinforced by, the appropriate emphasis upon and the co-ordination of industrial advance with corresponding advance in farm production.

One of the principal requisites towards the enunciation of the needed dynamics in Indian agriculture would seem to be a factual assessment of the present conditions of this vast industry, on which very meanly 70 per cent of our people have yet to depend for their sustenance, and its future potentials. We come across a mass of statistical materials from time to time issued from various official sources, a great deal of which are often found to be mutually incompatible and even contradictory. In fact we are never told how these facts are culled or the statistics generated. For, as far as the country is aware there has never yet been a comprehensive survey of Indian agriculture since the days 36 years ago, when the Linkingow Commission submitted their Report. There have been basic changes not merely in the concepts of agriculture since those days, but also in the geographical premises upon which the Linkingow Commission had based their findings; for one thing the country itself has been divided into two independent and generally always bickering twins. A new, comprehensive, fact-finding survey would, therefore, seem to be the most urgent need of the hour before anyone can assess its present condition and future potentials. It must have taken the Planning Commission an unusual measure of clairvoyance in the present condition of rather abysmal ignorance of agriculture, its real needs and future potentials, to have enabled them to plan for it as glibly albeit futile as they seem to have been doing.

It is in this wider context that I have been studying this little brochure under review. A great

deal of patient, painstaking and detailed study and research, it would seem, have been concentrated upon this one little village in West Bengal and the findings based upon incontrovertible facts are listed in the brochure. The conclusions drawn are, at least some of them, very startling, even revealing in their basic contents. For instance, the disparity in the paddy yields of two almost adjoining villages with comparable soil fertility and other advantages and disadvantages almost equally balanced; whereas in the one village there was a larger proportion of use of fertilizers and greater emphasis upon cultural operations with correspondingly much higher yield per acre, in the next village it was not so done. The question that would seem to be posed thereby should be quite fundamental. The author puts it down to the fact that while in the village with the higher yield the cultivating families consisted of the Ugra Kshatriya caste, who have traditionally been tillers of the soil for innumerable generations and are, therefore, more deeply rooted to the soil, those in the next village were compounded of a heterogeneous admixture with far looser ties with the soil. It may very well be the right answer and if it were so it would seem to pose problems of a corresponding measure affecting the processes and fortunes of agriculture as a whole throughout West Bengal.

The study under review covers only a limited field as also a correspondingly limited purpose. Even so, it appears to have been both honestly and scientifically carried out. What is required is to extend and widen the fields of such honest, scientific and detailed studies to progressively cover the entire agricultural field. Then must follow the even more onerous task of coordinating the findings of all such scattered enquiries, eliminating all wrong emphases and other defects and thus arrive at a realistic and balanced picture of the entire field of Indian agriculture and not, as at present, as the facile fancy of the Planning Commission paints. Only then an assessment of potentials could be real and eventually realisable. Shri Santi Priya Bose has shown the way. It is now upto the powers that be in the *Subas* of the Indian empire as well as at the imperial *Salamat* to decide to follow it up to a more comprehensive and purposeful consummation.

Karuna K. Nandi

Indian Periodicals

How Positive is Our Credit Policy ?

The following article published by the *Economic Weekly* under the above caption would seem to be an intelligent and timely evaluation of current trends in credit policy :

Following the Finance Minister's October 11 statement, the Reserve Bank of India replaced the three-tier system of lending rates with a two-tier one with effect from October 30, 1963. Banks may now obtain Reserve Bank accommodation to the extent of 75 per cent of their statutory reserve at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum and a further 75 per cent at 6 per cent. Accommodation over 150 per cent of their statutory reserve may be available to banks, also at 6 per cent per annum, but only after negotiation between them and the Reserve Bank.

After the high hopes raised by his broadcast, the Reserve Bank's announcement came as a damper. The new measure was widely described as half-hearted and a case was made for total abolition of the "outmoded" multiple-tier system.

During the first half of 1962 the consensus of opinion was in favour of raising the bank rate so as to bring it into line with market rates. But the drop in investment activity following the declaration of the Emergency, however, brought about a complete change in the climate of opinion and the pendulum swung to the other extreme. The need now was for cheap and liberal bank credit as an instrument for reviving investment.

OPPOSITE CRITICISMS.

The multiple-tier system of lending rates has been subjected to two opposite criticisms. On the one hand, it is argued that the system has failed to achieve its objective of keeping the expansion of bank credit under control. When the Reserve Bank introduced the new system in October 1960 it was explained that the aim was to secure "an abatement of the pressure of monetary demand which has been a contributory factor to the rise in the commodity prices." This criticism, however, can be rebutted by a reference to the statistics of credit expansion. Between May 1960 and May 1963 bank credit increased by Rs. 429 crores or at an average annual rate of 13 per cent. Considering the rise in industrial production during

this period, this increase cannot be considered excessive.

On the other hand, it is argued that the tier system has put bank credit in a strait jacket so tight that it has been responsible for the stagnation in investment. This criticism has become more vocal since the money market turned very tight in the last busy season when the inter-bank call money rate remained perched at 6½ per cent for quite some time. Most of the banks borrowed from the Reserve Bank at the penalty rates and in March, the amount of such borrowings exceeded Rs. 83 crores. Banks unloaded about Rs. 120 crores of Government securities to meet the credit demand as against Rs. 25 crores during the previous busy season. Further, bank deposits from the public declined by Rs. 10 crores between October 1962 and March 1963 while they had risen by Rs. 106 crores during the corresponding period a year ago. These developments lend weight to the banks' argument that the Reserve Bank should have been more liberal at that time as the credit demand for legitimate purposes had increased steeply. In March 1963 the Reserve Bank relented somewhat and announced that banks would be eligible for additional accommodation against their advances to small-scale industries and against export bills discounted by them. This was in pursuance of the Government's policy of encouraging small industries and promoting exports, but it could hardly be expected to go very far towards easing the banks' liquidity position at the height of the busy season.

USE OF BANK CREDIT

A case can be made out for more liberal credit but the danger of such a policy in a situation of scarcity, where the chances of diversion of funds to speculative hoarding are very great, must be clearly recognised. The Government's pricing policy, among other factors, has already caused a diversion of investment into non-priority sectors. This has been admitted. Cheaper credit may aggravate this trend and thereby further frustrate Plan priorities.

It has been pointed out by the proponents of liberal credit that in recent years the proportion of industrial advances to the total bank advances has increased significantly at the expense of commercial advances. According to a survey of

bank advances by the Reserve Bank, 57.2 per cent of total bank advances were to industries in March 1963 as against 52.7 per cent in April 1961. This is no doubt an encouraging sign, though it should be remembered that the Reserve Bank has recently taken upon itself a sizeable share of the burden of agricultural financing through its advances to cooperatives. To that extent, therefore, banks are in a position to increase their industrial advances. The change in the direction of bank credit has been advanced as an argument that any brake on its expansion will affect industrial production.

There is another aspect to be considered. The increasing reliance of industries on bank advances as against equity capital was strongly criticised by the former Finance Minister. So long as a reasonable loan-equity ratio is not established, increase in banks' industrial advances cannot be treated as an unmixed blessing. If, instead of supplementing, bank advances supplant equity capital, industrial production will not rise with the increase in bank credit.

RATE OF INTEREST AND INVESTMENT

The criticism that by raising the cost of bank credit the Reserve Bank's monetary policy has been responsible for the drop in investment activity grossly exaggerates the importance of the rate of interest as a determinant of investment. It has now become a text-book maxim that the cost of bank credit has little effect on encouraging or depressing investment activity. "The data obtained from a number of inquiries starting with that of the Oxford Economists Research Group and ending with the Radcliffe Report point consistently to a low sensitivity of investment to interest cost within the normal range of interest rate . . . undoubtedly there is some rate of interest at which investment would be significantly curtailed but within the range of rates experienced in the fifties it seems unlikely that private investment can be contracted by more than 2 per cent."

In a largely protected economy, like ours, where profit expectations are high, dear money loses importance as a deterrent to investors. "The importance of the interest rate becomes quite minor as compared with fiscal considerations. In the case of borrowing indeed the saving of tax is actually more important than the question of how great a burden repayment will place on the borrower." With high rates of income tax, the effect of interest rates on investment activity gets further weakened. In most of the advanced countries the emphasis has shifted, therefore, from trying to influence demand for

credit by manipulating the bank rate of regulating credit from the supply end by operating on the liquidity of the banks.

The tier system is a compromise between quantitative and qualitative control, and has been adopted, in different forms, in many advanced countries. In Germany, for example, banks obtain central bank accommodation in two ways: through rediscounting bills at the bank rate up to a prescribed discounting quota and, beyond that limit, through advances at a rate higher than the bank rate. In some other countries the bank rate is "graded according to the Central Bank credit taken, so that an increase in the amount is subjected to discrimination."

The pronounced seasonal character of bank credit in India makes credit control difficult. Further, the small size of the market for Government securities limits the scope of open market operations, while the Reserve Bank has yet to gain sufficient experience in the use of variable reserve ratios against the background of wide seasonal variations in credit demand. Prior to the introduction of the tier system, the Reserve Bank was operating through what may be called a "system of threats"—at the end of each busy season the Governor issued a warning that if a specified reduction in credit supply was not achieved during the slack season, the Reserve Bank would tighten up its advances policy in the next busy season. The threat did work, but it was admittedly a crude system to operate.

NOT TOO RIGID

Heavy reliance by banks on Reserve Bank accommodation at the peak of the busy season is a normal feature of banking in India. Although banks say that their borrowings from the Reserve Bank are temporary, the loans persist until the pressure of the busy season eases. Under such circumstances, quantitative credit restriction through a system of variable ratios is likely to prove to be too rigid and its impact on credit supply may be too severe. In this respect, by holding out the possibility of Reserve Bank accommodation even above 150 per cent of the banks' statutory reserve, the two-tier system introduced in October makes for flexibility. Through its two slabs, the system allows the cost element in interest rate to test the intensity of demand. Before deciding to borrow at the higher rate banks would re-evaluate their advances and judge more strictly the legitimacy of loan proposals so as to be able to present a plausible case to the Reserve Bank at the negotiation stage for advances above 150 per cent of statutory re-

serves, should that stage come subsequently. The multiple-tier system thus allows the cost element in interest rate some scope for operation. And if the growth in deposits which took place during the latter part of the last busy season is maintained, the increase in the quantum of accommodation available to the banks at each of the two rates will be quite substantial.

The factors responsible for the slow down in investment are fairly well known and are mostly non-monetary in character. As long as effective steps are not taken to remove these obstacles, more liberal bank advances through larger Reserve Bank lending to banks will not bolster up investment. It is interesting to note in this connection that a recent survey of 34 companies showed that only two were handicapped by the stringency in the money market (*The Economic Times*, November 11, 1963).

The important point to note is that a "positive" credit policy must aim at more than ensuring easy availability of bank credit. In a planned economy like ours, it must go farther and ensure that bank advances conform to the objectives and priorities of planning. It is here that the Reserve Bank's tier-system proves to be inadequate.

At present bank credit does not form an integral part of the Plan and is largely left to be regulated according to demand and profitability. Such a policy has its pitfalls. For one thing, bank credit is likely to go largely to the big borrowers, particularly during a credit squeeze. If statistics were published by the Reserve Bank of the breakdown of bank credit according to the size of loan amounts, the extent to which the big borrower predominates in bank advances would be revealed. Banks cannot be blamed for this, since lending to big borrowers is generally more profitable, stable and safe. If adequate bank finance has not been available to small-scale industries, to which the Plan attaches so much importance, the blame must be laid at the door of the Reserve Bank for its failure to give any positive direction to bank credit.

A number of institutional agencies have been set up for financing small-scale industries, but the problem is too big for such agencies to tackle by themselves. Banks have to shoulder a greater responsibility in this respect than they

have done hitherto. The Reserve Bank at present allows additional accommodation, but the amount is not likely to be very considerable. What the Reserve Bank should do is to make the additional accommodation, which is now available to banks for the asking, conditional on the fulfilment of certain targets of advances to small industries. Banks may be asked to channel a certain percentage of their advances to small-scale industries and additional accommodation should be made available to banks only if they fulfil this target.

The Reserve Bank could go even further and penalise banks which fail to lend to small industries to the extent prescribed. The penalty may take the form of a reduction, by the amount of the shortfall in advances to small industries, in the accommodation available to banks under the second-tier of the Bank Rate. Similar measures could be adopted to channel bank advances to export-oriented industries also. In New Zealand, for instance, since March this year, banks have to place 1½ per cent of their total deposits with the Central Bank in a fund earmarked for financing exports and meeting the long-term needs of industries. Some such arrangements may be usefully adopted here.

BANK ADVANCES AND PLAN PRIORITIES

The reorientation of credit policy should not stop with this. The Plan lays down a scale of priorities but no effort has been made to make bank advances conform to these priorities. As far as the banks are concerned, at present they operate in a virtually plan-less economy. Greater pressure from the Reserve Bank on the banks to regulate their advances according to Plan priorities is, therefore, essential. But before that can be done, the priorities have to be defined with much greater precision than the Planning Commission.

The Finance Minister has raised high hopes by talking of a "positive" credit policy. But until he spells out the measures he has in mind, it will remain uncertain how far he will go. No doubt, the bill to amend the Banking Companies Act, now before Parliament, gives the Reserve Bank very wide powers to control banks. But assumption of powers without a better appreciation of the purposes for which they are to be used, as well as readiness to use them for these purposes, will not go very far.

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স্বামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়

সম্পাদিত

জ্যাকটেযুক্ত উত্তম পুরু বোর্ড-বাইন্ডিং

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১২০১২, আচার্য প্রফুল্লচন্দ্র রোড, কলিকাতা-৯

Foreign Periodicals

The United Nations nobody knows

Paul G. Hoffman, Managing Director of the United Nations special Fund, writing in the *Saturday Review* under the above caption presents a behind the curtains picture of the U.N.'s multifaceted activities which should be of immense interest to all those who are concerned in the future of the human race:

Most people in the United States, recent polls have clearly shown, support the United Nations. One poll, for example, revealed that 79 per cent of American citizens felt that the U.S. should retain its membership in the world organization, while only 8 per cent wanted the country to get out of the U.N. (13 per cent had no opinion). Surprisingly, however, an overwhelming percentage of those favoring the U.N. have only the foggiest notion of what it has done—and can do. Less than 10 per cent of the organization's American supporters, a recent study showed, had any extensive knowledge of its work. This is, to say the least, disturbing, since the U.N. needs wide public understanding of its activities if it is to have the backing it requires.

Broadly, these activities fall into two categories: first, political and diplomatic work aimed directly at the maintenance of peace; and second, social and economic activities that indirectly promote stable, lasting peace by helping to eliminate the underlying causes of conflict.

Of these two categories, the "peacekeeping" function of the United Nations is known best. Thus Korea, Suez, and the Congo have become household names. Fairly well known, too, is the most recent U.N. "peacekeeping" success in settling the dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia over West Irian (New Guinea). But many of the U.N.'s greatest successes in "peacekeeping" have come about as a result of "quiet diplomacy" by its Secretaries-General.

I remember Dag Hammarskjöld's quick reaction when, as a newcomer to the United Nations, I urged him to publicize his success in negotiating a dangerous dispute between two countries. His reply was firm and categorical: "No, not a whisper of this must get out." He was afraid that publicity might embarrass the countries concerned and cause other nations to hesitate before seeking the good offices of the U.N. in connection with their problems.

If some people have a limited awareness of

the U.N.'s political role, public knowledge of its constructive social and economic work is, by comparison, almost nonexistent. Many otherwise well-informed Americans are surprised to learn that 20,500 of the 23,000 staff members employed by the U.N. and its family of related agencies (that is, 89 per cent) are exclusively engaged in promoting social and economic welfare. The point can be driven home with other significant statistics. Since 1949, for example, no less than \$5.75 billion flowed from the three capital-supplying institutions associated with the U.N. to help meet urgent capital requirements of developing countries, and 18,000 international experts have been sent to those countries under U.N. family auspices to impart their skills.

Yet despite the scope, magnitude, and usefulness of results already achieved in the socio-economic field, such U.N. efforts still pass unnoticed. As Secretary-General U Thant recently declared to a group of Asian editors: "It is not easy to focus the interest of the public on subjects that do not carry in them elements of drama and controversy such as the political news that crowds headlines and radio waves." His remarks confirm what a journalist friend once said when I asked him why the press did not report more fully the U.N.'s important contribution to economic and social progress. "You must understand one thing," he replied. "The task of helping low-income countries leap into the twentieth century just doesn't seem dramatic. It's not newsworthy. Let me put it this way: If you build a fifty-seven-story skyscraper in the heart of Manhattan, my editor would probably give it a spot mention someplace in the financial section. But if you blow up a two-story building anywhere, I can get you top billing on the front page."

Even though the U.N.'s social and economic activities may not be "newsworthy" in this sense, they still should be better understood and supported. They have an essential role to play in the epic struggle currently being waged by almost two-thirds of humanity to raise living standards.

With hindsight, future historians may see the outcome of this struggle as the pivotal event of the twentieth century. Currently, hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are actively revolting against inadequate living conditions—a fact of momentous significance.

The antecedents of this sudden revolt lie in

the far-reaching, world-wide impact of the extraordinary advances in transportation and communications. Radio and television, jet plane and space vehicle have made puddles of the oceans, no chills of mountains, and sandlots of deserts that once separated Eastern and Southern peoples from those of the North and West. Only yesterday, it took eighty days to go around the world; today, astronauts girdle it in as many minutes. The largest audience that could be reached yesterday with the spoken word was measured in thousands; today, in million; and tomorrow, it will be possible for the human voice *and image* to be carried to hundreds of millions in all parts of the globe simultaneously. The world has in fact become one neighborhood.

But if so, the world's inhabitants are only just beginning to grasp the revolutionary implications of this fact. It is not easy to start thinking of three billion people as neighbors.

For a sharper perspective, let us imagine for a moment a mythical city of 3,000,000 people, each individual symbolizing, 1,000 others of similar social and economic backgrounds in the actual world. The flourishing districts of this city are inhabited by 1,000,000, mostly light-skinned, citizens. Although there are wide differences between them in ideology, in religion, in customs and mores, most of them live comfortably and many, indeed, in affluence. They are adequately fed, well educated, quite healthy, and have a life expectancy of roughly seventy years. The contrast with the *other* 2,000,000 inhabitants of our mythical city of 3,000,000 is striking. The overwhelming majority of these are undernourished, destined from birth to poverty, ignorance, and disease, and certain to die before the age of thirty-five.

If conditions like these existed in a real city today, social tensions would be acute, even dangerously explosive. Yet, on a larger scale,

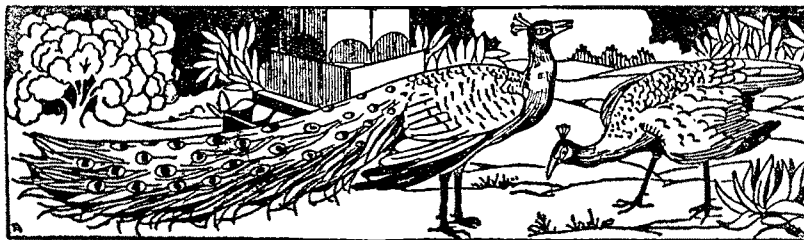
precisely this situation prevails in our world today.

In virtually *all* of the developing countries, for example, one finds a radically transformed attitude toward poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and preventable ill health. For centuries, people in the low-income areas, because they were isolated and knew no differently, patiently accepted these terrible scourges as inescapable. But with radios in almost every village and jet planes overhead, underprivileged people everywhere now realize that people in the advanced countries enjoy very good lives. And they are determined to achieve for themselves and for their children lives of decency and dignity.

Happily, the leaders of developing countries recognize that the primary responsibility for bringing about these improved living conditions lies with them and with their people. Major national efforts in this direction are already under way. This fact is of fundamental importance because development assistance can only help those who are willing to help themselves. It can supplement, but never be a substitute for, the *national* effort.

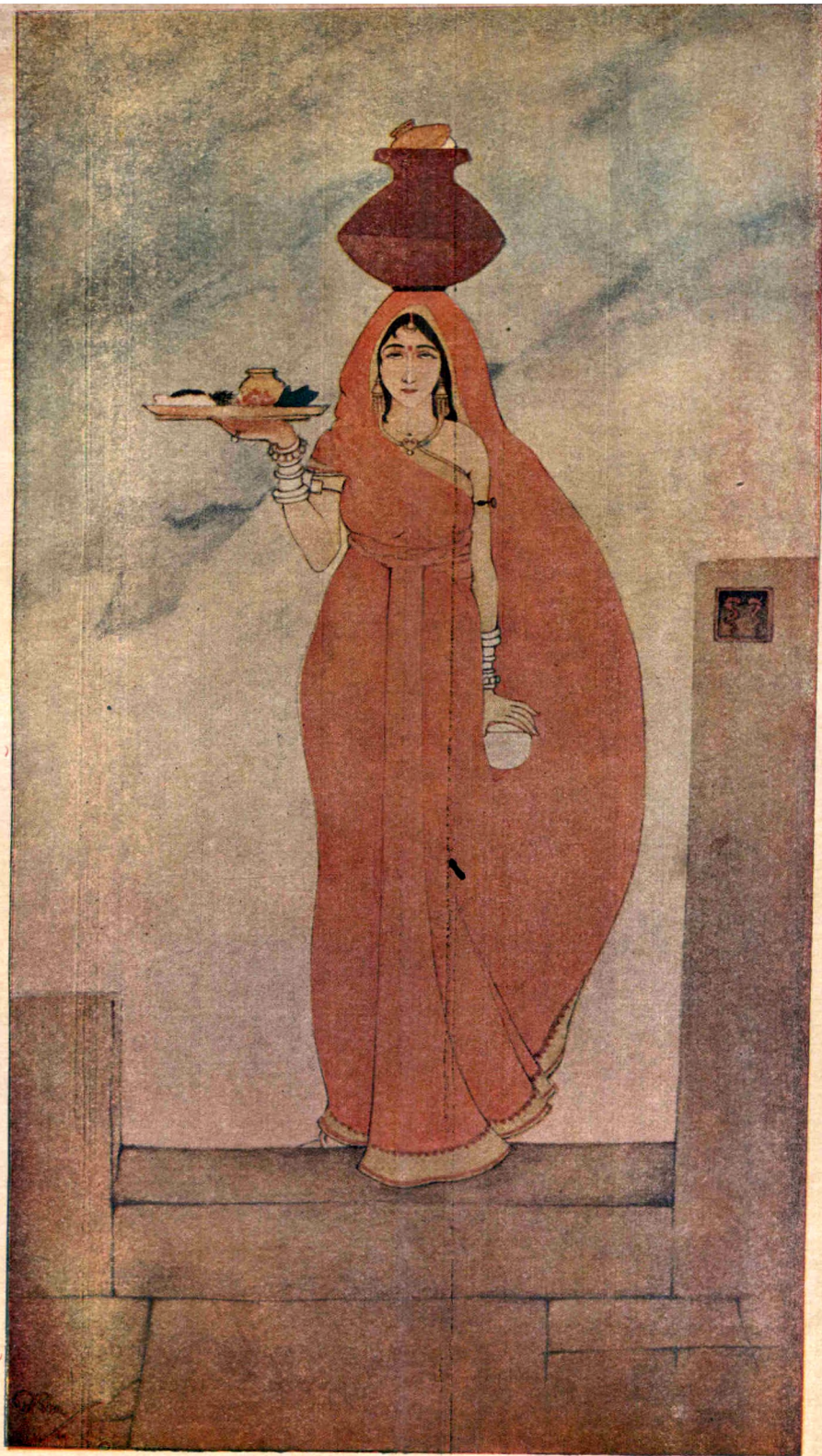
Without outside help, however, the leaders of the developing nations stand little chance of being able to help their people satisfy their reasonable and very legitimate aspirations. Poverty, unfortunately, has a tendency to be self-perpetuating. To escape from the treadmill that economists call "the vicious circle of underdevelopment," developing nations require external assistance of many types.

In almost the entire range of technical and economic activities, the United Nations and its specialized agencies have been providing more and more development assistance to low-income countries. The bulk of it has come from the capital-supplying institutions and two voluntary programs.



Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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NOTES

THE WORLD

The international situation is in a state of flux. The two giants of the Communist World have fallen out, though as yet the only outcome of this rift is an outpouring of acrid comments and denunciations from both sides. The first open declaration of an ideological War came from Red China which tried to stage a show-down with the Soviets on the ground of the betrayal of fundamental tenets of Marxism. The Soviet leadership tried to play down the differences at first, despite outrageous criticisms of the Soviet's international stand on the principle of peaceful co-existence and deliberate levelling of insulting remarks at Soviet leadership in the person of Nikita Khrushchev. The Soviet attempt to patch-up the widening gaps in ideology, for the sake of maintaining an outward appearance of solidarity in the Communist Enclave before the rest of the world, failed when Peking accelerated its attempt to wrest the leadership in Communism from the Soviets. The breach became wide-open with the conclusion of the anti-Nuclear Test Treaty.

Now the Soviet leadership has taken off its gloves and is hitting back at the China of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. The differences are long-standing and the "revelations" that have followed the break-off of the negotiations are merely well-kept secrets. The compromise of 1960, when Moscow tried to bridge the gap between

the two stand-points with statement of principles adopted by a Communist "Summit meeting", broke down under the differences of interpretation in the two rival capitals. Then last July the Russians tried direct talks but they collapsed through the strain imposed on them by Chinese intransigence. Then the Russians tried to "avoid public polemics" but the prolonged Soviet silence only encouraged the Chinese to intensify their attacks. Finally the Soviet attempts at placating the Peking accusers were given up and the silence on the Russian side was broken with an attack on the Chinese in *Pravda*, published about the end of March. It was further disclosed that the Soviet Communist Party's Chief Theoretician, Mikhail Suslov, had told a party plenum that the party was seeking another meeting of all Communist Parties in order to try to overcome the difficulties caused by the differences between the Chinese Communist party leadership and the international Communist movement. Further, during the first week of April, while touring Hungary, Premier Khrushchev ridiculed the Chinese brand of Marxism as one that would willingly see "half of mankind destroyed" in a nuclear war. He stated that "the convulsive efforts of the Chinese leaders to seize power over the Communist movement will end in abject failure."

At the same time there was evidence that the Western Communist parties were giving in deep and anxious consideration to

the implications of the Soviet call for another meeting. The reluctance to agree to a "show-down" type of meeting that could cause a formal split not only within the Communist movement as a whole but within many individual parties was understandable. That these fears are not baseless has been clearly evinced by the breach in the Communist Party of India.

According to Western calculations the countries with Communist governments that are clearly with the U.S.S.R., are Mongolia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia. Those that show some reluctance as yet to take sides, include East Germany, Rumania, Cuba and—to some extent—North Vietnam and North Korea as well. The two that are solidly at the extreme of the ultra-revolutionary wing are Albania and Red China. Amongst the parties that openly function in non-Communist countries, most Western European parties and that of Italy, solidly support the U.S.S.R. though small factions exist that are pro-Chinese, as in India. But factions that are strongly pulling for China exist in Norway and in Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, Malaya, Thailand and Cambodia. Communism has now become an object of infinite variety. But Western experts doubt that Russia wants to break off with China openly. They believe that these are pressure tactics. But nevertheless Premier Khrushchev is not likely to halt his campaign for the public repudiation of Peking by as many Communist parties as possible. The "little summit" meeting in Moscow at the middle of April seems to be only the first of a series of inter-party consultations, which are likely to continue for sometime. The ultimate resolution of the differences between Russia and China does not seem to be the sole objective. The issues seem to include the growing demands amongst the 90 odd Communist parties of the World for greater freedom of action. The idea of "separate roads to Socialism"—a thesis upheld by both Marx and Lenin but suppressed by Stalin—which was endorsed by Khrushchev at the Twentieth Soviet Party Congress held in February 1956 during his denunciation of Stalin, seems to be on the March. Mao Tse-tung had

questioned Khrushchev's doctrinal innovations within a few months of that, and starting with that the whole Communist world is now in a ferment.

Meanwhile changes in the view point seem to be in the offing, at the other extreme of the political world. Although as yet there is no open breach in the solidarity of the NATO powers, the conspicuous displays of independence vis-a-vis the U.S. demonstrated time and again by President de Gaulle shows that the rigid integration of the NATO alliance is in danger of disruption, unless a timely readjustment of controls is made. Amongst all the heads of the states that form that alliance, the towering personality of de Gaulle stands out with its dynamism and glamour. And all that is being exerted to the fullest extent against the two "anglo-saxon" powers, the U.S. and Britain.

He had previously thwarted and humiliated Britain in her attempts to enter the European Common Market. And now he is out to dim the image of U.S. as the "Big Brother" in the Americas. The following extracts from *The German Tribune* of Hamburg, West Germany, of April 11, give a fairly graphic view of the activities of de Gaulle, particularly before and during his tour in Mexico. We give the extracts in *extenso* as they also illustrate the attitude of West Germany towards the French President's views. The main concern of the West German authorities being, of course, what repercussions the statements and political manoeuvres of President de Gaulle will have on the rest of the E.E.C., that is on the solidarity of the Western European nations by and large.

The admiration which he roused in Mexico travelled fast. No country wants to stand back when the French President undertakes his great trip to Latin America this autumn. The invitations submitted to the General have become more urgent all the time. There cannot be any doubt: his next tour will be another grand success. The Latin American States have come to accept a new phase: It is impossible not to be visited by President de Gaulle. And even Washington gives him reluctant tribute:

"General de Gaulle seems to outdo even Fidel Castro in popularity." But what is it that makes both de Gaulle and Castro so attractive in the eyes of the Latin Americans? "The only thing the hot-headed Fidel Castro and the royal President de Gaulle have in common", American journalist Marguerite Higgins said bitterly, "is the inclination to wish that America would go to hell."

Washington of need observed the rising surge of President de Gaulle's popularity with growing misgivings and apprehensions. And it appears, as recently New-York-Times commentator Sulzberger forecast, that the "American-French relationship has deteriorated all the time, and in the end it will amount to a world-wide confrontation: We have radically different views on strategy and nuclear arms, on the significance and role of N.A.T.O., the value of the United Nations and on the existence of S.E.A.T.O. We compete in Europe and in Asia, we have clashed on the Chinese issue, and we will certainly come to grips soon in Latin America". Perhaps, this prophesy is coloured by a little too much pessimism of a professional Cassandra. The fact, however, is that President de Gaulle will never fit into the political image of the world as conceived by the United States. For America he is the second keen disappointment since 1945.

The French President has never left the world in doubt about his real intentions. Many of his steps may certainly have surprised the partners of the Alliance; but the basic lines of his policy, however, were visible from the very beginning. In his memoirs one can read this sentence: "I shall strive to assure to France a leading role in Western Europe, to co-operate with the East and West, and, if necessary, to conclude alliances with both sides—however without accepting any form of dependency."

Raymond Aron is right, when he accuses the General of mustering only very little revolutionary social changes of our times, and of understanding the power of ideologies. All that may be true, but it does not change anything about the very fact that President de Gaulle makes his own policy, and that he creates the paths and roads for the developments of tomorrow.

In Mexico, for example, General de Gaulle has appeared not only as a representative of France. In a joint communiqué published after his visit the following thought was expressed "President de Gaulle emphasized the role which France and the Common Market could have for the development of the Latin American countries". The General has thus raised himself to the rank of a spokesman for Europe. The concept that France should hold the first place in Europe, by the way, is by no means limited to the General. His Premier Pompidou has stated that "by its geographic situation and its history France is condemned to play the role of Europe."

And, indeed, President de Gaulle's diplomatic offensive in Latin America and in other countries of the Third World will be reasonable only if backed not only by the potential of one country, but by the powerful reserves of the European Community.

Could the Americans at all be ready to co-operate in that respect? It is true that while in Mexico de Gaulle with a clear allusion to Washington had stated that French policy could 'harm no one', but it can neither be denied that the French President owes his success in Latin America and elsewhere to his anti-American attitude. But is it really only an attitude, and mannerism? Is it really possible to have one self cheered as an Opponent of the U.S. while co-operating with the very same U.S. at the same time?

The Europeans are now confronted with the question under what conditions co-operation will be possible; perhaps only if the French claim to hegemony will be recognized by them? The Europeans, it is true, were ready for integration, but this would mean giving up part of their sovereignty, and delegating some of their national authority to a central common institution which in the end would have been to the benefit of them all. According to statements and views that have now been expressed however, it is no longer conceivable that as many as one of the other fine E.E.C. members would be ready—if national interests instead of integration were to be given priority again—to renounce anything of their

own interests and advantages just to give glory to France.

With great apprehension the Europeans see the appalling danger arise that the integration of the Alliance, built as it was with so much pain and devoted effort, is gradually delapidating again. They fear that this Alliance, in the end, will become incapable of any political action, because national egoism would prevail instead of good-willed co-ordination.

Whether there will be a united Europe or not, is a decision that seems to lie entirely in the hands of General de Gaulle. And by taking his decision he will also answer the question which keeps so many people awake now: Is Charles de Gaulle more of a dreamer or more of a realist? If he were really to resolve to become a kind of leader of the Third World—a role in which all have failed: Khrushchev, Nehru, Tito, Nasser—even if this experiment would mean risking the unity and integration of Europe, he would certainly have to be compared to the proverbial man who had a pigeon escape from his hand in the attempt of catching a sparrow on a roof.

The American view-point, referred to in the above extract seems to be also in a liquid state, as evinced by the "major declarations of policy by key figures" in the U.S. Government, namely by President Johnson, in remarks to union leaders, by J. W. Fulbright Chairman of the U.S., Foreign Relations Committee, and by Adlai Stevenson, U.S., Ambassador to the U.N. Senator Fulbright was the most outspoken—**The New York Times** called his oration "a full-dress Senate Speech" and Mr. Stevenson also stressed on "alternatives" in his lectures at the Princeton University. All these declarations were made during the third week of March last.

The New York Times (international edition) of March 29 says that "In Washington and in the nation at large there appears to be beginning a deep re-examination of United States foreign policy and a great debate over that policy." Referring to the statements by President Johnson at the meeting with Union leaders, by Senator J. W. Fulbright before the U.S., Senate and by Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. Ambassa-

dor to the U.N., at Princeton, **The New York Times** said:

"Through all these statements ran the theme that American policy must be reviewed in the light of the far-reaching consequences of the nuclear stalemate between the U.S. and Russia. There seemed to be a consensus that some of the basic premises of American policy may be outmoded—that as Senator Fulbright said:

"We are confronted with a complex and fluid world situation and we are not adapting ourselves to it. We are clinging to old myths in the face of new realities"

Regarding the foreign policy of the United States, the editorial outlined the existing premises as follows:

United States foreign policy throughout much of the post-war era rested on two main premises:

First, that Communism was an implacable enemy of the West and that Communist power and expansion must be blocked on every front. Thus there was a tendency to view the Communist bloc as monolithic. No significant distinctions were made among Communism in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Communist China, Cuba or Vietnam; all were regarded as part of the same worldwide conspiracy.

Second, that in view of the Communist threat, tightly knit alliances among the non-Communist nations were imperative. Thus there was opposition to any attempts by Western nations to pursue independent foreign policies or challenge U.S. leadership. There was also a strong distrust of neutralism and a tendency to regard the underdeveloped areas as a battleground for allegiance between Communism and the West.

There have been modifications in practice, if not in principle, in these policies in the past few years as a result of profound changes in the international picture.

The greatest single factor in the change became evident, first, that the proliferation of weapons was becoming meaningless insofar as relative military strength was concerned; and second, that nuclear war could not serve as an instrument of rational policy.

After detailing the changes in the U.S.

posture towards Russia, the unaltered tensions in regard to the Chinese threat to South-East Asia and the cautious attempts at the exploitation of the divergences between the Soviets and China, the *Times* editorial went on further to summarise the issues involved in the speeches of the key figures in the U.S. thus:

"Three major points emerged from the Johnson, Stevenson and Fulbright speeches and the Rusk news conference last week.

First, that a changing world may have invalidated many of the fundamental premises of U.S. foreign policy.

Second, that therefore far-reaching policy changes might be in order.

Third, that if so, a difficult task of re-educating American public opinion would be required."

"President Johnson's comments, not included in his prepared text, were made at the end of a speech on domestic affairs to a labor gathering in Washington. The President said:

"The world has changed and so has the method of dealing with disruptions of the peace General war is impossible and some alternatives are essential. . . . The people of this country and the world expect more from their leaders than just a show of brute force."

"The matter of 'alternatives' was the principal subject of Mr. Stevenson's talk last week at Princeton University. He, too, stressed that nuclear weapons have 'made even 'limited' war too dangerous,' and said:

"The central trend of our times is the emergence of what . . . might be called a Policy of Cease-Fire, and Peaceful Change."

Mr. Stevenson said the U. N. had a key role to play in promoting those policies and that it was "urgent" that the organization expand and improve its peace-keeping machinery. He conceded that "perhaps it is too early" to establish a standing United Nations force, and suggested as an alternative that the member nations stand ready to contribute units for peace-keeping operations "on a moment's notice."

The "full-dress" review of the U.S. foreign policy by Senator Fulbright was, however, given the most prominence in the

editorials, *The New York Times* commented thus:

On Wednesday when Mr. Fulbright delivered the speech, the Senate chamber was almost empty. Nevertheless, the impact was great and immediate, particularly among the foreign embassies and legations in Washington. As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, Mr. Fulbright is regarded as the most important Congressional influence in foreign policy.

Among the "myths" the Arkansas Democrat proceeded to list as still cluttering foreign policy were:

(1) The "myth" that the Communist bloc is "a monolith composed of governments which are not really governments, at all but organized conspiracies . . . determined to destroy the free world." Mr. Fulbright said that, considerable diversity had developed among the Communist nations and should be encouraged by the West, primarily through trade agreements. He said some of the Communist regimes pose no threat to the free world and their form of government was their own business.

(2) The "myth" that Cuban Communism, on the one hand, is a grave danger to the United States, and on the other is a "transitory menace" that can be eliminated by trade boycotts and other economic and diplomatic pressures. Mr. Fulbright described Cuba as a "nuisance" but not a threat, said the attempts at boycott had proved unworkable, and suggested that the "continued existence" of the Castro regime was not an "insuperable obstacle" to any important U.S. objectives in the hemisphere. He suggested, in fact, that U.S. trade with Cuba might help weaken its ties to Moscow.

(3) The "myth" that Chinese Communist hostility toward the United States is necessarily a permanent state of affairs and that normal relations between the U.S. and Peking will never be possible. Mr. Fulbright saw the possibility that a "new generation of leaders" might end the conflict between Peking and Taiwan and that mainland China might be drawn into "existing East-West agreements in such fields as disarmament, trade and educational exchange."

(4) The "myth" that there is "something morally sacred" about the 1903 treaty on the Panama Canal—and presumably, about similar accords. Mr. Fulbright said it was preposterous to regard U.S. honor and prestige at stake in a controversy with a small, weak nation such as Panama, and he saw no reason why the U.S. should balk at renegotiating the 1903 treaty.

On one critical issue—Vietnam—Mr. Fulbright supported the main lines of current policy. He specifically rejected neutralization on grounds that it would lead to a Communist takeover.

The rifts in the Power Blocs that have been facing each other ever since the beginnings of the cold war are now clearly apparent. And as such the tensions that have so long threatened to envelop the entire world in the catastrophe of an atomic war have been inevitably slackened to some extent.

But that does not mean that the world has seen the end of enmities and campaigns of hatred and bellicosity. Conflicts, major and minor are occurring at frequent intervals all the world over, causing rises in tensions and readjustments as their consequences. Brazil in South America, and Laos, Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia have been the seats of such tension and re-adjustments. The Sino-Pakistani campaign against India is, of course, going along its smouldering course. In Africa, Zanzibar and Tanganyika have entered into a full political union.

In Brazil there has been a military *coup d'état* ending in a fairly bloodless take over of this gigantic State, of 3,288,050 sq. miles and 68,000,000 population, from the Leftist Government of Joao Goulart. A former General, Humberto Castello Branco, has been placed in office as President. It seems to be anybody's guess as to what road in politics the new incumbent will take but he seems to be a straight-forward blunt soldier who is aware of his responsibilities.

The union of Zanzibar with Tanganyika came as a surprise to many Western diplomats. The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, as it is named, has chosen President Julius K. Nyerere as its President

and Zanzibar's President Abeid Karume as First Vice-President. The settlement took place when the strongman of the tiny island State of 350,000, peoples, Foreign Minister Abdul Rahman Mohamed—also known as "Babu"—was out on a foreign tour, and is reported that he was stunned when the news reached him in Pakistan and that he has refused to comment.

In Laos a Rightist *coup*, which temporarily unseated neutralist Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma, became ineffective due to pressure brought on it by Foreign diplomats who did not want the 1962 Geneva agreement to be flouted. The two right wing generals withdrew their forces and released Prince Souvanna Phouma, who is again negotiating with the Pathet Lao forces for a negotiated settlement of disputes.

In South Vietnam the see-saw war with the Viet-Cong guerillas continues as ineffectively as before. For the U.S.A., which has poured in money, arms and war-technicians in an attempt to stabilise the extremely fluctuating situation, it is a matter of prestige now. Top ranking officials have repeatedly visited the Capital, Saigon, as also some part of the war-torn terrain, in order to determine a way-out from the *impasse*.

In Malaysia the elections have put back Tunjku Abdul Rahman and his colleagues more firmly into power. The disputes with the Philippines and Indonesia remain unresolved. Manila has agreed to exchange and re-establish consulates but without giving up its territorial claims on Malaysia. Indonesia's fire-eating President has reiterated his "Confrontation" plan and has threatened to step-up his warlike moves.

A minor flare-up has occurred near the Yemeni border, between the British led South Arabian Federal troops and the rebel tribesmen in the Radfan mountains on the Yemeni border areas.

In India the continuous series of raids and long-range machine gun firing by Pakistani armed forces remain unabated. The attempts at destruction of civilian morale and provocation in open warfare, has failed so far due to the endless patience of the Indian authorities. But the outlook is far from promising.

Kashmir and Sheikh Abdullah

Ever since his release, the "Lion of Kashmir" has been on the political rampage, causing irritation to all save politicians in India and jubilation in the camps of the enemy—which of course includes the war-mongering British and U.S. press-lords. Indeed, but for the blundering tactics of the U.S. policy in this part of the world, based on the singularly hasty and ill-considered moves of the Eisenhower Government, and but for the covert moves of the British Foreign office under the Conservative Government most of the ills of South-East Asia—inclusive of this sub-Continent—would be well on the roads to resolution and remedy. It is just these subterranean sources of incitement and encouragement that have sustained Sheikh Abdullah in his orgy of speeches, although they do not seem to have urged for an outright break-off as they did some twelve-years back.

It is too early to define what the Sheikh's motives are. The torrent of speeches that has been sprouting out of him does not as yet add-up to anything substantial in terms of political assessment and reasoning. So much has been left vague, and he has tacked in so many directions with every gust of political breeze that it is impossible to determine which way he is going. But despite all the confused thinking and contradictory statements that is apparent in all his moves and talks, it is evident that as yet Sheikh Abdullah is campaigning primarily for Sheikh Abdullah, only the cap and the cloak which he intends putting-on remains undetermined.

The statements made by our Cabinet Ministers at the center, are clear on one point—that the accession of Kashmir to India is final and irrevocable. This clear and unambiguous fact has issued out of the stir caused by the Sheikh's erratic statements and moves.

There is the Security Council meeting in the offing and there are the manifold behind-the-scene moves of Pakistan's friends and patrons in the West, to be considered before we can estimate the sum-total of the effects of Sheikh Abdullah's speeches on the Kashmir situation. Meanwhile he has declared that he wants to consult Vinobaji on "spiritual affairs", and Rajaji on politics. Let us hope that his thoughts would crystallize and his statements would become coherent after drinking in those spiritual and political fountains.

APOLOGIA

The inordinate delay in bringing out the April, 1964 number of **The Modern Review** is deeply regretted. It was, however, unavoidable in view of the complete dislocation of the work of our printing establishment on account of its having been obliged to shift from our old address to the new premises. A certain amount of delay, also in the publication of the May, 1964 number is inescapable. It is hoped, however, that with the June, 1964 number, the publication schedule will again be brought up-to-date. We are sure our readers and well wishers will bear with us in this unintended default.

Editor, **The Modern Review**.

Current Affairs

By Karuna K. Nandi

The Future of Coal

Contrary to the usually dythirambic approach to the woes and problems of the coal industry, the recent address to the Annual Meeting of the Indian Mining Association by its President, Mr. Pran Prasad, rather highlighted the opportunities that lay ahead of the coal industry in the country. The key to the future, as seen by Mr. Prasad, lay in a change towards full mechanization and advanced management techniques, calling for increased equipment and corresponding prospects in respect of increase in productivity. That is to say the future of the industry lay more in the development of large mines—a course which has long been pursued with a great deal of success by its counterparts in the developed countries. Such a trend, it is easy to visualize, will be bound to have the approval of the World Bank which has been increasingly interesting itself in the fortunes and future of the Indian coal industry. It can be expected that consumers, likewise, will also be keenly interested because they, as much as the Government, are bound to be much concerned with the costs of basic fuel.

Such a view of the future of the coal industry as well as those of other basic and key industries in the country naturally pose a crucial question, that of the extent to which, in the present conditions of development of the Indian economy, the use of advanced technology may prove both justifiable and progressive. The climate of development in the country to-day has been such that increasing reliance is being placed upon the progressively widening applications of advanced technology in the development of industry in general. But as Prof. John K. Galbraith warned in course of his addresses to the premier Indian universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, during his

period of sojourn in this country as the U.S.A's Ambassador, the use of advanced technology is largely an accommodation to labour shortages and its application in an underdeveloped economy where labour is both abundant and cheap, its cost may even prove to be ruinously inordinate. This is a warning which cannot be altogether ignored in planning for the progressive industrial development of the country, but a natural complication would seem to be introduced in the thinking on this matter by the need to conform, at the same time, to global competitive standards which it would obviously, be impossible to attain without the aid of modern technology, despite the low employment potential of such usage would become inescapable. The basic producer industries, on the efficiency and productivity of which both the pace and potential of over-all industrial progress would vitally have to depend, would be bound to more and more employ the techniques of advanced management and production, if they are to play their appointed part in the process of industrialization and general economic progress. That of the coal is a very important one, is all too obvious to need any emphasis.

It is fortunate that Mr. Pran Prasad does not seem to be unduly worried by the current surpluses of coal supplies which are said to have been needlessly aggravated by the unplanned production of low grade coal. There is potential market for such coal in the rural areas for use as domestic fuel. But it is nevertheless a pointer to the need for greater precision in planning and more realistic thinking on the lines of the industry's future development. This would seem to be all the more emphatically underlined by the fact that until only a short while ago, the industry in the private sector, hedged in as it was by a variety of restrictive controls and

inhibitions, was denied the opportunities of expansion even though it was both ready and prepared to finance the process from out of its own resources and as a result, all round shortage in coal supplies was seriously holding up the paces of production and progress. The proper kind of planning would, therefore, seem to be an essential in its future growth potential which should include the enunciation of the right kind of price policy, the latest trends in which have not been yielding universal satisfaction.

While on the subject, we feel it necessary to underline the need for research and the application of the results of researches to the process of industrial development so far as they affect coal. A great deal of very valuable work is, we are aware, being carried on by the Central Fuel Research Institute in Dhanbad. What is even more important, the Institute has been imparting intensive training in various departments of fuel technology to increasing numbers of qualified young men. Unfortunately, it seems, that the activities of the Institute, which should have been proving a valuable source of supply of trained technologists in the latest methods of fuel usage to industry, are not being appropriately co-ordinated with industry in either the public or the private sectors where the services of these trained personnel could be used for developmental purposes. The formulation of a correct policy in this behalf, possibly under Government aegis, and the opening up of necessary lines of communications between the Fuel Research Institute and the appropriate industries should prove an added stimulus both to the increasing areas of research being undertaken by the Institute and the coal industry alike.

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The Problem of Prices

Beginning with the presentation to Parliament of the current Year's Budget by the Union Finance Minister, through to Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda's inauguration address to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at its Annual Meeting in Delhi and the Federation President Lala Bharat Ram's presidential address to the

meeting, the question of the continuously rising price spiral has been attracting a great deal of public attention and discussion. The Finance Minister conceded that the incidence of rising prices has been causing increasing concern and he ascribed the cause of it primarily to shortages in the economy rather than to any other single factor. He held the shortages in agricultural production primarily responsible for the symptom and felt that the development of a climate of greater confidence and the provision of certain inducements for increasing savings and investments for development together with the formulation of such fiscal measures as would be calculated to attenuate the tendency to the progressive concentration of wealth and economic power and the consequent tendency to the growth of monopolies, rather than the imposition of physical controls, was the answer to the problem.

That his measures, as included in his current Budget proposals have not been wholly satisfying to the larger corporate sectors, would be evident from the tenor of Lala Bharat Ram's address which accused the Finance Minister of having contributed to the development of a climate of uncertainty and lack of confidence. He endorsed the Finance Minister's view that the shortages in agricultural production and the not too encouraging advance in industrial output have been jointly responsible for the current rise in prices. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, in course of his inauguration address to the Federation while conceding that declining agricultural production has been responsible for contributing to the rise in prices, however, underlined his view that temporary shortages are also, all too often exploited for raising prices to an inordinate extent and urged that some sort of voluntary regulation, as a result of co-operation between the private sector and the Government should be ushered in to induce a measure of stabilization in the price level.

In the meanwhile the traders in food-grains have been, for all practical purposes, trying to hold the Government to ransom as a sort of their answer to the latter's threat to introduce State trading in food grains if

the trade failed to behave in a responsible manner in regard to the supply and prices of food grains to the consumer. It may be recalled that the West Bengal Government clamped down a schedule of wholesale and retail prices of rice in the State following the last winter harvest and which, they declared, they were determined to enforce at any price. The negotiations that have been currently going on between the Central Government and the Foodgrains dealers has yielded the information that the Government are not prepared to resile from their present price policy in this regard which is regarded as the vital fact of being able to provide food to the people at a fixed price. The State is only prepared, in the circumstances, to negotiate an agreement with the trade on the basis of "fixed margins" and what the Food Minister describes as "fool proof" methods of enforcing the same. If the trade wishes to conform to this essential discipline, it will survive, or the Government will be obliged to enter the market and introduce State trading.

The Union Finance Minister would appear, to the dispassionate observer, to have travelled a long way, in formulating his current Budget proposals, to concede exceptional concessions and privileges to big business in the corporate sector allegedly for the purpose of encouraging savings and investment for development. The measures which, however, he has formulated for attenuating the present process of concentration of economic power appear to have put the backs up of the corporate sector and that an immediate effect thereof appears to have been a practically violent and fresh price spurt all along the line, but overwhelmingly more so in the essential edible sector and inordinately so on the retail price structure where it affects the actual consumer so vitally. Food grains, especially in the Eastern Indian markets, together with pulses, mustard oil and other essential edibles, appear to have felt the pressure more heavily than in other areas and despite the Government's threat to the contrary, there is nothing that seems to be on the cards to deal with this alarming situation.

One does not deny that inadequate development by way of production performances especially in the agricultural sector may have something to do with this fresh spurt, but the possible shortages ensuing thereby would not, we are afraid, wholly explain the extent of the price rise that has already eventuated and which seems to evince every possible indication of further progressively higher incidences in the immediate future. One wonders in this connection as to the source of finance which has been enabling the present price situation to develop in the manner it is seemingly doing. There is, of course, that large and unorganized credit sector in the country the existence of which is conceded by the Finance Minister and others, and which is supposedly superior, in its operations, to the fiscal disciplines of the State which is popularly supposed to be primarily responsible for this exploitation of these comparatively scarce and essential commodities for forcing up prices. This has been underlined again and again by the Union Finance Minister during recent months, but one is unable to understand why it should not be possible for the State with its present emergency and comprehensive powers to devise and formulate necessary measures for forcing out this behind-the-curtains credit market into the open. If this were done, two results would have followed as a natural consequence, first that the State would have been able to extract its legitimate dues on which it has so long been deprived and secondly, it should also be possible to discipline its operations so that it may not be employed for anti-social purposes. Such possible action would also have been able to release large and so far unutilized resources for purposes of development of the economy which would have been in the national interest.

Be that as it may, the fact that urgent and effective action has become all too clearly essential for clamping down an immediate price curb is a fact that would seem to brook neither any delay nor difference of opinion. The present policy of apparent drift,—and the Finance Minister's declared reliance on so-called fiscal measures alone

to deal with the situation in the face of the present eventuality must also be regarded as part of this policy of drift,—would appear to be both too complacent and too aeneimic to serve any useful purpose in a situation fraught high potentials of danger to the community and the State.

To us it seems that the problem of prices is not just one of adjustment between demand and supply only. Of the numerous factors affecting the situation the one of the increasing costs of production, for which the policies of Government are primarily responsible, must be regarded as a very important one. Costs are stimulated by the progressive shortfalls in the ever-expanding public sector on the one hand and on the huge spate of indirect taxation on the other. Partial controls by the State of a variety of essential producer bases both in respect of their supply and prices are another contributing factor in the process. These have to be rationalized and a norm established which would conform to the over-all state of the economy as a whole. One of the essential requisites in this behalf is the closer adjustment between the progressively developing and mutually insular twin decks in the economy comprising the microscopic and high cost upper industrial deck which, by and large, rules the price factor, and the overwhelmingly wider low-income lower agricultural deck. It is both trite and pointless to claim that the "age of the common man" has dawned and all economic activity and development must be attuned to the requirements of social justice so long as the present separate decks in the economy is allowed to persist. The common man has long been living beyond his means, a situation which cannot continue for long without causing an eventual and utter breakdown in the dynamics of the economy. This is proved not merely by the figures of consumption expenditure compiled by the statistical bureau of the Planning Commission, presented to Parliament some time ago by Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, which were clearly far beyond the level of the disposable income of these sections in the community, but also by the recent

finding of the Planning Commission in respect of the extent of present rural indebtedness in the country which has been computed at the colossal figure of some Rs. 3,000 crores.

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The Monopolies Commission

In pursuance of the promise held out in course of his Budget Speech by Union Finance Minister, T. T. Krishnamachari, that adequate measures, fiscal and legislative, would be devised for arresting the current trends of increasing concentration of income, wealth and economic power in the country in the hands of a few affluent people, the Government of India, in the Ministry of Finance has announced, in Parliament on April 16 last, the appointment of a Commission under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952, with Mr. Justice K. C. Das Gupta, Judge, Supreme Court as Chairman and Messrs G. R. Rajagopal, Officer on special duty in the Law Ministry, K. R. P. Aiyangar, Chairman Tariff Commission, R. C. Dutt, Chairman, Company Law Board and Dr. I. G. Patel, formerly Chief Adviser to Government, as members. Mr. V. Satyamurthi, Deputy Secretary in the Finance Ministry, shall be the Secretary of the Commission.

The terms of reference of the Commission call upon it to inquire into the extent and effect of concentration of economic power in private hands and the prevalence of monopolistic and restrictive practices in important sectors of economic activity other than agriculture, to consider the matter with particular reference to, firstly, the factors responsible for such concentration and monopolistic and restrictive practices and, secondly, their economic and social consequences and to evaluate the extent to which they may be considered to be detrimental to the public interest. The Commission has also been empowered to recommend legislative and other measures that might be considered necessary in the light of its findings, taking into account the need to protect essential public interests. It should also recommend the procedure

and the agency for the enforcement of the new laws in this behalf. The Commission may also report on any other matter concerning any aspect of the economy or the functioning of the private sector and financial institutions that it may feel ought to be inquired into. The notification announcing the appointment of the Commission states its objective to be to ensure "that the development of the economy in the crucial years ahead is in keeping with the directive principles of State policy contained in Article 39 of the Constitution" under which the State is required to frame its policy in such a way that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good and that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production detrimental to the common interest.

The appointment is very welcome in view of the increasing public uneasiness on the question of concentration of economic power and the growth of monopolistic tendencies in the economy. The fiscal measures already propounded by the Finance Minister in his Budget are not likely, as far as one can visualize, to yield any very substantial or even immediate result in curbing these trends. If anything, the countervailing measures included in the provisions of the same Budget allegedly for the purpose of "stimulating investment and infusing confidence" would, on the contrary prove, it is feared, a direct and substantial incentive towards further concentration in spite of the approach of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry to the Budget. Additional administrative and legislative measures would, therefore, seem to be urgently called for to effectively deal with the situation. But before such measures can be appropriately conceived and formulated it would seem to be equally necessary that the actual extent and nature of this trend of increasing concentration should be known in concrete terms. The Mahalanobis Committee's report, recently presented to Government, yields the broad outlines of these trends obtained through sample statistical surveys carried out. But

more concrete evaluations would seem to be necessary before operative measures can be conceived of and devised. It is in the fitness of things that the Commission has been charged not merely with the responsibility of carrying out factual inquiries in this behalf, but also of recommending measures to effectively deal with the symptom as well as to formulate the procedures and devise the necessary agencies that should be charged with their application. The personnel of the Commission, headed as it is, by an experienced and balanced member of the highest judicial tribunal in the land with an unimpeachable reputation, as Mr. Justice K. C. Das Gupta, would also, we have not the least doubt, infuse a measure of public confidence which is very necessary for its effective functioning. The Commission, it is hoped, will be as objective as possible in its approach to the matter and when it reports by October next year, it will prove, it is hoped, to be a valuable document providing a reliable guide line for appropriate action in this behalf.

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Growth of Big Business

The long awaited report on the trends of income and wealth distribution by the Committee appointed by the Planning Commission in this behalf with Prof. P. C. Mahalanabis as the Chairman as early as October, 1960, has at long last submitted their report to the Government. The report is not yet available for public examination but from the rather inadequate summary that has, so far, appeared in the daily press, the following findings appear to have been yielded:

The Committee endorse the popular supposition that there has been considerable concentration of economic power in the country in terms of income, property and, especially, control over the non-governmental corporate sector, during the first two Plan periods. The Committee arrive at the rather revealing conclusion that "there can be no doubt that, in part at least, the working of our planned economy has encouraged this process of concentration by facilitating

and aiding the growth of big business in India." In the process, the Committee, having taken into account the countervailing measures so far taken by the Government conclude that despite all these the "concentration of economic power in the private sector is **more than what can be justified** (emphasis our own) as necessary on functional grounds."

The Committee suggest the appointment of a full time agency for collecting more detailed information in this behalf including the ramifications of economic power in the private sector and for devising adequate corrective measures. The Committee have discussed in their report such relevant questions as (i) how far this concentration is an inevitable part of the process of economic development, (ii) how far it can be justified in terms of full utilization of scarce managerial and entrepreneurial resources, (iii) how far it is consistent or is in conflict with the **declared objectives** of our economy and (iv) how far the growth is unhealthy and anti-social in its consequences, but they do not seem to have found any suitable and dependable answer to these vital questions that they have posed.

The Committee have found that a considerable measure of inequality in the distribution of income and wealth exists also in several other developed and under-developed countries, but India's is a planned economy with the pledged objectives of lessening economic inequalities and promoting economic growth. The fact, the Committee aver, that there has been no appreciable reduction in the concentration of economic power during last ten years may be taken as some evidence of the inadequacy of our current strategy of economic development in **one of its important aspects.**"

Discussing the question of concentration in great length, the Committee devote a large part of their attention to the private corporate sector. Industrial production in the private sector, they assess, accounts for only 16 per cent of the net national product, a half of which is in corporate form. The number of companies is large, but only a very small section among them accounts for a large portion of their total paid-up

capital. In 1960-61 companies with a paid up capital of less than Rs. 5 lakhs each constituted 86 per cent of the total number of companies, but their share of the total paid up capital was only as low as 14.6 per cent. As against this companies with a paid up capital of Rs. 50 lakhs and more constituted only 1.6 per cent of the total number of companies in the private corporate sector but claimed 53 per cent of the total paid up capital.

Loans advanced by public financial institutions like, for instance, the Industrial Finance Corporation, the National Industrial Development Corporation and the like, have helped the growth of the private sector and, especially those of the larger corporations. In some other ways also the Government's policies have helped the growth of the private sector and, particularly, those of the big companies. Besides affording a protected market and necessary overhead facilities and maintaining a Budget policy with a mildly inflationary situation, the Government have also helped private industry through extensive tax incentives. Analysing the extent to which capital formation in the private sector has been financed by funds other than those obtained from shareholders, the Committee seem to have been led to the conclusion that the dependence of private industry on bank credit is a confirmed fact, but the principal beneficiaries of this assistance are the big and medium enterprises, assistance to small industries being only insignificantly infinitesimal. The Life Insurance Corporation also supports only big business "by its holdings of stock exchange securities."

In the Indian context it is, however, the concentration of control in the industrial sector as a whole rather than in any particular industry that, according to the Mahalanobis Committee, presents the **"more menacing aspects"** of the concentration of economic power. Thus, 10 groups had an interest of one kind or another in 876 companies in 1951 with a share capital of Rs. 205 crores while this interest was extended over 929 companies in 1958 with a capital of

Rs. 297 crores. The top four of these, again, had control over companies with a total share capital of Rs. 147 crores in 1951 and Rs. 225 crores in 1958. **"Inter-corporate investment is the main instrument,** (emphasis our own, again) and 'an increasingly important one for the control of companies.'" There is a significant link, according to the Committee, in the form of common directors between leading banks and large-sized industrial undertakings.

According to the Committee, one of the additional reasons for the increase in economic power of the large corporations was the flow of foreign investment and technical know-how through joint ventures. There is also much inter-linking between newspapers and big business and, in addition, indirect control over newspapers is exercised through expenditure on advertisements which appears to have been growing to an enormous extent.

The Mahalanobis Committee, on the basis of their findings, seem to recommend that the remedy is "not the breaking up of large units, but the adoption of a policy of regulation, continuous scrutiny and, possibly nationalization(?) which will help to prevent the emergence of anti-social consequences from the **otherwise economically justifiable** (emphasis ours) localized concentration in the form of big units in one industry or the other." The Committee underline that economic concentration is the result of inadequate development and low productivity of labour and the deficiencies in tax compliance or tax evasion rather than of an insufficiently progressive tax system.

As regards agricultural lands, the distribution by size of holdings has been found by the Committee to be extremely unequal. In 1953-54, for instance, the top one per cent of the households owned 17 per cent, the top 5 per cent 41 per cent and the top 10 per cent 58 per cent of all land. In 1959-60 their respective shares were 16 per cent, 40 per cent and 56 per cent. The bottom 20 per cent did not own any land at all. Government's countervailing measures to prevent the trends of concentra-

tion of economic power mainly consist of expansion of the public sector, encouragement to small entrepreneurs, special facilities and aid for small industries, promotion of co-operatives in industry and marketing and what the Committee seem to regard as the enunciation of a progressive tax system. The contributions of the public sector are estimated to have risen from less than 2 per cent in 1950-51 to only about 25 per cent by the end of the Third Plan in organized manufacturing industries and from less than 10 per cent to over 33 per cent in mineral production. Public sector investment in industry and minerals is estimated to be of the order of Rs. 500 crores more than in the private sector. This indicates that the relative importance of the private sector in the total national complex will continue to shrink, especially so in major key industries which, if left to the private sector, according to the Committee, would have led to far greater concentration.

The Committee conclude with the observation that the "necessary instrument has been pressed into service to lessen inequalities in income distribution through a progressive tax system. The main task in this sector remains that of effective enforcement of the tax system."

We would desist from offering any comments on the findings of the Mahalanobis Committee until such time as the full report is available and we have had time to study its detailed contents. The Committee, however, appear to confirm the popular suspicion of increased and increasing concentration of income, property and economic power, of which there can be no doubt whatsoever and which is a complete repudiation of the pledged objectives of economic planning to which all the resources of the nation are being pressed into service at enormous public sacrifice. The public sector, it may be noted in this connection, has already considerably expanded in the sphere of organized manufacturing industries and in the production and exploitation of minerals and, in relation the size of the private sector has become already somewhat correspondingly attenuat-

ed. Nevertheless the admitted fact that there has still been progressively larger concentration of economic benefits and consequent concentration of power, would seem to be a virtual indictment of the manner in which the functional operations of development planning would seem to have been managed. One of the prime causes in this behalf may have been, as indirectly admitted by the Mahalanobis Committee, the inadequate performances, so far, of the public sector which have led to continuing scarcity in supplies and to insufficient over-all development in the process of industrialization which must follow as a natural and an inevitable consequence. Functional reorganization which must follow is a natural and an inevitable consequence. Functional reorganization of public sector undertakings would therefore, seem to be of the most important moment at the present juncture, to which, however, there does not seem to have been any importance attached by the Committee either in its report or in its recommendations.

One of the statements of the Committee, that the tax system in the country has already assumed a progressive character and its appropriate enforcement would enable the trends to concentration to be eventually corrected, cannot, however, be passed off without comment. A tax system which depends on indirect imposts for some 75 per cent of its total Central revenues,—we are not adding to it the impositions of the States, necessarily mostly in the shape of indirect levies,—a very large proportion of which are in the shape of excise and other imposts on a large variety of essential consumables, including quite a great deal in the basic edible sector, can be regarded as only anything but progressive. In fact, the continuously mounting inflationary pressures on the price structure—and it is significant that the margins between essential consumables and others so far as the price incidence is concerned, is very wide indeed as also that in the essential edible sectors the margins between the wholesale price index and the unregistered price levels in the retail market are even far wider—are inherent in the tax system itself which can be generally regarded as both unscientific and retrogressive in its

basic structure. What is more, the progressively widening concessions that are being allowed to the private sector, especially in the big business department, which has assumed further substantial proportions in the current Budget of the Union Government, commented upon elsewhere in this issue, is a direct incentive to the further aggrandisement of the national economy by big business. If the role of the private sector has to be maintained substantially at the level and in the form in which it has so far been operating in the country, the conclusion that there would be even more progressively larger concentration of income and power in still fewer hands in the eventual future, would seem to be an inescapable one.

Fair Deal To Farm Growers

Addressing the Sixth All India Foodgrain Dealers' Convention in New Delhi on May 2 last, Sardar Swaran Singh, Union Food and Agriculture Minister is reported to have claimed that if the trade did not voluntarily cooperate with the Government to maintain stable prices of foodgrains, the Government would be obliged to apply such measures as would, within the next two to three years, make it impossible for foodgrain dealers to manipulate prices at will. If the trade did not cooperate for the attainment of this objective, "other methods would have to be found," but under no circumstance would the prices of foodgrains be allowed to fluctuate because of speculation or the "vagaries of market arrivals." The Government, he continued, would not allow a big difference between harvest prices and those prevailing during the lean season. The trade must also, at the same time, give a fair deal to the growers, who must be ensured a fair return for their produce regardless of the supply situation. If these two conditions were honoured, the trade had nothing to worry about. The Foodgrains Licensing Order, against which the trade were currently agitating and in respect of which they even went to the length of threatening "direct action," was merely meant to catch those black sheep among foodgrains dealers who would not submit to the legitimate disciplines of the State and would not conform to the requirements of national well being. The Minister was said to have reacted sharply to the threat of direct action and warned that such

an agitational approach to the matter would only harm the trade. Government, he was reported to have reiterated, would not yield on essentials and if the trade did not cooperate, "other methods" would have to be found to compel it to conform.

The Minister did not specify what these other methods were likely to be, but from the trend of his statements it was easy to surmise that he intended to keep the threat of "State trading" in foodgrains perpetually hanging over the head of the foodgrains dealers in order to compel them to toe the official line. Apparently, he was confident enough in his Ministry's ability to ensure round-the-year uniformity in foodgrain prices within the next two to three years, this short time lag to be utilized, it can be surmized, for building up adequate alternative agencies for handling and marketing foodgrains in order to thwart the traders' efforts to pressure-boost price levels.

We have, however, found no cause for any particular elation at the Union Food and Agriculture Minister's statements in this behalf in the light of our past and current experiences. From past experience of controls on supply and prices of food, as well as the currently attempted efforts to hold foodgrains prices within specified limits, it seems to us that despite what Sardar Svaran Singh may claim, the Government would not appear to have the necessary administrative resources, nor that necessary measure of rectitude and integrity in the administration that would enable them to effectively enforce anti-profiteering measures by the trader. We are fortunately blessed with a short memory and are apt to forget most of our woes and worries after a lapse of time, but it would still be impossible for most people in the country to wholly forget for yet awhile the harassment and the distress that the administration of controls on food by Government caused to them. Currently also there have been, especially over the last few months immediately preceding the winter harvest, the acute price situation that was allowed to develop

in the Eastern Indian regions which the Government, apparently, was wholly helpless to deal with either adequately or effectively. It was not really that until the public took a hand—and this, it must not be forgotten, had really eventuated a potential threat on the law and order situation with the highest possible explosive content because the Government would seem to have lost all initiative for the time being—that correctives could be developed and the market price could be brought down somewhat although not to the level at which it should normally have stabilized. Indeed, the Government moved in only at this late stage and acting as if they were attorneys for the trade, entered into a so-called "gentlemen's agreement" with the trade pitching the price of rice in the agreement at a much higher level than there was any legitimate justification for.

Even later, after the Government of the State promulgated a Rice Price Control Order, fixing a schedule of both wholesale and retail prices, the controls have never so far been effectively enforced and during the last few weeks since the presentation of the Union Budget to Parliament and especially concurrently with the development of the agitational approach by the All India Foodgrains Dealers' Association, rice prices in this region have been further substantially rising in the open market against which there does not, so far, seem to be any action either conceived or even contemplated. It is significant, that simultaneously with this upward price movement, supplies to Fair Price Shops from Government godowns have sharply fallen and, during the last few weeks, ration card-holders have not been getting even a 10 per cent of their quotas from these sources. The foundations for developing and building up alternative agencies to enable foodgrains to be marketed at legitimate prices, especially to the retail consumer to enable the machinations of the trade to be eliminated, is a picture which, therefore, appears to us to be too fanciful and unreal to cause any sense of real elation or confidence in the people.

INDIA AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE

MARSHALL Chen Yi, Communist China's Deputy Premier, has been reported by *The Statesman* (Calcutta) of 29th October, 1963, to have affirmed on 28th October, 1963, "China's determination to carry out nuclear weapons' tests as soon as she was in a position to do so because China could not afford to be ranked with second or third-class Powers". Further, he has been reported to have told "a delegation of visiting Japanese reporters in an interview broadcast over a nation-wide radio hook-up in Japan; 'I cannot say exactly when we shall have nuclear weapons and mass production of such weapons will probably still be a long way off, but we shall carry out tests in a few years without fail'. Moreover, he has been reported to have stressed that "the possession of nuclear weapons and missiles today is the mark of a first-class Power, so that the carrying out of nuclear tests is necessary for China's prestige as a first-class nation. Nuclear weapons are also needed, of course, for defence purposes".

In the course of a speech in Paris on 19th April, 1963, on the theme of "more guns before more butter", President De Gaulle had been reported by Reuter (*The Statesman* of 21st April, 1963) to have "vigorously defended his policy of having an independent nuclear deterrent", and also to have observed that "while France linked her defence with that of her allies, she intended to 'remain the master of her own defences'. He had further been reported to have "scorned the notion that a nuclear force was 'useless' or 'too expensive' for France".

President de Gaulle has also been reported (*The Statesman* of 1st January, 1964) to have declared in Paris on 31st December, 1963, in the course of an address to the nation that "France will press ahead with the development of a hydrogen bomb", and that "such armament for France would be the only way to meet 'the threat of aggression' and the only thing which will retain French independence".

Further, it appears from a report from Beirut, published in *The Statesman* of 27th March, 1963, of Mr. G. H. Jansen that no one doubts that "she (Israel) has been working for years on an atomic bomb at her secret reactor at Dimona in Southern Israel", and that the "existence of this installation was revealed, to the great embarrassment of Israel, by U. S. intelligence from a photograph taken by a U.S. plane". (The information given by Mr. Jansen who is an authority on Middle Eastern affairs can certainly be relied upon.)

Finally, the Prime Minister of England, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, has been reported by *The Statesman* of 19th January, 1964, to have "told Parliament" on 16th January, 1964, "that his Government was determined to hold on to Britain's independent nuclear force because other countries, including France and Communist China, soon will have theirs"; and that "this was the safest course in the present state of the world when we do not have international disarmament within reasonable sight".

I may now refer to the position of India in regard to the question of nuclear weapons. This will be gathered from the utterances on the subject made by prime Minister Nehru from time to time during the last few months, as the spokesman of the defence policy of the Government of India. According to the Chief Political Correspondent of *The Washington Post* in New Delhi, Prime Minister Nehru was reported (*The Statesman* of 5th March, 1963) to have observed early in March last that "The first explosion of a nuclear device by Communist China 'might frighten some people and have some significance', but that it would not mean a change in the military situation"; and that "he had been informed by his experts that India had a stronger base than China for nuclear development in the military field, but (that) 'we have made it clear that we are not making (nuclear) weapons'".

Later on in the same month he was reported (*The Statesman* of 17th March, 1963) to have re-affirmed at the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi "the Government's decision not to manufacture atomic weapons". "Manufacture of such weapons", he continued, "would not do any good to India. On the other hand it would add to the dangers of the world. Also it would not be good for India to utilise all her resources in producing the most modern weapons of war". He added that "weapons change everyday and modern weapons were practically the monopoly of a few Great Powers which produce them and were in a position to use them." He concluded: "we cannot do it at present and I would not like that to be done in future."

Thirdly, Prime Minister Nehru has been reported (*The Statesman* of 24th April, 1963) to have "reiterated (on 23rd April, 1963, at our Rajya Sabha) the Government's 'firm conclusion' not to direct atomic energy (produced by the Indian Atomic Energy Commission) towards (the) preparation of nuclear weapons". He is reported to have further observed (on the same day) that "India was probably far ahead of China in the development of atomic energy"; that while he agreed that "nuclear explosion by China would undoubtedly change the military situation in Asia, but that the development of atomic weapons by her was 'a very, very far cry' "and that it might take her 10 years to develop these weapons even if China succeeded in having an atomic test, 'and much may happen in 10 years' time'".

Finally, Prime Minister Nehru has been reported (*The Statesman* of 3rd October, 1963) to have stated in the course of his speech at the Ram Lila Grounds in New Delhi on 2nd October, 1963, that "China was apparently trying to produce atom bombs and might succeed after a few years, but India, too, if she wanted, could manufacture such bombs, definitely much before China could"; but that "India did not believe in sinking millions of rupees on producing bombs"; and that "instead, she wanted to progress economically and socially".

It appears from what Prime Minister Nehru has said on different occasions, as shown above, that India can, if she wants to, manufacture atomic bombs definitely much before China can; but that India does not believe in sinking millions of rupees on producing atomic bombs; and that, instead, she wants to progress socially and economically. It may legitimately be asked in this connection, why this forbearance, please? Talking philosophy and indulging in idealism and public administration often go ill together so far as the defence of a country against foreign invasion, and particularly of a country situated as India is today, is concerned. We have had enough of this kind of philosophizing during the last sixteen years and we have heavily paid for our folly—I deliberately use the word folly—in national disgrace and humiliation in the hands of the Chinese. Does our Prime Minister fully realise the dreadful effect of the explosion of a nuclear bomb by Communist China on the morale of the people of India or, for that matter, of the peoples of South-East Asia as a whole? I doubt it very much. If, sooner or later, Communist China becomes a nuclear power and we continue to remain a non-nuclear power, we shall have to live in constant dread of the Chinese nuclear weapons, to the complete demoralisation of our national life. Moreover, we may be liable to be blackmiled, directly or indirectly, by Communist China in respect of many of our national affairs, and particularly in regard to our foreign policy. We must not forget that if there did not occur any nuclear war over the Cuba crisis between the Soviet Union and the United States, it was because of their nuclear balance. Mr. Gordon Walker, M.P., the Labour Party's "Shadow" Foreign Secretary in England, is perfectly right when he says with reference to the Cuba crisis (*Encounter*, November, 1963, p. 61):

"Khrushchev preferred a courageous but humiliating retreat to a war which, because of the nuclear balance, would have been mutually destructive".

As will appear from what follows, this is also, in essence, the view of Mr. Chester Bowles, the present American Ambassador

to India, on the question. In the course of a lecture delivered in Bombay on 22nd January, 1964, under the auspices of the University there he has been reported (*The Statesman* of 24th January, 1964) to have "referred in particular to the grave danger of confrontation in Cuba when both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. glared at each other, but the realization of the destructive power of nuclear weapons had in fact led to an improvement in their relations.

If we have the means—and we must certainly find out ways and means for this—and necessary scientific and technical knowledge—and our Prime Minister says that we possess it—, we must build up sufficient nuclear deterrents if we are to avoid in future a further and much greater national disgrace and humiliation in the hands of the Chinese Colossus. Only a nuclear balance between Communist China and India will prevent the former from taking any aggressive action against the latter as it happened, already noted, in the case of the Soviet Union and the United States over the Cuban crisis. An all-round preparedness with modern arms will be our best defence against any possible foreign invasion. When, unfortunately, we are living amongst devils, we must devise means to deal with them effectively, if necessary.

Does our Prime Minister want to see a repetition of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the soil of India? He has stated that the manufacture of atomic weapons by India would add to the dangers of the world. I do not know. It may, however, be argued against this view that so far as any dangers of the world are concerned, there is, first, the United Nations to deal with them. Besides, if the United States, the Soviet Union, England, France, Israel and China can build up nuclear weapons, there is no reason why India should not. The question of danger to the world is also their concern. Moreover, although it is a duty of the Government of a State to do everything possible to conquer hunger, disease and ignorance of its people, yet nobody can deny that the first and foremost duty of the Government is to take every step for ensuring the security and integrity of the State. We

must not allow ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security by any loose and platitudinous talk of world peace, world order or world disarmament, or by any assurance of precarious foreign help in the event of any danger. Unless we fend for ourselves, nobody will, in the long run, fend for us. Neither any appeal to the cause of justice or of righteousness, nor any prayer to Heaven will help us very much unless this is backed by an adequate force of modern armaments. This is the verdict of history, and particularly of the two World Wars. If we ignore it, we do so at our peril. Public opinion in India as well as our Parliament should, therefore, make our Government change its policy in regard to the question of the manufacture of nuclear weapons. If they cannot and if the Government of India persists in its obduracy, then the country should seriously consider the question of a change of Government. (Strangely enough, there is a wonderful agreement on the question of manufacture of nuclear weapons by India between the leaders of the ruling party and the Communist Party of India!) We cannot allow the future of our country to be endangered by any persistence on the part of our leaders in what I consider to be a suicidal policy in the present circumstances. I need hardly emphasise that the future of our country is much more important than showing any deference to the pacific idealism of a few individuals, however, well-intentioned they may be. Such idealism in the present situation may create a mortal danger for our country in future, and we may not escape the censure of history if we forbear from necessary action now out of deference to the views of our misguided leaders obsessed by pacifism. Refusal to face unpleasant facts and indulgence in high-sounding platitudes may ultimately lead us to a dangerous situation. (We may note in this connection that the recent French recognition of the Government of Communist China may have far-reaching political, strategic and military implications. Who knows whether France would not help Communist China in an earlier manufacture of nuclear weapons?) Our leaders should bear in mind that realism is often much better than either doctrinairism

or sentimentalism. I shall not be surprised if leaders of Communist China think that our leaders are a set of senile and "decadent fools". It is worthy of note here—and the world knows it—how India has been befooled and deceived by Communist China in connection with what is known as the concept of Panchsheel as embodied in a solemn Agreement between them signed in Peking! I need not refer here to the slogan of Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai. It may perhaps be interesting to note here that a socialist Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. Attlee, well-known for his pacific views, first ordered the manufacture of atom bombs there. Thus we find Mr. R.H.S. Crossman observing (*Encounter*, April, 1963, pp. 25-26) in the course of his article on *Walter Bagehot* (L):—

".....Sir Winston (Churchill), shortly after he took office in 1951, announced that the first British A-Bomb had been successfully tested. The Premier was careful to pay his tribute to his predecessor, for making the initial decision and sanctioning the huge expenditures that had never been revealed to Parliament. Very soon it was common

knowledge that this decision had been taken by Mr. Attlee without any prior discussion in the Cabinet, and that he had never revealed it to any but a handful of trusted friends".

This happened in a democratic country like Great Britain. Our leaders would be committing a great blunder if they, in their pursuit of idealism, further persisted in their forbearance from the manufacture of nuclear weapons: They would simply be imperilling the independence of our country. In conclusion, I cannot do better than quote the following observation of Mr. Theodore Woolsey, "a very humane writer":—

"To States, by the divine constitution of society, belong the obligations of protecting themselves and their people, as well as the right of redress, and even perhaps that of punishment. To resist injury, to obtain justice, to give wholesome lessons to wrongdoers for the future, are, prerogatives, deputed by the Divine King of the world to organised society——"—*Introduction to International Law*, Fifth Edition, p. 184: Quoted in F.E. Smith, *International Law*, pp. 12-13).



THE COLD WAR AND ITS IMPACT ON AMERICAN OPINION

By JAMES CHANNING

The middle decades of the 20th century almost certainly will be known in history as a time of special strain and uncertainty for the intelligentsia of all countries.

Throughout the 1950's, and now in the 1960's, scholars and artists have shown themselves to be seriously disturbed by certain basic and seemingly insoluble problems, peculiar to the era, which have grown out of the cold war and the so-called nuclear dilemma.

Americans in particular, perhaps because they feel a kind of personal responsibility for "the bomb," are deeply concerned by a whole range of interrelated matters. They believe in the rights of the individual and are determined to preserve those rights against the destructive effects of the totalitarian concept. But, at the same time, they abhor war and have an overriding fear of the hazards involved in the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The universality of this concern was somewhat strikingly illustrated some months ago by the American quarterly, *Partisan Review*, in the form of a symposium on "the cold war and the west." Participants, from England and the United States, included political scientist Hannah Arendt; philosopher Sidney Hook; poet Robert Lowell; novelist and critic Mary McCarthy; sociologist David Riesman; historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr.; and the English writer C. P. Snow.

Among such diverse contributors it would have been idle to seek an identity of views on such a topic as the cold war. There was, however, a consensus of concern among them all. The magazine itself is representative of the characteristics of an important segment of the American intellectual community: highly articulate criticism of American and Western society and foreign policy; awareness of the revolutionary ferments in the world; deep concern with the dilemma of free societies protected against aggressive totalitarianism by the nuclear arm they hope never to have to

use; belief in the possibility of rational discourse among men of good will wherever they may be found; faith in the ultimate values of freedom: as Sydney Hook's contribution put it, "not free enterprise but human freedom... the right to believe or disbelieve in accordance with one's conscience." How far these concerns carry over from the intellectual into the active political sphere in American life may be suggested by Prof. Schlesinger's position as a special advisor to the White House.

The strongest convergence of views on the "basic issues of the cold war" raised by *Partisan Review's* editors occurred in response to the question, "Do you think the issues at stake in the cold war so decisive as to be worth a nuclear war?" C. P. Snow simply answered "No." Robert Lowell took the view that "we should rather die than drop our own bombs." There was fairly general agreement that war *must* be avoided and some hope that since neither side wants it, because it would be suicidal, it has become obsolete and can be avoided. There was fear of accidental nuclear war, and some expectation that the evolution of Communism in the Soviet sphere might lead to a detente. There was even some interest in the idea that Communism itself is less of a menace than nuclear war, that, to use controversial phrase, it would be better to be "Red than dead."

Some interesting observations emerge on the "red or dead" shibboleth. Schlesinger rejected "the notion that this is our choice... until we have a reliable system of general and complete disarmament, continued military preparedness is an essential part of the policy to keep the choices from narrowing." This is perhaps the sort of statement one might expect from someone in his official position. But David Riesman, who is certainly not a Kennedy administration spokesman, believes that "the want of imagination and ingenuity among ourselves that makes slogans like 'red

or dead: attractive will be replaced by a fresher, less menacing vision of the human enterprise." Irving Howe had "no patience or sympathy with those who cry 'better red than dead' or those who cry 'better dead than red.' It is conceivable that the extreme choice—nuclear war or surrender to Communism—may have to be made. But it is pointless now to make the choice as a speculative anticipation, when there still remain a good many courses of action that can help us avoid that terrible choice. We should try to use our wits and keep our nerve, and if we do, there is a chance to break past the intolerable dilemma this question poses."

According to Hannah Arendt: "Within the framework of realities we face, the slogan 'better red than dead' can mean only the signing of one's own death sentence even before this sentence has been passed."

Hannah Arendt, probably the most original and stimulating of the symposium contributors, has been described as a political philosopher rather than a political scientist and her recent book, *On Revolution*, an intricate and penetrating historical analysis of the present-day significance of the American and French revolutions, has been admired by some and attacked by others on historical grounds.

Her most frequently discussed viewpoint is expressed in such passages as the following:

"If there was a single event that shattered the bonds between the New World and the countries of the old Continent, it was the French Revolution, which, in the view of its contemporaries, might never have come to pass without the glorious example on the other side of the Atlantic. It was not the fact of revolution but its disastrous course and the collapse of the French republic which eventually led to the severance of the strong spiritual and political ties between America and Europe that had prevailed all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries... Revolutionary political thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has proceeded as though there never had occurred a revolution in the New World and as though there never had been any American notions and experiences in the realm

of politics and government worth thinking about... Even revolutionists on the American continent speak and act as though they knew by heart the texts of revolutions in France, in Russia, and in China, but had never heard of such a thing as an American Revolution..."

Dr. Arendt's views on the current meaning of the two great Eighteenth Century revolutions were given succinct expression and greater immediacy in the brief scope of her statement for the symposium. At the risk of doing violence to the cogency and coherence of her thought, here are some excerpts: "Wars and revolutions have thus far determined the physiognomy of the twentieth century... war and revolution still constitute the two major political issues with which we are confronted... Moreover, revolutions are very likely to stay with us into the foreseeable future whereas wars, if they should continue to threaten the existence of mankind and hence remain unjustifiable on rational grounds, might disappear, at least in their present form, even without a concomitant radical transformation of international relations. Hence... the present conflict between the two parts of the world may well be decided by the simple question of which side understands better what is involved and what is at stake in revolution... The issue of revolution... can be clarified in the light of past and present experience... Its first prerequisite is to recognize... that the inherent aim of revolution has always been freedom and nothing else... Politically, the only issue at stake between West and East is freedom versus tyranny..."

"... the whole record of revolutions... demonstrates... that every attempt to abolish poverty... with political means is doomed to failure and for this reason leads into terror; terror, on the other hand, sends revolutions to their doom. There has not been a single revolution that ever succeeded in the most important business of revolution, the establishment of a new government for the sake of freedom, except the American Revolution..."

"I would conclude that there would be no great hope that revolution and freedom could ever succeed in the world at large, if

we were still living under conditions where scarcity and abundance were beyond the scope of human power. The American Revolution would remain....an exception from an iron rule. But this is no longer the case. Even though the difficulties standing in the way to solution of the predicament of mass poverty are still staggering, they are, in principle at least, no longer insurmountable....The position of the West in general and of the United States in particular will depend to a considerable extent upon a clear understanding of these two factors involved in revolution: freedom and the conquest of poverty.

"Let me point in conclusion to the last two major revolutions—the Hungarian Revolution, so quickly and so brutally crushed by Russia, and the Cuban Revolution which has fallen under Russian influence. After the American Revolution, the Hungarian Revolution was the first—in which the question of bread, of poverty, of the order of society, played no role whatsoever; it was entirely political in the sense that the people fought for nothing but freedom....Obviously, the Cuban Revolution offers the opposite example."

Dr. Arendt's conclusion, that "revolution involves both liberation from necessity so that men may walk in dignity and constitution of a body politic that may permit them to act in freedom" was, in part, responsive to another of the editors' questions: can and should the United States "identify with the movement and leaders of change—instead of supporting the opponents of radical social reform?" This, of course, was a loaded question that practically demanded, and from some of the participants got, the complaint that American foreign policy has tended to support the reactionary right in the countries with which the United States is allied and otherwise associated. It ignored, however, such contrary examples as the American opposition, in the 40's, to Peron in Argentina (which in fact had the reverse effects of stimulating nationa-

list support for his dictatorship) and, on the other hand, American aid to the social revolution in Bolivia beginning in the 50's. Irving Howe pointed out that "if the United States were to become a nation supporting 'movements and leaders of change', then all the usual endorsements of non-intervention would have to be reconsidered"—an important consideration; if only in the realm of practical diplomacy.

In the field of foreign aid competition between the United States and the Communist bloc, Hans J. Morgenthau's perceptive essay brought out some of the political and psychological questions involved: "The United States, by dint of its pluralistic political philosophy and social system, cannot bring to the backward nations....a simple message of salvation, supported first by dedicated and disciplined revolutionary minorities and then by totalitarian control."

While the big American magazines such as *Time*, *Life*, *Saturday Evening Post* and *Reader's Digest* are well-known overseas, few foreign readers are acquainted with the United States' small circulation magazines of critical intellectual opinion. This is a pity for, as Norman Podhoretz, another symposium participant and editor of the distinguished American intellectual journal *Commentary* put it, "the most hopeful development in years is the....reappearance of....social criticism based on a very clear vision of what a decent life on this planet might look like, and full of concrete ideas which, if they have little chance of being put into immediate effect at least serve to refresh and nourish our fading sense of what the liberal-radical tradition has always stood for and how far short we still are of achieving it."

In spite of its assumption of an extreme minority position, this seems a fair statement of a constant in American thinking—the refusal to be satisfied with the status quo either at home or abroad.

AN OPEN LETTER

By WILLIAM HOOKENS

The more I see of my country, India, the more I feel a stranger in it. I almost feel a Rip Van Winkle and wonder if there are many who will understand my language. I am not speaking Latin or Greek and am not wanting to add any problem to language, believing as I do that we have enough on our hands. But somehow I feel ancient in company of my friends and even relatives who feel that I have stopped growing and want me to change!

And the question is: Who should change? They or I? Taking my stand—and I hope I am not a Primitive in this respect—on Values, since they know no change, I feel I am on firm ground, or the *terra firma*, as my Latin-speaking friends would say; and I begin to gain in confidence as I talk of Values because I see myself growing in mental and moral stature. I see Literature, Arts, Religion—all based on values; The Eternal Something that makes of the most ancient writers the most modern. It is this sense of Values that makes Chaucer as much as Spenser or Milton or Arnold of eternal significance: each fought the enemies of life or light with the only weapon he had: Values!

As I look up my books on English literature—the only legacy I am left with in the absence of any other—I cannot help choosing Sir B. I for Evans's book **ENGLISH LITERATURE: VALUES AND TRADITIONS**; and I believe what keeps the British alive in a world of turmoils, even in their own country, is their sturdy common sense as a result of belief in values and traditions. And their sense of humour is something that is enviable and keeps British as much as foreign humorists alive in the United Kingdom. What are the Values and Traditions of Britain? That's a big question and I believe the book will give a clue—only a clue, but then we need an open mind. It's not enough ransacking libraries: we've got to meet people... and more people... and believe in the Good...

and then we feel we are beginning to know things.

Another book—and I am glad there's an increase in the paper-cover books—which I loved to read was the one by the veteran literateur J. B. Priestly. His book **LITERATURE AND WESTERN MAN** is worth reading not only because it gives an insight into literature but of western man as well; and after reading the initial chapters I began to wonder whether there was such a concept as western man or eastern man; and I believe there is. There's much difference between western man and eastern man and despite the books brought out by the American publishers (like Vera Micheles Dean's book **THE NATURE OF THE NON-WESTERN WORLD**—A mentor book) there is no doubting that Asia and Europe are different, and it is natural: there have been so many changes in Asia as a result of her great wealth and simplicity of heart that it is rather unerving to see tradition go to the winds and other traditions take root. In fact, Asia has always represented the land of idealists, a world of philosophers; that the shocks of invasions have made things rather difficult to Asiatics who have become more cautious; more suspicious; more treacherous in fact. It is all a matter of being bitten once too often!

Christianity, a good thing in itself, was allied with Diplomacy and thus we have People who had begun to give away the Bible to those who knew nothing of it in exchange for land; and soon there was a cry from the Simple People: "Give us back our lands and take away your Bible!" And in one way or another there have been people who have taken advantage of eastern people and their simplicity and made short work of them! And today, I believe, the West as much as East the need to go into the question of living together: of co-existence rather than the struggle for power. One has only to read

Tagore side by side with Iqbal or Rumi to know how different the Hindus are from the Muslims ; and though there is much common with the Muslims and Christians (both are warlike and have warlike traditions) there is as Eliot, Isherwood and Spender feel much in common between the Christians and the Hindus. I am not at present thinking of the Hindus or Muslims who are so taken in with the Present as to feel themselves part of it and divorced from the Past . . . going the way of Progress and the West. For, much as I believe in the fusion of cultures and traditions by intermixture of literatures and blood, I feel there will always be difference between the Eastern man and the Western : the Eastern being, by and large, philosophical, Otherminded, often times immature ; the Western being practical, down-to earthiness, often times shrewd ! And yet when it comes to the Greats in literature and Arts and science there is absolutely no difference : Keats is of all of us ; and so is Shakespeare ; but then gone is the age of poetry and sensitivity . . . and today we have to use personal values without hurting anybody. Call nobody bad but so use your mind and speech that you bring good out of evil ! Be not a well or sink of iniquity but having risen above your petty self lift up others and go ye all together to the High Mountains and there enjoy the peace and glory that passeth understanding !

Men like Arthur Koestler whose novel **DARKNESS AT NOON** needs to be read for the dreadful things that can happen in broad daylight to people other than our own feel a strangeness, even loneliness and disillusion when they come to India or visit the East. They see hypocrisy writ large, corruption rampant . . . administration dreadfully slow . . . life despicably bad . . . and a form of subtle slavery existing between people and people of the same country . . . and when poverty and famines are man-made it irritates people who believe in human nature and want it to be good, useful rather than bad, predatory ; and tired man often wants rest, peace ; and he cannot see mischief going on in temples ; innocents being seduced ; the human personality trampled on by the juggernaut of Power ! And Arthur Koestler, I believe, is

a mature writer and man who is weary of the mad world of progress and wanted to see the India of the Past . . . alas ! wanting to put the lock back ! But then, do you blame Beverley Nichols who when he came to India began to look for the representative Indian and saw in the people a curious admixture of the east and the west, of good and bad . . . but then what are a People to do who have been invaded except suffer from an Inferiority Complex and prepare to put the enemy out ? With the British gone the Frontier is all open and the Chinese have taken the opportunity of pouncing on us ; and with the Kashmir Tangle unsolved the Muslims have not been slow to bolster up courage to put their viewpoint and show themselves wronged by the people of India. There have come to the surface many things and facts and the people of India suddenly see themselves in a dilemma ! And the question should not be : "Were we, as a people, better off during the British regime ?" But : "What are we going to do ? How are we going to unite the people, differing in caste, creed, language and manners, and make them feel one and indivisible ? How are we to marshal our best for the good of the country ?"

Hindi writers, Muslim writers and Indo-Anglian writers are all doing a good piece of job ; but the question is : Are they uniting people under one banner or are they dividing them or sectionally communally ? We have Prem Chand as much as Mulk Raj Anand and R. K. Narayan and I believe we can galvanise our writers as much as our people if only we give them peace, security. It is not enough giving Akademy Awards to already well-known writers who have won laurels abroad but to budding writers who need help, even patronage in the best sense of the world. Our writers cannot help seeing and recording what they see ; and much will depend on those we have in seats of power. If there is constant mouthing of high-sounding slogans and precious little of actual good ; if there is a sectional split between Man and Man ; if some are made to live for luxuries and others are doomed to die slow, agonising deaths, then we will be giving rise to writers like T. S. Eliot who sees the Hollow man leading the world and making

it come to ruin because he is a hollow ... stuffed man ... bereft of Reason. Common Sense or Values. India is a grand place, and its grandness will be evident to others who visit the place and observe the condition of the people and their thoughts and feelings. It's useless, therefore, to want the foreign tourists to only see the Ancient Relics of our land ... We must also allow them to see our people ... and talk to them ... live with them ... and practise that hospitality for which we as a people have been always known. Then only can we bring out the poetry and religion of India and make it representative

of the East and make others, now our enemies, love us and trust us for the good and beautiful things that we treasure mentally as much as physically. The impact of Great and Noble Things can never be over-estimated; and this only means that we as a People must rise to our stature and bring out our best and those we meet by contact with the infinite. In the land of the Greats there is no boundary or barrier; and Goothe and Kalidasa and Shakespeare can walk hand-in-hand because they see the likeness between Man and Man and the joy of the home that all want ... here and afterwards!

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE SEVENTH SCHEDULE OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By Prof. Makhija

I

Community Development as a subject does not find a mention in any of the lists given in the 7th Schedule of the Constitution of India; yet there is a Ministry at the Union level to deal with this subject (in addition to Co-operation). According to one critic,¹ the creation of the Community Development Ministry indicates a unitary trend in a federal system on account of the following factors:

- i) The Community Development Ministry has laid down for States norms whose effect is pervasive and effective. This has given rise to apprehensions that the programme has become too uniform and stereotyped to allow for regional variations and differences.
- ii) In the training of the personnel, the Ministry has taken either direct responsibility or has decisively influenced the pattern of training institutions as well as the content of the training.
- iii) Through conditional grants-in-aid, the ministry imposes a measure of uniformity (in programmes and policies) on the State Governments.

- iv) The normative influence of the centre is also felt in the prescription of job charts of the various functionaries.
- v) The decisions of various Conferences, Meetings, Seminars arranged by the Ministry and attended by the States direct the programme into centrally laid-out channels.

The object of this paper is to consider whether the Ministry of Community Development, on account of the above mentioned reasons, which may be summed up as gravitation towards centralisation through extra constitutional development, really indicates a Unitary trend in a federal system. For this purpose it will be necessary to discuss the nature of Community Development as a subject, as well as the nature of "federalism" and its evolution, with special reference to India.

II

If we look upon Community Development as one subject, it is quite constitutional for the Union Government to take over this subject under Article 248(1) according to which residuary powers of legislation are vested in the Union Government.² However,

in that case, the subject should be exclusively in the Union field ; but as matters stand, it is the State Governments that are responsible for the implementation of this programme. The fact of the matter is that even though Community Development sounds as one subject like say, economics, politics, education, health, etc., etc., actually it is not so. In reality it embraces, not, one subject, but a number of subject-matter programmes, with emphasis on the philosophy of self-help, extension, etc., etc., and with the ultimate aim of the total development of the community as a whole. According to the Secretary-General of the United Nations ; "Community Development can be recognised as a balanced programme for stimulating the local potential for growth in every direction." According to the 38th Report of the Estimates Committee (1956-57), the Planning Commission laid down the following as the main lines of activity to be undertaken in a Community Project—agriculture and related matters ; irrigation ; communications ; education ; health ; supplementary employment ; housing ; training ; and social welfare.³ Some others look upon Community Development as a "process of social action in which the people of a community organise themselves for planning and action."⁴ The all embracing nature of Community Development is brought out clearly by the U.N. Evaluation Mission (1959) at page 47 of their report in these words : "The over all aim of the Community Development programme in India is to assist in the building of a modern nation, bringing *all its potential resources* into line with modern political, economic and social standards as established in the majority of democratic countries." Thus Community Development cannot be looked upon as a subject in the sense in which other subjects have been listed in the Seventh Schedule.

In its narrower sense, Community Development may be looked upon as an integrated programme of activities in certain specified fields such as agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, cottage industries, health, housing, education, etc. etc. These various subjects, which form the components of the Community Development Programme, can be traced to List II of the Seventh Schedule.⁵ Now, the

essence of a federal system is that in these spheres the States should be free to frame their own policy, and their policies cannot be expected to be the same. But, from the very start the C.P.A. (now Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation) appears to have proceeded on the basis that there would be complete uniformity of policy in regard to Community Development Programmes in all the States, and that it would exercise detailed control over the programmes in the States not only in matters of policy but also in execution. According to one testimony,⁶ "Authority was centralised to a large extent. Even the selection of the B.D.O. had to be approved by the C.P.A."⁷ That was, however, at a time when the Community Projects were taking shape out of almost nothing. There was hardly any precedent to provide guidance and the whole programme was charged with a burning urgency. Gradually and steadily, a broad pattern of development began to take shape and the Ministry relaxed its control over the execution of the programme by the States. Nevertheless, the Union Government did not relax it completely, and towards the end of 1957, the Mehta Committee recommended that the "Centre should lay down the policy and prescribe the broad outlines of a scheme, and leave it to the State Governments to work it out in accordance with their own practices and in consonance with their local circumstances."⁸ "However, we have it on the evidence of the U.N. Evaluation Mission that, in spite of this rigidity", in one or two of the larger States, such as Bombay, there was adaptation of the programme to the needs of the State."⁹ This would support the contention of those who hold the view that the States, not only constitutionally but also in practice, are not bound by the decisions of the Central Ministry ; and that the Ministry has served to provide to the States a genuine partnership, a dynamic leadership and guidance based on its intimate contact with the field operations of the programme all over the country—a process facilitated by the universal appeal of the Community Development Programme as well as the dominance of a single political party at the Centre and in the States. A genuine partnership between the Centre and the States to achieve a common aim,

that is, rapid rural development, cannot be said to mark a unitary trend in a federal system, especially, and if only, it is remembered that "when two men ride horseback, one rides behind."

III

Federalism has become one of the most enigmatic words of the twentieth century; it means different things to different people. There is a classical version, and there are other versions. The main features of the classical form of federalism are well-known: the federal structure is the outcome of the merger of a number of separate states into a single sovereign state, with legislative and executive powers divided co-ordinately between federal and unit governments; a written constitution which cannot be changed unilaterally; and judicial review. After examining the constitutions of the U.S.A., Australia and Canada—the three Anglo-American federations—Corry defines classical federalism as follows: "General and regional governments of co-ordinate authority, each independent of the other in its appropriate sphere, ruling over the same person and the same territory, under the benign surveillance of a court."¹⁰ But even in classical federations there has developed a notable gap between the original theory as defined in the constitution, and current practices. These federations have become more and more centralised and the change has been "effected without striking amendments in the formal constitutions of these countries",¹¹ with the result that the practical reality today is different from the Constitutional reality. Various factors have contributed towards this evolution during the past two centuries:

First, technical inventions and scientific discoveries have changed economic conditions completely. Rappard tells us how the telegraph, the telephone, the rail-roads, the industrial patents, the progress of hydro-electricity, etc., etc., proved to be an ally of the tendency towards centralization in Switzerland.¹² This is not less true of other federal countries.

Second, industrial progress, through scientific and technological advancement, gave rise

to slums, unemployment exploitation, and other evils of the factory system. These evils called for state intervention, inasmuch as people looked to the government, to provide them with social security and protect them from exploitation. The depression of 1930's also had a similar effect.

Third, with the development of the atom and the hydrogen bombs, the ICBMs; space ships, etc., etc., the whole complexion of war has changed. Modern war has become total war, and experience of the federal countries in World War II shows that extensive powers had to be vested in the federal government for successful prosecution of the war.¹³

Fourth, in international relations, the United Nations Organisation and its specialised agencies throw upon the Federal Governments a number of obligations. These obligations, along with the obligations of implementing international treaties, gives them (Federal Governments) a lot of opportunity to interfere in the jurisdiction allotted to states.

Fifth, the financially weak units in the federation could not, and did not, reconcile themselves to being left alone in their weakness; as members of the federal family they scrambled for financial help, so as to approximate to the average, on the plea that the richer states extracted much wealth from every section of the population and from all parts of the country and this wealth should be returned whence it came. Out of this scramble, and through a long and complicated process of trial and error, there emerged a financial pattern in which more and more powers gravitated to the central government for raising of resources and for returning these resources to the State Governments through loans and grants.

Sixth, though by no means the last, the concept of the welfare state caught the imagination of the people everywhere. To them that government was the best government which guaranteed to them social security and freedom from all kinds of undeserved want right from the womb to the tomb.

Thus through compulsion of political, technological, economic, social and financial forces there has been taking place a gradual extension of Federal Government activities

and of Federal Government intervention into fields which were formerly considered to be outside the bounds of its legitimate domain. This led to the evolution of federalism in the countries where it was considered to exist in its classical form. To quote Prof. Wheare once again : "In all the four countries (the U. S. A., Canada, Australia and Switzerland), the central governments have become incomparably the most powerful financial authorities in their federal systems and the regional governments have been reduced to a restricted, if not subordinate, position...they have accepted, in varying degrees, some measure of financial subordination to the central government"¹⁴. This evolution has taken place over a period of one hundred years or more through constitutional amendments, or judicial interpretations or merely through conventions and usage.

IV

The Indian Constitution was born in the middle of the 20th Century. The fathers of the Indian Constitution were aware of the evolution which classical federalism had undergone in other countries. They were also conscious of the fact that if classical federalism could not adequately answer the modern conditions in its own home lands, it could be expected, much less to do so in conditions obtaining in post-independence India, or to be a fit instrument for meeting the aspirations of the people in the social, economic and political spheres. In an effort to draw upon the merits of both the federal and unitary systems in a balanced way, they designed a Constitution which was at once federal and unitary. It is federal in the sense that (1) it is a Union of States (2) there is a division of powers between the federal government and governments of the federating units, and this division cannot be amended without mutual agreement, and (3) there is an independent judiciary to interpret the constitution. On the other hand, it is unitary in the sense that the Union Parliament can, under certain conditions, legislate on the subjects in the State list, there are the common All-India services, and there are the emergency provisions—to name a few unitary features. It is because of this combination of the federal and unitary

features that some political thinkers have described the Indian Constitution as quasi-federal.¹⁵ Some others have suggested that there can be no such thing as quasi-federalism : 'a constitution is either federal or is not federal. Because of this difficulty some authorities have tried to describe the Indian Constitution to provide for a "decentralised Unitary State", for a "Centralised Federalism", for a "paramount federalism", or for a "Co-operative federalism."

The Term "Co-operative federalism" owes its origin to the need and desire of the under-developed countries for rapid economic advancement as represented in India by "the common determination of the Central Government and the governments of all the states of the Union of India to carry out the Plan."¹⁶ This determination, as distinct from mere "desire" or "intention", to build a new nation implies acceptance of a former economic policy and maximisation of a steady rate of economic growth for the nation as a whole. Such a determination cannot obviously be compatible with the existence of a loose federation wherein the powers of the Union Government are strictly limited.

The Constitution of India is also said to establish federation "in reverse."¹⁷ The federalism in India, it is stated, evolved by way of political devolution from a former colonial unitary structure. Thus, instead of the states ceding some of their powers to the Central Government as a result of their agreeing to join a federation, the States received certain powers from the former Unitary Government. It is because of this that the residual powers in India are vested in the Union Government and not in the State Governments, as is the case in the U.S.A., Australia and Switzerland. The division of powers in the Indian Constitution thus appears to have been motivated more by the need for decentralisation, so as to facilitate the process of public administration, especially in view of the large size of the country, rather than by the compulsion of federal principles.

The Indian Constitution is thus conditioned by the history and geography of India as well as by the economic, social and political aspiration of its people. Its federalism conforms to the demands of modern times, the

emphasis being rightly placed on the practical reality of the day rather than on theoretical forms of federalism. In this context one can hardly disagree with Frankfurt that "Federal Governments are not the off-spring of political science; they are the product of economic and social pressures."¹¹

V

Community Development is a part of planning in India. Though the actual implementation of the community development programme is the responsibility of the State Governments, The Community Development Ministry has, for its terms of reference, the responsibility for "planning, directing and co-ordinating" the Community Projects throughout the country under the general supervision of the Central Committee and in consultation with the appropriate authorities in the various States.¹⁹ The objectives of the Community Development programme have been defined as under²⁰ :—

- i) Leading rural population from chronic under-employment to full employment,
- ii) Leading rural population from chronic agricultural under-production to full production, by application of scientific knowledge;
- iii) The largest possible extension of the principle of co-operation by making the rural families credit-worthy; and
- iv) Increased community effort for work of benefit to the community as a whole, such as village roads, tanks, wells, schools, community centres, children's parks, etc., etc.

In short the function of the Community Development programme is to bring about the transformation of the erstwhile "police state" into a "Welfare State". But there can be no doubt that federal states and welfare states do not go well together.²¹ Having enshrined in the Indian Constitution the Directive Principles of State Policy, the Constitutional fathers were disposed to give the Union Government adequate powers, within the democratic frame-work, to act effectively for securing and protecting a social order "in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life."²²

National Planning demands centralisation, which is incompatible with federalism. Planning in India was foreseen by the Constitutional fathers as the logical outcome of the march of history and there could be no escape from it, even if it impinged upon the principles of federalism. Therefore, the principles of federalism were subordinated to Planning to the extent that they were in conflict with it. The position has been summed up in these words by a distinguished authority: "The master-plan of economic development must be country-wide... all federating units must accept over-all direction" imposed by the master-plan. The federal Government must have adequate powers to evolve the general plan of economic development for the whole country and must have power to carry out its essential features and to supervise and enforce its implementation by the federating units. This is only inherent in economic planning."²³ Evidently a large number of sectors of economic development, e.g., husbanding the hydro-electric resources, setting up of steel and Atomic Plants, Planning of Crop Production, exploitation of mineral resources—do not admit of fractional treatment. It is, therefore, not surprising that those who regard the Indian Constitution as federal, see a unitary trend in its working during the past ten years. According to Shri Santhanam, "Planning for the purposes of economic development practically superseded the federal constitution so far as states were concerned."²⁴ But, as has been pointed out already, the Indian Constitution itself does not claim to be federal, especially in its narrow and rigid theoretical sense.

VI

The question of Community Development vis-a-vis the Divisional Powers in the 7th Schedule of the Indian Constitution has to be looked in the perspective mentioned in the foregoing sections.

The criticism of Community Development, mentioned earlier in this article would appear to be without substance when it is remembered that—

"First, the Community Development is more a concept or method or a programme, which transcends the artificial boundaries set up between the centre and the states by the

therefore, that it does not find a place as a subject in any of the three lists of the 7th Schedule.

Second, Federalism, in the modern world, has for different people different shades of meaning varying between classical federalism and a decentralised unitary system.

Third, the Indian Constitution does not claim to be a federal one.

Fourth, Constitution provides for a strong centre, as the fathers of the constitution realized that federalism was not compatible with economic planning, and

Fifth, the Community Development has almost a universal appeal as being the best instrument for the rapid regeneration of rural India.

The criticism becomes still more diluted when the Union-State participation in this programme is looked upon as a partnership, rather than as a superior-subordinate relationship. According to the U. N. Evaluation Mission²⁵ "The Policy for Community Development in India is formulated at the central and state levels, but country-wide consultations are carried out in all-India conferences or seminars on particular subjects or problems." In the light of this evidence, the charge of one way influence by the central Ministry of Community Development does not appear to hold much water. As Shri Santhanam points out in another context:— "If a State argues that the Planning Commission has no statutory authority and that it is not bound by its decision, constitutionally it would be quite right and the (Central) government would be powerless to compel the state to fall in line."²⁶ These remarks apply no less to the Ministry of Community Development. If the States have accepted the normal pattern of Community Development, if they send their personnel to the Trading Institutions set up by the Ministry, if they take part in the conferences and seminars arranged by the Ministry, they do so as equal partners in the full knowledge that thereby they contribute to, and derive benefit from, the pooled experience of all the States which the Ministry alone is in the best position to provide. Also, the Ministry of Community Development can

control over the details of the programme, having passed on much of it to the State Governments, than what most other Ministries of the Central Government have done in respect of schemes sponsored and financed by them wholly or partly, though executed by the State Governments."²⁷ And finally, there is no evidence that the partnership of the Centre and the States in this "mighty adventure" of building up a new rural India restricts in any way the freedom of the State to modify the programme so as to suit the conditions prevailing in a particular area. In this sense Community Development does not mark any "unitary trend in a federal system." Community Development seeks to provide an answer to the call of the day: it is completely in tune with the federalism evolving under the stress of present-day conditions.

1. Dubhashi P. R., Unitary Trends in a Federal System. I. J. P. A., Vol. VI, No. 3, pp 243—256.

2. Article 248 (1) reads: Parliament has exclusive power to make any law with respect to any matter not enumerated in the concurrent list; or the State List.

3. Estimates Committee (1959-57), 38 Report on Ministry of Community Development Part I, p. 10.

4. Community Development Review (International Co-operation Administration, Washington, D. C.) December, 1956, quoted by Rajeshwar Dyal, Community Development Programme in India, 1960, p 5.

5. For greater details see P. R. Dubhashi, op. cit. pp. 246—47.

6. Mukerji, B.—Community Development in India, 1962, P167.

7. The name given to the central organisation before the formation of Ministry of Community Development in 1956.

8. Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects & NES under the Chairmanship of Shri Balwant Raj Mehta, Vol. I 1957, p 30

9. Report of a Community Development Evaluation Mission in India (1951-59), P 64 Para 64.

10. Corry J A.—Chapter on Constitutional Trends and Federalism in Evolving Canadian Federalism (1958 Ed.), by A.R.M. Lower, F. B. Scott, et al, p 95

11. Corry, ibid., p 96

12. For a graphic account, see William E. Reppard—Govt. of Switzerland.

13. Wheare, K.C. in his "Federal Government" (p. 197) says: While it is the essence of federation to be pluralistic, it is the essence of war powers to be unitary."

14. Wheare, K. C., Federal Governments, op. cit. p. 185

15. Wheare, K. C., Federal Government op. cit. "The Indian Constitution does not indeed claim to establish a federal Union, but the federal principle has been introduced into its terms to such an extent that it is justifiable to describe it as a quasi-federal constitution". (P 28).

16. Government of India, Planning Commission, Second Five Year Plan, p. 11.

17. Federalism and Economic Growth in Under Developed Countries—A Symposium—George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

19. Livingston S.—Federalism and Constitutional Change, Oxford, 1956—quoted on the page facing the "Preface".

19. Estimates Committee, op. cit. p. 7.

20. Estimates Committee, op. cit. p. 15.

21. Federalism and Economic Growth in Under Developed Countries op. cit p. 55.

22. The Constitution of India, Article. 38.

23. Gadgil, D. R., Federating India, Poona Gakhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1945, p. 44. quoted by Dubhashi op. cit. pp. 943-44.

24. Santhanam, K., Union State Relations, issued by the Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1960, p 47.

25. U. N. Evaluation Mission Report, op. cit., p. 10.

26. Santhanam, K., Union-State Relations, op. cit. p. 44.

27. Mukherji, B., Community Development in India, op. cit p. 168.



THE CASE FOR A PERMANENT TRIBUNAL OF INQUIRY

By R. K. SWAMY

I

Charges of corruption against Ministers have become very common in this country, and allegations are frequently made in the Legislative Assemblies, Press and public meetings. Most of them go unchallenged. Equally strange is the fact that those who make allegations rarely take steps to establish their charges. Generally, the charges are too vague to warrant any specific action. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the party in power has encouraged the government, especially in the States where charges of corruption are many, to overlook these allegations on the ground that such allegations are nothing but political propaganda. Due to the acceptance of the concept of a Welfare State and the consequent emphasis on rapid industrial and economic development, Ministers and civil servants now wield enormous powers over vast resources, a task that requires great experience of men and materials which most of our ministers do not have. There is every likelihood that bona fide mistakes and error of judgement might lead to waste of public funds; lack of experience may also contribute to unconventional use of authority which might be misinterpreted by the public to mean many things, other than what was meant by the minister himself. Bound by intricate personal ties, the ministers find it difficult to keep off the relatives aspiring to make capital out of the ministers' newly acquired powers. Most of the ministers themselves find it difficult how not to subordinate public welfare to personal gains. Consequently, some of them may, by chance or by design, deviate from the normal behaviour expected of them. In this respect the public is no better than the minister. The opportunity to freely criticize those in power is a novel experience to many of them. Due to the multiplicity of political parties and their propaganda, the political awareness of the people has increased considerably. This, perhaps, is the reason

for the people becoming over-critical of the ministers. Nevertheless, the charges of corruption, however baseless and vague they may be, have adverse effects on the administration. In a democracy, they tend to demoralise and discourage ministers who tend to be enterprising. Baseless charges hamper initiative and it is only natural that many of the ministers are inclined to play safe. Bona fide mistakes and errors of judgement may be twisted to mean favouritism and abuse of power; and many allegations are made merely to discredit the ministers. Added to this, the indifference of the Ministers to criticisms and charges has encouraged baseless and irresponsible charges of corruption and favouritism.

Criticisms cannot be discouraged as the people have a right to see that the government should function efficiently and with a minimum of waste. The confidence reposed in the ministers by the people must be on solid foundation; otherwise, it may mean the very collapse of democratic administration since repeated and unchallenged charges of corruption against ministers may lead to absence of trust in democracy. So, it is essential that in a democratic set-up, ministers are not only honest but above suspicion.

Corruption, of course, takes various forms. It need not necessarily be in the form of money nor need not be a personal gain to a minister. Money may be given to the Minister or his relative or friend for personal use; or it may be for the political party to which the Minister belongs. In return for the benefactions thus received, the minister may use his position to get some work done to the benefactor. It may be a quick disposal of a file, issue of a license, permit, contract or withdrawal of any action proposed to be taken against somebody. Another form of corruption is abuse of power, for example use of public funds to help private individuals as alleged in the L.I.C. investment in Mundhra concerns. Or as it may be, the minister

employed in public services or in big private companies that may have dealings with the Government. In return for all these, the minister may show some concessions or favours which in the normal course of events, he should not do. This misconduct, abuse of power, favouritism are merely offshoots or ramifications of corruption and have to be tackled objectively.

II

Even in countries like England and U.S.A., where public morality is said to be of a higher standard, the problem of improper use of authority and corruption exists. How far these countries have been successful in dealing with this will be a profitable study to us. Speaking on this issue in the Rajya Sabha on February 12, 1960 the Prime Minister condemned all loose talk about corruption, and observed that charges should not be flung about to create confusion and lack of faith in the minds of the people and thereby do injury to the nation's cause. The Prime Minister added that those who made allegations should go to the ordinary courts of law instead of demanding special tribunals. No doubt, the courts in this country are the custodians of law, both public and private, but whether they could uphold public morality is a controversial question. Even if the courts are inclined to consider questions concerning public morality, it is impossible to bring them under the group of cognizable offences. The people are protected against arbitrary executive action, but there is no remedy for the improper use of authority and misconduct in the ordinary courts unless the executive violates the established law enforced by the courts. Very often abuse of power and improper use of authority are outside the jurisdiction of the law courts; so are nepotism, favouritism, etc. Apart from this, the citizen making the allegation is in a disadvantageous position, because he has no access to official files and documents. There is no provision for the citizen to get the official papers and search out incriminating facts in this country.

Such a thing is possible only in Sweden. This is very important because unless the allegations are backed by evidence, the courts

Minister himself admitted in the Rajya Sabha on February 12, 1960 that there was great difficulty in establishing the cases started by the Special Police Establishment before the courts and the latter were not satisfied unless there was cent per cent evidence. He said, "it is a frustrating and exasperating experience to see years pass by before anything could be done to a person known to be guilty of heinous offences." The Special Police Establishment conducts preliminary investigations into corruption cases involving the public servants but has to prove the charges before a court of law. Whether the SPE could proceed with equal independence into cases involving ministers is yet to be seen. A very recent episode in this connection did not throw much light. Thus to deal with cases concerning public morality and political influence, somewhat different institutions are required which will investigate charges without being bound by onerous rules of evidence.

III

Public Inquiry Commissions, as an institution to deal with corruption charges, have been used in England, U.S.A. and India. For our purpose, public inquiry will mean "inquiries conducted by permanent or ad hoc bodies; empowered by some definite statute, resolution or order, to investigate some particular problem of public interest".¹ In U.S.A., such committees are appointed by the Congress by special statute and their powers are defined in the statute itself. In England and in India, public inquiry commissions may be constituted under the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act, 1921 and the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952, respectively. The tribunal and the Commission have been used to investigate charges of corruption against ministers. The tribunal and the commission have identical powers. The tribunal could be appointed when a resolution is passed in both the Houses of Parliament (Commons and Lords) for inquiring into a definite matter of urgent public importance.²

On the other hand in India, a Commission could be constituted for similar reasons (but not necessarily urgent) by a resolution in the

be appointed, since conditions must be fulfilled: The matter to be investigated must be:

1. Definite.
2. Urgent.
- and 3. of public importance.

But in India, a Commission of Inquiry could be constituted even when the matter concerned is not urgent.

The powers of the tribunal and the Commission are very similar. S.1. of the Tribunals of Inquiry Act states that the tribunal shall have all the powers and privileges of a High Court in respect of the following matters.

- (a) The enforcing attendance of witnesses and examining them on oath, affirmation or otherwise,
- and (c) subject to the rules of the court, the issuing of a commission to examine witnesses abroad.

Section 4 of the Commission of Inquiry Act is on the same lines, and declares that the Commission shall have powers of a Civil court while trying a suit under the Code of Civil Procedure in respect of the following matters.

- (i) Summoning and enforcing the attendance of any person and examining him on oath.
- (ii) Requiring the discovery and production of any document.
- (iii) Receiving evidence on affidavits.
- (iv) Requisitioning any public record or copy thereof from any court or office;
- (v) Issuing commissions for the examination of witnesses or documents;
- and (vi) any other matter which may be prescribed.

By Section 5(2), the Government may authorise the Commission to require any person subject to any privilege which may be claimed by the person under any law for the time being in force, to furnish information on such points or matters as, in the opinion of the Commission, may be useful for or relevant to the subject-matter of the inquiry. The Government may also empower the Commission or a gazetted officer specially authorised by the Commission for this purpose, to enter any building or place where the Commission has reason to believe that any books or

inquiry may be found and may seize any such documents or books or take extracts or copies of them subject to Ss. 102, 103 of the Code of Criminal Procedure in so far as they may be applicable—(Ss. 102, 103 of the Cr. P. Code (India) refer to the method of search and presence of witnesses during the search). The Commissions of Inquiry Act also states that a Commission shall be deemed to be a civil court, and when any offence as described in the Indian Penal Code in S.175 (Omission to produce documents by the person legally bound to produce it); S. 178 (refusing oath or affirmation when duly required by a public servant to make it); S. 179 (refusing to answer a public servant authorised to question); S.180 (refusing to sign statements) and S. 228 (intentional insult or interruption to public servant sitting on judicial proceedings) is committed before the Commission, it may forward the case to a magistrate having the jurisdiction to try the same under S. 482 of the Code of Criminal procedure which relates to proceedings in cases of offences against, and affecting the administration of justice. By S(5) of the Act, any proceeding before a Commission shall be deemed to be a judicial proceeding.

Both the English and the Indian Acts give immunity for statements made before this court of inquiry, if they are relevant and not false. The Tribunal and the Commission are given powers to regulate the procedure to be followed by them. The Commission has power to decide whether to sit in public or otherwise, but the Indian Act does not state in what circumstances the public may be excluded from the proceeding. It is understood that the discretion is to be exercised like other courts in the country. S. 2 (a) of the English Act expressly states that a tribunal shall not refuse to allow the public to be present at any part of the proceeding unless, in the opinion of the tribunal, it is in the public interest to do so. A tribunal may or may not permit legal representation to any person appearing before it, it is stated in the Act. Although no such provision is included in the Indian Act, the Commission has got discretion to permit or not to permit legal representation.

The Commissions of Inquiry Act enables the Government to confer more power on a Commission. Re-examination of new witnesses and recall of witnesses who have already tendered evidence even after the recording of all the evidence by a Commission has been made possible by the Central Commissions of Inquiry (Procedure) Rules, 1960. The rules have been made in exercise of powers conferred by the Act and will apply to all commissions appointed by the Central Government. A Commission shall issue a notice to every person who, in its opinion, should be given an opportunity of being heard, to furnish a statement relating to such matters as may be specified in the notice, and to issue a notification inviting all persons acquainted with the subject matter of the inquiry to give statements relating to the inquiry. Every such statement has to be accompanied by an affidavit. It has also been made obligatory for a Commission to give a reasonable opportunity to any person whose reputation is likely to be prejudicially affected by the inquiry, to be heard and to produce evidence in his defence. Moreover, after all the evidence has been recorded, if the Central Government applies to the Commission to recall any witness or to examine any new witness, a Commission can, if satisfied that it is necessary for the proper determination of any relevant fact, recall a witness or examine new witnesses. According to the Commissions of Inquiry Act, a Commission shall continue to exist unless Government declares that it shall cease to exist from such date as may be notified in the official gazette.

After narrating powers of the tribunal and the Commission, the task now is to find out how far public inquiry bodies will be able to function successfully as anti-graft institutions.

IV

Belcher Case 1948-49: England—The Police in their normal course of investigation into some allegations, found out that money obtained from a foot-ball promoters' firm had been used to influence the Board of Trade. The name of Belcher, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, was involved. As the Government was anxious that the fullest

possible public inquiry should be made into the allegation which reflected on the purity of the administration, a Tribunal of Inquiry was then appointed under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Lynsky, a High Court Judge. The Lynsky Tribunal reported adversely on Belcher and Gibson, Director of the Bank of England and Chairman of the N. W. Electricity Board. The report was published on January 25, 1949. The report stated that there was no evidence to show that large sums of money were involved. But Belcher was found to have accepted some presents, including a gold cigarette case, etc., knowing well that they were made for securing expeditious and favourable considerations by the Board of Trade. Belcher assisted some parties and withdrew one prosecution. On the publication of the report, Belcher announced his resignation.⁴ Some important statements that Belcher made may be noted here. He deplored the fact that there was no appeal against the tribunal's findings except "to the hearts and minds of those listening" to him. There can be no appeal on the tribunal's finding as the tribunal is only a fact-finding body, and not a law-court. It would be reasonable to expect a tribunal to inform all the persons who are likely to be affected by the report so that they could produce evidence in their defence. The findings must be notified before the report is finalised so that the aggrieved persons are not deprived of the opportunity to explain their case with reference to the findings of the Tribunal. This is made possible, in India, by the new Commissions of Inquiry (Procedure) Rules, 1960.

Crechel Down Case: England 1953-54—Another important public inquiry was conducted by Andrew Clark, Q. C. into what is known as "Crechel Down Case." In the year 1937, 725 acres of land at Crechel Down were compulsorily acquired by the Air Ministry. In 1950, the land was transferred to the Agriculture Ministry when the land ceased to be a bombing area. Crechel area was a part of the 725 acres previously held by Lieut. Com. Marten's father-in-law. The Agriculture Ministry handed over the land to the Lands Commission for management. When it came to be known that Crechel Down

received by the Lands Service, a document wing of the Ministry of Agriculture. The applicants were informed that tenancy would be advertised for tender in the press as soon as the property was ready. Com. Marten offered to buy the Crichele area, or the whole of Crichele Down since the former area was compulsorily acquired from his father-in-law. By now Crichele Down was handed over to the Commissioners of Crown Lands and they decided to ascertain the possible rent for the area and then deal with the property. The Crown Lands Commissioner, Thomson contacted Mr. Tozer who agreed to pay £3 per acre as rent for the equipped land. Com. Marten wrote to 'Crown Lands' that he would rent the land without additional equipment, but was informed that the land was not for re-sale. Com. Marten's offer was ignored. After two months Crichele Down was given to Mr. Tozer on an annual tenancy basis. In September, 1953, a petition was sent to the minister by farmers and land-owners (who were original applicants) asking for a public inquiry; the minister was told that he was ill-advised and not apprised of true facts.

The Tribunal, under the Chairmanship of Andrew Clark, Q. C., in its report stated that the failure to notify the Commissioners of Crown-lands of the applications for tenancy was due to the transfer of the officer then in charge of Lands Service. The Successor, came to know of the applications only in March, 1953 and that the selection of a tenant by Mr. Thomson in February, 1953 was perfectly bonafide although it would have been in accord with the normal practice if it had been put up for public tender. The Tribunal observed that no better rent would have been obtained through public tender than that agreed to by Mr. Tozer. The Tribunal maintained that there was no trace of corruption, bribery or personal dishonesty, but the procedure adopted was such as to give rise to misgivings among local farmers and land owners so as to justify the clamour for a public inquiry.

Bank Rate Leakage Inquiry (England 1957) :—Another important public inquiry in England was the Parker Tribunal, which

dealt with leakage of the Bank rate from 5% to 7% was announced on September 19, 1957. The day before this announcement, the London Stock Market registered heavy sales of government securities. Newspapers reported selling of gilt-edged securities on the earlier day. Mr. Harold Wilson, the Shadow Chancellor, inferred that there must have been a leakage of the proposal to increase the Bank rate and wrote to the Financial Secretary to the Treasury asking for an inquiry into the matter. On September 26, Mr. Wilson offered to submit evidence and alleged that he had information suggesting that the leakage emanated from a political source. The Lord Chancellor conducted the preliminary inquiry and concluded that there was no ground for a public inquiry. (Sep. 22, 57). Mr. Gaitskell disagreed with the Lord Chancellor and said that the inquiry should have been conducted by an independent, judicial person with powers to send for records and take evidence on oath. Due to repeated demands of the opposition for an inquiry, the Prime Minister announced the decision to hold an inquiry, on November 13, 1957. Lord Justice Parkes was appointed Chairman with two Queen's counsels as members of the Tribunal which reported on January 21, 1958. The Tribunal observed that there was no justification for the allegations that information about the raising of Bank rate was improperly disclosed to any person. The Chancellor of Exchequer did explain in advance to press men, representatives of industry and the Conservative Central Office about the intended financial measures but this was done with the approval of his cabinet colleagues. The propriety of such disclosures was for the Parliament to decide, the Tribunal added. It observed that it was not concerned with the question of a director of the Bank of England having other business responsibilities which was also a policy matter to be decided by the Parliament.

L.I.C. Investment Inquiry India 1958-59 :—After dealing with some of the important cases where public inquiry was conducted in England, we will take up an Indian case in this field. The Chagla Inquiry

Commission was appointed by the Central Government on January 7, 1958 when charges of collusion and conspiracy were made in the Lok Sabha in connection with investment of the Life Insurance Corporation funds in Mundhra group of concerns. A statement of purchases of shares by the L.I.C. was placed on the table of the Lok Sabha on December 11, 1957. On December 16, 1957, Mr. F. Gandhi raised a plea for enquiry into the "conspiracy in which", he said, "public funds of L.I.C. amounting to, over Rs. 1.56 crores were wrongfully employed to finance the interests of an individual (Mr. Haridas Mundhra) at the cost of the insured." He charged LIC with 'collusion with Mundhra'. He said that prices of shares purchased by LIC in the Mundhra group of concerns were artificially manipulated in the Calcutta Stock Exchange and were bought directly from Mundhra instead of from the open market. He said there were forged series of Mundhra shares in the market, add the LIC failed to take proper precautions. The Finance Minister denied all charges of conspiracy and collusion, and disclaimed direct responsibility for the transaction. The general trend of the debate in the Lok Sabha was that the funds of LIC were wrongfully used to finance an individual at the cost of the insured. Mr. Dange said that the deal was arranged to help 'some' old friends of 'some' ministers. As a consequence of the intense demand for a probe, the Central Government appointed Mr. Justice Chagla as a one man Commission of Inquiry on January 7, 1958. The Commission was asked to inquire into and report on the transactions of LIC relating to the purchase of shares in the Mundhra group of concerns. Although the Finance Minister, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari denied having authorised or acquiesced with the purchase of shares, the Commission in its report fixed the responsibility squarely on the Finance Minister, both constitutionally and in terms of acquiescence.

Technically, the Commission fixed the responsibility on the two executive officers of the Corporation, Shri Kamath and Shri Vidhyanathan. The Commission refused to believe the statement of Shri H.M. Patel, Principal Finance Secretary, that the

purchase was made to relieve the crisis in Calcutta Stock Exchange and concluded that the shares were bought purely to help Shri Haridas Mundhra out of his difficulties, and that Shri H. M. Patel took the leading part in bringing about the transaction and that his actions were not repudiated by the Finance Minister. The procedure followed in fixing up the price was strongly criticized as unbusinesslike. The Commission pointed out that the Investment Committee of the Life Insurance Corporation was superseded. When the findings of the Commission came to be known, Shri T. T. K. resigned and further inquiry under Public Servants (Enquiries) Act, 1850 was ordered to investigate into the findings on the conduct of the three public servants above named.

V

Now let us examine how far these inquiries were successful as anti-graft investigation bodies. In his reply dated 12-1-1951 to Shri T. T. Krishnamachari's resignation letter, Shri Nehru observed that his manner of approach to a complicated problem was hardly satisfactory. This was not the fault of any person but was rather due to the nature and method of such enquiry, he added. He further said that it (the enquiry) was neither judicial nor capable of eliciting all the facts. He condemned the interest shown by the public over the enquiry and remarked that he personally felt Shri T. T. K. had little to do with the transactions. These remarks of the Prime Minister caused widespread criticism. Mr. A. D. Gorwala, a distinguished retired civil servant, wrote in a letter to the Statesman, dated 16-2-1958, that Nehru's attitude had shocked many people. He added: "Let us have at least some regard for democratic decency in our political life."

Acharya Kripalani said in the Lok Sabha on February 19, 1958 that there was no doubt that the enquiry was of a judicial character and the conclusions were based on the evidence placed before the Commission. The Hindu, in the Editorial dated February 2, 1958 observed; "The Chagla report was generally welcomed in the Lok Sabha as enhancing the dignity and majesty of Parliament, and demonstrating to the world 'the democratic

ing to Chagla, C. J., the enquiry had been an education for the public.' "It should also act as a corrective to administrators all over the country because in future they would act with the consciousness that their actions may be subjected to public scrutiny", he said.

Both Chagla, C. J. and Mr. Setalvad who assisted him were of the opinion that all the facts relating to the case had not been placed before the Commission.

The comments on the Tribunals in England are equally interesting. Commenting on the Bank Rate Tribunal, Times (London)⁵ observed that in the process (of enquiry) many innocent people were put to great expense of time and money; some who were not more than bystanders had to make public many intimate details of their lives and conversations; men of high standing were treated like prisoners in the dock. "Granted that any genuine suspicion of dishonesty in public life must be probed, is this provided for in a way which is not open to abuse?"—the editorial challenged. While discussing who should commission a public enquiry, it said, the decision to hold a public enquiry must rest squarely with Parliament and thereby with the Government which commands a parliamentary majority. It further remarked, "there is no escaping the fact that inquiries of this kind, once started, are found to be costly and unpleasant and all too likely to do at least temporary harm to innocent people, whatever the procedure. The first need is that they (inquiries) should not be instituted without sufficient cause. Parliament should exercise careful restraint in demanding them and be still more careful in bandying names about."

When the Parker report was discussed in the Commons on February 3, 1958, Mr. Butler expressed similar sentiments. He said, "It is impossible to tell beforehand how many people will be affected by such an enquiry. Technically no one is accused. Too many people have had many details of their private lives laid bare, not only politicians but bankers, brokers, jobbers, government officials and a variety of others. Accordingly a heavy burden lies on those who pursue a campaign regardless of the means employed,

case (in asking for a public inquiry).

While admitting that public inquiries have their own merits, as an anti-graft body, it has got to be very sparingly used. The procedure for constituting a commission itself is very cumbersome and the motives may have even a political bias. It is probable that the party in power will, as far as possible, try to avoid public scrutiny of its ministers' conduct and instead may arrange for internal probes. This will not, however, restore the confidence of the people. Further every time a specific charge is to be made, the people in the "know of things" may not come forward with the evidence for fear of drawing adverse action on themselves. A Commission once constituted may be made to continue its existence for a long duration but whether "corruption" as such can be a specific charge for a probe is doubtful since only specific cases can be referred to and not vague generalisations. The consensus of opinion is that a public enquiry commission is not a suitable institution. The ad hoc nature of the Commission, constituted after much hue and cry, automatically arouses psychological tensions. The individuals concerned come in the limelight, and much protective displays become unavoidable. Moreover, the reports of findings are submitted by the Commissions to the Government which reserves the right to publish or withhold them. The Government may accept the report or disagree with it, and may initiate a separate departmental enquiry. This process even though genuine, does not help to consolidate public confidence in the right direction. Commissions that were constituted after clamour in press and parliament on specific cases draws lot of undesirable public attention, and defeats the very purpose of their existence. What is needed therefore is a more stable and quiet means for inquiring into affairs which deserve censure. If public inquiry is not the appropriate body to probe into corruption, the task is to find out what else is better suited for the purpose.

VI

In his Srinivas Sastri Lectures, 1959, at the Madras University, Shri C. D. Deshmukh observed: "An uneasy public hears of nepo-

tism (still very common), highhandedness, jerry-mandering, feathering of nests through procreancy and a dozen other sins of commission, and omission, and yet is helpless for lack of data, facts and figures, evidence and proof. The informants are in nearly every case timid and fearful lest they should come into trouble by testifying to the alleged facts. It is in order to deal with such a situation that a high level, impartial, standing judicial tribunal is called for, to investigate and report on complaints or laying of information. If such a commission is established, I shall be happy to make a beginning by lodging half a dozen information myself."⁶ On analysis, Shri Deshmukh's suggestion has the following important features :

1. The tribunal will be a high level body ;
2. It will be judicial ;
3. It will be impartial ;
4. It will be permanent ; and
5. It will only investigate and report on complaints.

While speaking in the Rajya Sabha on February 12, 1960 the prime Minister rejected the proposal for a permanent tribunal to enquire into the cases of corruption at high levels of administration as contrary to conventions, but he expressed his willingness to have specific charges of corruption against any highly placed person considered by a man in whose judgement all could have trust. He asserted that a permanent tribunal would not fit in with the country's Constitution, and lead to the creation of an atmosphere of gossiping about charges and counter-charges. He said that any specific charge made would be inquired into with whomsoever it may be concerned and however highly placed he might be, provided there was 'prima facie' substance in the charge. The prime Minister said that Shri Deshmukh was not willing to disclose some of the cases to him, so that he (Shri Nehru) could form an idea whether to institute further enquiry. Shri Deshmukh told the prime Minister that he could not disclose the cases in an 'informal way' but only if some specific formal steps were taken ; he also expressed his fear that his informants might get him into trouble.

Speaking on the same day in the Rajya Sabha, Sardar K.M. Panikkar said that the

appointment of a permanent tribunal was something which touched the very roots of democracy. He argued that a permanent tribunal would override the rights of parliament and oust the jurisdiction of courts and once a step like overriding the normal machinery of parliament and democracy was taken, it would only end in dictatorship, either a military one or one of bureaucrats. In a statement to the press Shri K.M. Munshi endorsed the view of the Prime Minister that a standing tribunal to investigate allegations of ministerial corruption cannot be set up under the Constitution. But he commended the practice prevailing in Sweden, that of Ombudsman, of appointing a high officer like the Attorney General to look into the allegations of ministerial corruption and misconduct if the officer, he said, was satisfied that there was a case worth enquiring into, an enquiry should be ordered.

It is said that "the establishment of a permanent tribunal to enquire into charges of corruption and misuse of power would create a supra-national body immune from the jurisdiction and influence of the judiciary, the legislature and the executive. In effect it would establish a state within a State".⁷

Scrutinising the arguments against the idea of a permanent tribunal suggested by Shri Deshmukh, it must be said that Shri Deshmukh's suggestion has been largely misunderstood. The permanent tribunal will not be a supra-constitutional body ; nor will it oust the jurisdiction of the courts. The tribunal, as suggested by Shri Deshmukh, will only investigate and report on complaints and act as a preliminary investigation commission, but permanent in tenure. It will be impartial and judicial in its approach. The argument that it will combine the powers of prosecution and judge is without foundation. The tribunal's report will be obviously to parliament and all fit cases will be referred to the ordinary courts for final enquiry and disposal.

A suggestion was made in the Congress parliamentary party Meeting on March 4, 1960 to appoint a 'vigilance committee' to scrutinise complaints of corruption made to the Prime Minister against ministers and men in high places. Although the prime Minister

did not commit himself the suggestion came under heavy fire and was rejected.

Departmental enquiry is out of question since as an instrument of investigation into ministerial corruption, it is not at all appropriate. A new experiment was made in Punjab; A committee was set up by the Punjab Government to deal with allegations of corruption against Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, M.L.A.'s and M.L.C.'s, and members of local bodies, panchayats and office holders of political parties down to the district level, in addition to other non-officials of some social status. The Committee had its first meeting on May 30, 1960 under the Chairmanship of Pandit Sriram Sharma, M.L.C. and former leader of the Opposition. The Committee issued an appeal to the public to come forward with specific complaints supported by documentary evidence to help the committee to tackle charges of corruption among non-officials. While giving the assurance that the names of the signatories to complaints which have to be submitted in writing would be treated as confidential, the committee said anonymous or vague complaints would not be entertained. The Chairman, Pandit Sharma resigned as he did not find the committee an useful instrument for checking corruption. It would have been better if the Punjab Committee comprised of men of high judicial standing. Retired judges and men of integrity could have been included in the committee, instead of political personalities. The experience in England is not very different. In 1912, a Select Committee of Parliament was appointed to enquire into what is known as 'the Marcony affair'. The members of the Select Committee divided strictly on party lines, and the system has been abandoned since then.

VII

Shri Deshmukh's permanent tribunal closely resembles the system of Ombudsman found in Sweden, Denmark and Finland. The Scandinavian countries have a peculiar institution which is of great interest to us in the present context. There were Parliamentary controllers

over the administration, called "Justitie Ombudsman" and "Militieombudsman." Taking the example of Sweden, we will see what are the powers of the Ombudsman and his functions.⁸ The Swedish Constitution of 1809, which is still in force, recognised the office of "Justitiekansler" who supervised administration as the King's Attorney-General; and gave him certain independence within the structure of crown officials. It also created the posts of "Justitieombudsman" and the "Militieombudsman".⁹ They are elected by the Rikstag (the Swedish Parliament) for a period of four years to control the activities of public officials and to prevent the Crown from exercising undue influence over the judiciary. The Militieombudsman's jurisdiction is confined to the military field and that of Justitieombudsman to civil field. These two persons should be of known ability and outstanding integrity and are given instructions for their duties by the Rikstag. The Justitie ombudsman in whom we are interested now, shall, according to statutes laid down by the Rikstag, supervise the observance of laws and regulations as applied in all except military matters by the courts and by all public officials. The Justitieombudsman shall institute proceedings before the competent courts against those who in the execution of their official duties, have, through partiality, favouritism or other cause committed any unlawful act, or neglected to perform their official duties properly. Every year the Ombudsman is required to go on inspection tours throughout the country to enable him to extend his control to all parts of the administrative sphere. He must submit an annual report to the Rikstag giving an account of his activities and the administration of his office making suggestions for the improvement of laws and regulations. The Ombudsman is elected by the Rikstag and if he no longer enjoys the confidence of the Rikstag, the Rikstag may (on request by the Committee examining his conduct) discharge him before the end of his normal term.

The Justitieombudsman, loosely translated in English as Procurator for civil affairs, has considerable discretion as to how far he can take a case against an official. He has not ultimate powers except to prosecute the

official concerned before the ordinary courts, and he normally does not do this unless the offence is serious or he is left with no alternative. Complaints are entertained by the Ombudsman on request or by himself, and ordinary investigation takes place. The officials involved are usually informed of the Ombudsman's findings with a suggestion that the matters be set right. The complainants are informed of this with necessary instructions for any future course of action, if necessary.

The Justitieombudsman has great responsibilities as he is the tribune of the people and their principal protector against the abuse of power by the administration or the judiciary. The only field he cannot touch is the city government which is under the supervision of the county Governor but the Governor himself and his staff are subject to him. He is responsible only to the Rikstag and therefore is able to play an independent role in relation to the ordinary administrative set-up. He does not have a separate machinery for his investigations but all officials in general are bound to afford him lawful assistance and all public prosecutors should aid him in the bringing of actions when requested to do so. He is entitled to attend any court session held by any authority as well as look into documents issued by or in the hands of any authority. The Ombudsman, as an institution for supervision over the administration, is worth experimenting in this country. The outstanding features that commend the institution is that the Ombudsman is appointed by the Parliament and is liable to be removed by it if he does not enjoy its confidence. He only investigates and prosecutes but does not act as a judge. According to press reports, the Scandinavian idea of Ombudsman as an agency to investigate complaints of corruption, nepotism and favouritism and other malpractices is rapidly catching the imagination of the people in Britain.¹⁰ It was reported that both the Conservatives and Labourites were studying the working of this unique institution in Sweden, Denmark and Norway to satisfy themselves about its usefulness before the establishment of some such institution in England. According to a press report, there is hardly any corruption or nepotism as such in Government departments but there are

cases where highly placed men use their influence to get their work done. The individual has in most cases no way of getting speedy redress, when he is badly aggrieved by a government action. The press report continued that the Conservative Central Office and the Labour Party's Political Secretariat had been discussing in their own spheres how best Parliament could set up a Standing Commission consistent with the country's parliamentary and administrative traditions, which could investigate all 'prima facie' cases of governmental malpractices and bureaucratic excesses brought to its notice by the public. British Members of Parliament are also reported to be considering the idea of an Ombudsman scheme at least as an instrument to reassure the common man that justice is not very expensive.

VIII

There is no denial that the Ombudsman is alien to our Parliamentary traditions which lean heavily on the British, but the Ombudsman idea is worth giving a trial in India. In this country, a high-power preliminary investigating body may be constituted by the Parliament after making necessary changes in the Constitution, if need be. The Parliament may appoint a person of high integrity and of sound judicial mind capable of being appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court for a period of five years. Civil servants who have been retired after holding senior-most civil appointments in regular government service may also be preferred to fill this post. He may be designated as the Chief of Administrative Inspection. He shall be assisted by two or three persons of equal ability. The Parliament may engage the services of retired judges of High Courts and the Supreme Court. Members of the Bar, who have attained eminence in the field of various laws, may also be engaged. Retired civil servants might also be engaged to serve on the tribunal. The inclusion of jurists, judges and retired civil servants is necessary so that the Tribunal on which they serve will be fully aware of the limitations of the Governmental officials and ministers, and the complexities involved in decision making process at the executive level. The tribunal's tenure shall be five years

commensurate with the duration of the Lok Sabha. The terms of appointment—say salary, leave etc.—will be those applicable to the judges of the Supreme Court, to give the tribunal a maximum of independence from the executive influence.

The tribunal or any individual member of the tribunal may be impeached by the Parliament in the manner provided for the impeachment of a judge of Supreme Court for valid reasons like misconduct, abuse of power etc. The tribunal shall be assisted by adequate staff, appointed by itself in consultation with the Union Public Service Commission. The tribunal thus constituted shall have nation-wide jurisdiction.

All complaints of corruption, favouritism, improper use of authority and abuse of power shall be sent direct to the tribunal in writing. All such complaints shall be treated as confidential. The tribunal itself may initiate investigations if it is satisfied that there is need for such investigation in any particular case. The tribunal will have only powers of investigation with no powers of awarding punishments. Alternately, the maximum punishment by the Lok Sabha in which case appellate powers must be vested in a high court of regular judiciary.

The tribunal shall make periodical reports on the functioning of its office, which may be an year or less than a year. If necessary the tribunal may initiate prosecution in regular law courts in deserving cases, but normally it shall contact the person or department concerned with a request to set things right. Failure to comply with the tribunal's request shall automatically place the matter into the tribunal's absolute discretion. The tribunal may prosecute the party concerned. In all cases, Lok Sabha must be informed.

The tribunal shall have, in addition to the above all the powers now given to a Central Commission of Inquiry appointed under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952. The tribunal shall work in close collaboration with the Central Intelligence Bureau and the Special Police Establishment. Due to the vastness of the country the tribunal may not be able to look into all complaints and therefore it may delegate some of its powers to another body subordinate to it. Regional tribunals

may be created by the State Assemblies which shall have jurisdiction only within that State. But all cases of major importance and involving political heads and higher civil servants belonging to All India Cadre shall be directly handled by the Central tribunal. Whether to exclude higher Judicial officers, President and Vice-President of the Republic from its jurisdiction shall be decided by the Parliament.

It is unreasonable to say that this sort of a tribunal will lead to unnecessary harassment and victimise ministers and public servants. On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that the tribunal will act with the dignity and tradition of the present Auditor General's office. The very presence of a tribunal will reduce baseless allegations and charges; the ministers and officials will be able to work without fear as they can always approach the tribunal, an impartial body, to get themselves vindicated. If, after a few years, say ten or fifteen, the Parliament finds no reason to perpetuate the tribunal it may abolish the institution subject only to the condition that the tribunal shall have a minimum of five years' term of office.

The new institution suggested here will not be a supra-constitutional body. It will be an agent of parliament and subordinate to it, but independent of the executive. It cannot be said that this violates the established principles of democratic administration, and ministerial responsibility to parliament for clean administration. There is no doubt that the dignity of the ministerial office has to be respected but it cannot be treated like Caesar's wife. If people continue to discuss the integrity of the ministers and raise accusing fingers against their honesty, the future of democracy cannot be very bright in this country. The point is that the ministers must not only be honest but must be known to be honest.

- 1 Investigations, Governmental : G.B. Galloway Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences Vol. VIII, p. 251
- 2 The Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act, 1921 Halsbury's Statutes of England, Vol. IX, pp. 622-624.
- 3 The Commissions of Inquiry Act 1952, India Code, Vol. III, Part III, pp. 155 and 119.

- 4 National Herald, March 9, 1960, (Editorial)
 5 "Politics and Justice", The Times, London, January 28, 1958.
 6 Citizens of No Mean Country—Sastry Memorial Lectures, 1959 by C. D. Deshmukh.
 7 Indian Express, February, 15 1960-Editorial.

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PARENTS' ROLE IN THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

BY MISS USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

"The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." There is a good deal of truth in the saying. There is no denying the fact that the parents—specially the mothers play an important role in the education of their children. It has been rightly said that the child's mother is his first teacher, in as much as it is she who lays the foundation of his character and education. Indeed, the early influence of his home, in which that of his mother predominates, are hard to overcome. The impressions gathered in the home in the early years of childhood, therefore, constitute the most permanent and lasting impressions of his life. The idea finds beautiful expression in the following lines of Wordsworth—

" those first affections,
 Those shadowy recollections,
 Which, be they what they may,
 Are yet the fountainlight of all our day,
 Are yet a masterlight of all our seeing."

It is in the home that a child acquires his first experiences. When he learns to speak, he only tries to reproduce what he hears the grown-ups say. He thus picks up the language and accents of his people by listening to what they speak and how they speak. He is apt to copy their mannerisms even. Gradually he adjusts himself to the environment of his home by adopting its customs and usages. He unconsciously assimilates the attitudes and prejudices of the intimate group of people, making up the family, as also the value and standards set by them. He absorbs the religious traditions of the family he is

born into, and as he grows up, he tends to become pious or otherwise, just as he is impressed with the example set by his parents and elders. So the influence of the home or the family cannot but leave an indelible mark on his mind and character. A child is by nature very imitative, and his character reflects the very atmosphere prevailing in his home.

The most important function of the home or the family consists in providing the affectionate background, which helps promote the emotional development of children and adolescents. Love is an essential food needed for the normal growth and development of a young budding mind. A child's mind, starved of this essential nourishment, can hardly thrive and develop on normal lines. A good school can seldom be a substitute for what a loveless home lacks. However loving and affectionate the teachers may be, they can never be expected to compensate adequately for what a child misses in such a home. So the home is considered to be the chief training-ground of his emotions and consequently of his character. The advantages of a good home with wise and loving parents cannot, therefore, be overemphasized. This renders it absolutely necessary for the parents to be fully alive to the tremendous responsibility that the proper up-bringing of their children entails. Theirs is the responsibility of bringing about the right atmosphere of the home as well as of providing a suitably affectionate background for the proper emotional development of their children. It is such a pity

that even at the present moment very few parents prove equal to the task. Very many of them are inclined to think that the education of their children is solely the responsibility of the school.

It is, however, needless to add that the parents should be patient, tactful, discreet and cautious in all their dealings with the children. A good many of the former are apt to be over-anxious, over-indulgent, and over-protective. They should bear in mind that too much concern and solicitude for their children are no indications of genuine affection and sympathy. Although children do need occasional demonstrations of parental love and affection, still that is no reason why their parents should spoil them through over-indulgence, which does more harm than good. This is likely to add to their self-importance, and thus make them fussy. Children should be encouraged to be as self-reliant as possible from their very childhood. Over-protectiveness on the part of their parents is sure to undermine their powers of self-reliance. Not that the parents should, therefore, fail to keep an ever-vigilant watch over the interests and activities of their children. Some parents, on the other hand, are prone to be overstrict and harsh to their children. They are in the habit of bullying and scaring their children like anything. These sticklers for discipline believe that to spare the rod is to spoil the child. Too lax and too rigid a discipline being equally bad, this sort of treatment cannot but result in producing problem children. To ensure the the best results, the *via media* should be adopted in all matters relating to discipline. The wise parents ought to try to be friendly with their children without being too lax or too strict. The children should learn to be free and frank with their parents, from whom they should have no secrets, whatever. It is desirable that all their actions should be straightforward and aboveboard. The parents should also try to command the love and respect of their children. In that case the latter would seldom like to incur the displeasure of the former by doing or saying anything wrong. In a word, there should be perfect confidence and understanding on both sides. It should always be borne in mind by

the parents that if they want their children to be well-behaved and discipline their living example, rather than preaching or sermonising, is expected to be far more effective and forceful. The consensus of opinion is that the causes of a great majority of the cases of juvenile delinquency are to be traced to disturbed or unsatisfactory conditions prevailing in the children's homes.

Now what are the respective positions of the father and mother in a family? The father usually stands for "Masculinity and protection." In a society, where patriarchy is mainly in vogue, the father naturally holds a position superior to that of the mother. In the average Indian home, the father usually being the more educated of the two parents, he is considered to be much wiser than the mother, who is more or less relegated to the background in the family. It is the father who has to act as the breadwinner of his family and, as such, he is naturally looked upon as the main prop—"the head and protector of the household", run by the mother. He is a source of strength, security, and wisdom to his children, who need his help, guidance and protection. The financial security of the family mainly rests with the father, whose death very often spells disaster and utter ruin to it. As long as he lives, he lets his children feel that their position is quite secure and that they have got somebody to help them out of their difficulties. The children do need this sense of security as well as protection from dangers and apprehensions. They know that, in case of need, their father will be there to allay their fears, and reassure them of help and protection. They dare not set at naught or flout the authority of their father, even if he happens to be friendly and sympathetic. More often than not, the father turns out to be a more dominant personality in the average Indian family than the mother. On the other hand, the mother is regarded as 'the ministering angel of the home', who exerts a much more persuasive influence over it, and has a greater hold upon her children than the father, who has to be very often away from the home for the sake of his outside employment. She is the constant, inseparable friend and companion of the child, who can hardly do without her

loving care. It is she who nurses him, feeds and clothes him, puts him to bed, tends him lovingly and carefully on his sick bed, ministers to all his needs and comforts, comforts and solaces him in pain or grief, fondles and caresses him. In a word, the mother is feminine love and sympathy incarnate. It is the mother that the child turns to for love, sympathy and comfort.

It is the duty of the mothers to see that their children develop certain good habits from early childhood. The latter should be trained in the habits of neatness, cleanliness, regularity, and punctuality as also in those of self-reliance in the early years of childhood. The necessity and importance of order and discipline should also be impressed upon them in and through their day-to-day activities. Certain moral and spiritual values, too, need to be inculcated in them. Truthfulness, honesty, justice and fairplay, dutifulness, obedience, co-operation, sympathy and kindness should be fostered among them from their very childhood. It is incumbent upon the parents to teach their children these virtues by example rather than by precept. The little ones learn courtesy and good manners, too, mainly through the examples set by their parents. Children are not by nature either superstitious or prejudiced against persons and things. They unconsciously imbibe the superstitions and prejudices of their parents or elders. So, attempts should be made to develop in them a good critical judgment and a sense of justice in early childhood. In all such matters they are inclined to regard the behaviour and attitude of their parents as a pattern to be copied. So the latter should be as cautious—and self-restrained as possible, so as not to give themselves away in front of their children.

Today many of the educated parents are generally awakening to the fact that the education of the children is the joint responsibility of the home and the school. As the idea is gaining ground day by day, the educated

parents are taking a much keener interest in the education of their children. The teachers can achieve very little without parental co-operation. There is talk of primary education being made compulsory for the children of the age group 6 to 11. Mere legislation will perhaps touch only the very fringe of the problem unless the help and co-operation of the parents can be enlisted. But unfortunately the bulk of the Indian parents, specially the mothers, are still uneducated or semi-educated. So provision should be made for the education of the parents too, mainly through group discussions, the radio, cinema, lectures, illustrated with slides, interesting talks by eminent child psychologists and specialists in children's diseases, etc. The teachers of the nursery kindergarten schools, however kind, affectionate, competent, well versed in child-study they may be, are hard put to it to solve the behaviour problems of the children without the help and co-operation of the mothers. To avoid unnecessary waste in education, consequent upon the present indiscriminate rush for admission to schools and colleges, some vocational guidance for the students should be arranged for at the end of each stage of education. So it is all the more imperative that the education to be given to each child after the primary stage should be determined according to his age, ability, and aptitude. In this matter too, the teachers find it impossible to do without the help and co-operation of the parents. Today it is the duty and responsibility of the modern parent to see that his child receives an "appropriate" education. Parental co-operation is essential in the matter of medical examination also. The wise parents should help the teachers and the medical authorities concerned, if necessary, by supplying all the useful data and information, pertaining to their children's health as well as to family history. Hence the need of parents-teachers' associations, which are still few and far between in our country.



THE TENTH NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART

By USAB

This year Shri M. C. Chagla, Minister of Education and Culture inaugurated the Tenth National Exhibition of Art. Usually the inauguration ceremony of this exhibition is done by the Vice-President. It was in 1953 that the first All-India Art Exhibition of the Akademi was arranged in the rooms of Jaipur House. Now for the last few years this annual show is held in the grand three-storeyed hall of the Akademi.

Before Shri M. C. Chagla inaugurated the exhibition, robes of honour (Mahabashtra) and copper plates (tamra-patra) were presented by Shri Mehdi Nawaz Jung to Sarvashri Rai Krishna Dasa for his long service to the fine arts and to S. N. Haldankar and V. P. Karmarkar (Fellows of the Akademi) for their valuable contributions to the realm of fine arts.

Shri M. C. Chagla then stated that contemporary art was making tremendous progress in a world bridged by exchange of cultural ideas. It might have been parochial a century or two back when we could see art pieces and decipher them as French or Indian, while to-day it is impossible to say whether a painting has been done by a French, Indian or American artists. He felt that artists needed proper help. Their services could be used in embellishment of houses and for architecture. Although he doubted if in the past all such attempts were at all good. But it was unkind to think that while a painting of Cezanne was sold for the fabulous sum of about £70,000, the artist died a pauper. He, however, thought that because London and New York and other cities were flourishing markets for art wares, some of our artists fix their gaze to these art markets. This was rather unhealthy. It was the duty of the Lalit Kala Akademi to help them.

He further said that it was for the first time that the Government under the Fourth Five Year Plan asked all Akademies to open emporia in capital cities under the auspices of Lalit Kala Akademi, thereby make the

masses art-conscious, and contribute to the concept of national integration.

This Tenth National exhibition of Art comprised 211 exhibits (159 paintings, 28 sculptures and 24 graphics) representing the works of 165 artists selected from among 1323 submitted by 590 artists. The Selection and Judging Committee was composed of Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Sarvashri R. P. Kamit, Mahadav Satwalkar, S. G. Thakur Singh and K. S. Kulkarni.

The most glaring feature of this exhibition is that during the Akademi's ten year existence it has hardly played its part to resuscitate or even to encourage traditional art styles. In its first exhibition were seen a few dozen good paintings in Indian style. To-day we see such paintings in much smaller number and varieties. And most of these are weak, faulty and uninspired attempts. The argument may be that many artists are neither inclined to do the labour that our traditional art calls for nor encouragement awaits them. But a large number of artists are heard to say that to imprint the emotional trends of our time expressionistic, surrealist or even dadaistic techniques are the royal roads to success. To add insult to injury a few art-critics usually deprecate the traditional style, but would acclaim any third rate modern art attempt as the work of a gifted artist. As if ancients or the painters of Ajanta cave, the sculptors who embellished temples and the like had no knowledge of emotive expression or were unable to add emotive meaning to realistic objects. Distortions, disharmony and incongruity due to the use of odd material, weak drawing, infirm purpose and imagination have rendered at least twenty paintings futile and below the mark.

Sculptures are always restricted in number, for firstly there are fewer sculptors than painters and secondly, to transport sculptures is rather an onerous task. However, FRENZY though done with an accent on distortion, is

sure enough to express the mood vividly. This seven foot high human figure is composed of a rough superstructure of iron rods over which lead has been dripped to create two out-etched hands, a saucer-like eye and a hollow eye socket with the pupil set in the corner. Here and there it is not filled in, but where it is, we see a rough pebbly finish. Mrs Pilloo R. Pochkhanawala has, thus, successfully conveyed her emotion vigorously. Raghu Kaneria adopts his last year's technique of soldering a few odd shaped iron plates to create ANGRY FISH, but has failed to give the total impression. FLIGHT is a six foot round white log chiselled into the shape of a horse with its legs stretched out to the fullest to emphasise swiftness. Khandubhai Ramar Patel has brought out small and regular dimple marks of the chisel in this figure. A CAT seated on its hind legs (4 ft. high) is a soft looking realistic creation by Narayan H. Kulkarni from a marble piece which has fine natural black shades round about the neck and back. We see a rhythmic brown polished timber figure STANDING WOMAN with the head slightly bent on one side. In it Phulchand Pyne has shaped a pleasant realistic statuette. B. C. Sanyal's crimson plaster head study PORTRAIT HEAD brings out a simple housewife in appropriate features and incised details. In VULTURE Sadashiv Sathe has shown the hopping posture of a vulture with its wings partly opened in white cement. The colour, however, does not lend support to the weight of the figure.

Yungo adopts Picasso's cubist style to show anger, dismay, curiosity and laughter by creating a five-foot human form in angular planes, goggle or peering eyes in UNBALANCED MOOD. Balkrishnan Guru's three large Sculptures are there. Two of them—VILLAGE GIRL and GRAM KI OR (Toward village) are cement creations yielding wavy limbs like silhouettes of women with head covered. Both, though the former has iron oxide treatment and latter is in dull grey colour, have texture. His prize winning sculpture is A FORM; It is a six-foot high tectonic shape made out of cement and iron fillings having iron oxide colour and aims at describing a mother with her baby at her

bosom. It has squarish, projected and hollowed parts made into a structure. P. V. Jankiraman has also obtained one of the ten prizes for his TWO FIGURES. This has been fashioned out of one copper plate by chasing and twisting here and there. It has soft round shapes describing a man and a woman moving forward with a load held by the man on his head and the woman holding a small bundle on her left waist.

Graphic art section shows better work than before, in so far as whether the attempts are in wood cut or other media, fineness and textural effects are evident in quite a few. Of course in exposition modernistic tendency prevails. TATTOOING by Y. K. Sukla is a sympathetic rendering of an Indian scene where subdued cubes in realistic approach show in graded light and shade a woman is being tattooed by another. His graphic are always of high standard. Pradumna Tana in ITALIAN LANDSCAPE (Mono-print) uses sepia tone to show houses or a church with statues fixed on balconies. Below, on the road, are a few men, a horse drawn wagon in deep black incised details. Samenath Hore in NIGHT has used grey to black, and to keep balance and maintain spatial quality spread brown and buff around a few creepers and flowers. Though abstract in approach, Jagmohan Chopra has, by means of symbolic circles and floral designs and delicate etchings in crimson, indigo and black, executed COMPOSITION-2. Bimal Banerjee in COMPOSITION-III shows sensitive incision. By spreading lemon, chocolate, dull brown specks of crimson or green and radiating fine wavy lines from the centre, he creates the feeling of gentle movement. Manhar Makwana's prize winning wood-cut UNDER THE MOON is the description of a castle with spires of churches in linear approach on low brown ground. It shows slanting roofs, square doors and windows and to break the monotony he has described two semicircular arches at the base and around the moon with criss-cross texture and black sun-flower like petals. The total effect is charming.

Portraits are very limited in number and the general standard is below the mark. PORTRAIT OF SADHU is a water colour study by S. K. Thosar wherein he has brought

out the skin colour of a sagacious looking face. The use of soft toned white for beard and moustouche and shades of mixed colour with an accent on crimson around, have all helped to bring out the personality. The only blemish that is discernible is that the turban is crisp and weighty. D. G. Sangwai has been awarded a prize for REMA (Oil), a bright display of red, green and yellow in the dress of the lady who looks well built but her head and face have been painted in disproportionately elongated fashion. THE PORTRAITURE (Oil) by Vidya Bhusan is slightly bad in perspective while in tone he paints a European female figure in dramatic pastel colour effect. Jatin Das has done a good oil colour portrait of a young European lady—PORTRAIT—to show that she is reading a book. Free use of shades of sienna with blue and greenish patches in the background has made it powerful in expressing the feeling, but too much of highlight on the body without adequate balance, has added a bit of commercial touch to it. A few others are either photographic or are sub-standard in execution. The quality of portraits seen a couple of years back in a portrait exhibition was certainly high; but what we see in the exhibitions of the Akādemi is rather dismal. Anyhow, though the award has gone to a faulty portrait, it is good that encouragement is being given to this type of work.

Let us see the few examples of Indian art. Kalyan Prasad Sharma has composed VIVAH SNAN in tempera. Here a pale yellow bride in white dress with enough of decorative designs and few ornaments is sitting on a grey stool. Around her are maid servants dressed in red, grey, yellow and pink hues standing with water jug, ceremonial articles in plates and the background has banana leaf, mango leaf tied to string and other decorations to give an air of a ceremonial occasion. VHAISHNAVITES by K. Srinivasalu is mural in character. Here are three large faces in orange, green and lemon water colour and crayon with large folk art type eyes and semicircular marks on foreheads. Temple decorations lend support to the figures. Kumari Purnima Biswas has done MOTHER AND CHILD in wash technique by trying to produce the glaze in

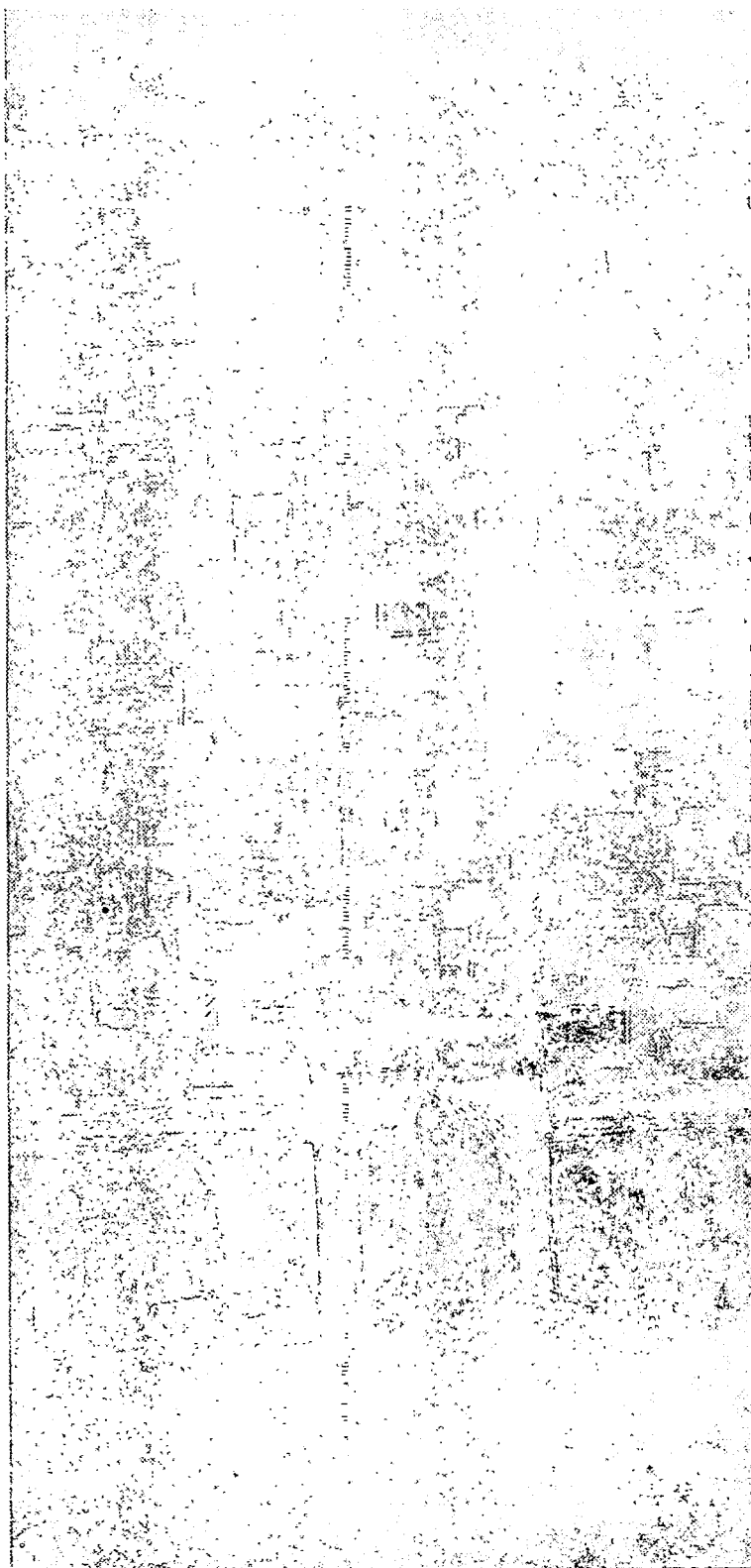
slight blue or brown and pink, but the glaze of wash style has not its bright display. MUGDHA NAYIKA too is a wash painting with over-all luminous blue and indigo. The features of the woman are after Moghul mannerism in faulty anatomy and the background has marble fret-work. Miss Lata Mathur paints JHANSI KI RANI showing the moody queen in battle dress atop a galloping steed with a small boy clutching her from behind amidst pinkish background and greenish bushes.

Realistic paintings are quite high in standard. Bikash Bhattacharyya has done two praiseworthy oil paintings viz. 25TH DECEMBER 1963 and 22ND NOVEMBER 1963. In the former he has described the broken door, the corrugated sheets and other details in fine natural oil colour shades and appropriate texture. Even the scribbling on the wall by a small boy is there. The other is a complicated view of a lane from the roof of a house showing green shutters, black doors, white or grey walls of houses, shady courtyards or lane and a section of the roof in the front. Everywhere in the use of pigments as well as in drawing, he has been meticulous and faultless. C. V. Dharmaratnam's rendering of a townscape is commendable. Here in HOUSES we see in dull white planes the walls of houses, black doors and windows with the sense of distance. The sky is dull white mixed with yellowish tinge and a few greyish tree trunks add balance in the foreground. Basudev B. Samart's 'BAZAR' is a water colour painting with enough of local touch of Saurashtra. It has yellow tents fixed on bamboos in regular rectangular design. To balance the bright yellow, men and women in bright red, green, orange dress and merchandise of different hues have been shown. Brown flag-stones and grey paths in slightly divisionist touch decorate the painting. This has been adjudged as one of the ten best exhibits. On a wet paper M. S. Joshi has painted a sensitive scene—GREY MORNING. He shows in mere diffused greys and white, the waves of sea over which several boats are wafting and the sky is grey through which bright light pours in. Joshi does this type of water colour paintings with great delicacy. He wins an

away for it. In **SIGNAL POST** Tushar Kumar Saanyal has described in bright toned grey indigo, green and black oils the powerful mechanical effect of traffic light post with the top red lamp burning. The brown road has cracks and few tools at the base, have all made it an well arranged realistic painting.

There are a number of still-life attempts, but because realistic creations with correct drawing and perspective have generally fallen into disuse, still-life exhibits are indifferent. However, Pradyumna Hirudal Dave has skilfully arranged **COMPOSITION**—He by depicting a buff and yellow bowl with ripe multi-coloured fruits, behind which is a violet vase with a brilliant yellow bunch of flower with reflections. He has made it a lovely painting by applying mauve, indigo, grey and brown divisionist patches to disperse high tones in the centre. In spacing too he has added weight on the bottom right. His arrangement reveals a commendable creation.

Expressionism, due to its inherent power, continues to appeal to the artists. Several shades of red and orange have been used by Vinod Shah to show a distorted archaic woman having a red cage with birds. A black and a white with bird on her hand in realis-



An Old City (in oil)

Artist: Madan Lal Nagar

tic pattern are seen in **HER BIRDS** (Oil). A few scratches in grey indicate houses. **TO THE TEMPLE** by Arun Kumar Saxena is in contrasting lemon and chocolate grey water colour describing several round shaped, excessively tall female figures going to a temple. It is in neo-Gujarati manner, a style having the touch of negro art. In mere fine jet black woolly clusters of pell-mell lines on white ground Nikhil Biswas has brought out the subjective feeling of **ANIMAL** (pen and ink) i.e. the ferocity of a white bull by the use of a single contrasting tint. Miss Fatima Ahmed deploys grey, brown and ochre to bring out a round shaped tall moody woman in the middle of the canvas—**PAINTING—I** (Oil). Manab Kumar Banerjee, in a bit of impressionistic green oil, has painted five animated persons straining themselves in **CHESS PLAYERS**. By using patches of brown and buff and a red flickering flame on the ash-tray in the foreground and by arranging almost whirl spacing, he has done a balanced canvas. **SCARECROW** (Oil) is a bold approach to fantasy. Here Sultan Ali has shown a bright blue figure made out of a dress fitted on bamboos in a dim brownish field and a dull yellow man at the back. The nocturnal atmosphere and the image guarding the field have the right tonal effect. Heavy texture is observed in **DESERTED** (Oil). Patches of black, blue, indigo and white have been distributed in the background as also on the dress of the woman who has a fearsome pink face. Beside her is a pale yellow looking agitated girl. In it Mrinal Bardhan has given vent to his feeling after his favourite subject. Madhukar Powle adopts the elegant attitude of our cave paintings in **PROBLEM** (Oil). It is distinct for its harmonised brown and grey pigments with texture to describe four graceful Bheel womens' frontal thoughtful expressions.

Impressionistic attempts are now on the wane, although several are to be seen. **APPLE SELLER** (Oil) is a large canvas by Kanaiyalal R. Yadav which has brownish grey overall stippling. A few white rectangular outlines describe houses and in the front are two indigo men with baskets of red apples in their hands. It is well composed, but the figures are static. Dhiraj Choudhury's

PAINTING—I (Oil) is mural in character. It speaks of a group of musicians playing flute and drum in overall light green. A townscape with gothic arches and a green and grey church of Germany has been composed by Bimal Das Gupta in **GREEN CHURCH**. The dull atmosphere has the contrasting effect of light falling and breaking in sensitive green and grey shades which remind us of Bimal's delicate handling of water colour that was his speciality. **MOONLIGHT LANDSCAPE** (Oil) by D.A. Pawar is monochromic in describing sensitive shades of luminous blue contour of an uneven land. Bhabesh Chandra Sanyal has painted a dark green lawn with several bare trees in greyish white on which are shown a number of crows perched in **NOCTURNE DIALOGUE** (Oil). It reminds us of Cezanne's style.

Decorative folk art style too has been adopted by a few artists. Laxman Pai's **WINTER AND SPRING** are portrayals in resonant oils after the description of Ritusamhara. Both have his long tried style of displaying herring-bone type eyebrows, floral or leafy decorations of faces and eyes after the folk art style of Goa. The former has a bright blue background superscribed with white circular forms having heavy texture. Green and light blue are also there and a blue moon is atop. In the latter are four girls in grey to blue after folk art pattern above whom is a blazing whitish yellow sun with deep greyish texture. Around are indigo, yellow, green and orange plants and flowers. Hard wooden doll like figures of three girls had been displayed in low blues and white over broken indigo-grey background by P. T. Reddy in **A PLAY**.

Now we come to Modern art with its ever multiplying schools of expression :-

Abstract art has a very considerable number of adherents, for it has become the hall-mark of success even for those who falter in realistic paintings.

Ghulam R. Santosh wins an award by his painting **NEARER TO THEE MY LORD** (Oil). He has woven an emotional feeling in black rhythmic swirling strokes over which white texture and a few faint lemon circles or a bit of sky is observed. Here he is impressed by the other-worldly sense before

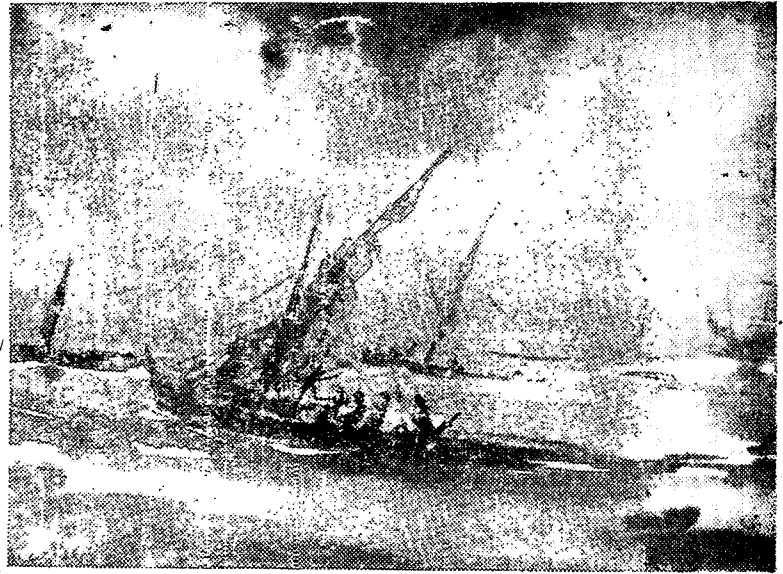
the snow capped hills near Amarnath cave. Itwari Lal has painted in oils the total effect of a STEAMER IN SEA in patchy brown, sienna, grey, over which clusters of smoke are coiling out from a funnel and above it is the light grey sky. In the foreground are wavy pale green water and a white churned line. It is understood that the artist is an orderly in the Akademi and has no formal education in art. But what he has done justifies as an art piece with such qualities as rhythmic movement, balance, arrangement of objects, spacing and colour harmony. One wonders why J. Swaminathan needed a huge canvas (11 ft. x 5 ft.)—HEED THE PORTENT (Oil)—to smear black and fix a square in red in the bottom centre with zodiacal symbols after the style of tracery or a red line here or there to express his notion of evil omen! It could be done within a third of its size, thereby reserving space. Biren De and his wife S. Kammie De have contributed to oil works—DYING OGRE and PANORAMA respectively. Biren De has done an illustrious work indeed and has obtained one of the ten awards for his painting. It has a red setting sun, a black trident shape and a large vibrant black splotch having a bit of dripping treatment. A few brown and yellow rectangular shapes with texture at the bottom not only dilute the intensity of powerful black and red, but add the touch of calligraphy also. Whether in form or space or in emotive content: it directly conveys the idea of the sad end of a brute force. Mrs. Kammie De does still better work, but in the present painting too she has maintained the magic effect of diffusing low greys at the bottom and rhythmic movement of black, yellow, red and brown with texture on the top. FEAR (Oil) is a fantasy expressed in terms of cubes by Suraj Ghai. Here we see in black and grey a form having gaping mouth, composed by means of cubes and another circle which is divided into four sectors of black and white and two eyes and in the top corner the moon in dim grey. All these fantastic shapes are connected by means of white and grey wavy lines. Suraj did much better abstract paintings in the past. SILENCE IN MIRAGE has coagulated shades of light brown, white and specks of crimson oil colour to produce texture.

Ambadas produces intense tension of pigments in this painting. Ramnik Bhavsar's THE WORLD OF COSMONAUT—I (Oil) has on black background, to large oval shapes. The one on the left is in luminous orange and yellow, partly bedimmed with grey web-like texture and the right one is in bright yellow with black texture. The attempt to coordinate the two heavenly bodies by means of a reddish black patch at the bottom is jarring.

Dinkar Kowshik has, by expressing BHISHMA on a bed of arrows in, repetitive green, blue and indigo cubes revitalise an Indian subject. Near his head is another figure of a man in darker tones of cubes. Har Krishan Lall has painted VILLAGE IN GHARWAL (Oil) in large yellow ochre and black depressions with bluish white as snow capped hills. It is much too compact with a slight dull sky treatment. Black cubes and squares resembling army tents are shown amidst deep white snow on rising hills in indigo to give a fine total view of WINTER AFFAIR of Kashmir. Triloke Kaul has, thus, added swift and sure flicks of oil colours to express the scene with power. Ramkindar's PALM GROVE (Oil) has powerful and realistic palm trees in bluish grey against clear blue sky, but the ground is sculptresque hard yellowish sienna cubes.

Dipak Banerjee in his oil painting STILL LIFE WITH MONEY PLANT AND BOOK has arranged advancing and receding rectangular planes with space in between in shades of brown and yellow, a magenta pot with green creeping money-plant. A VILLAGE FROM DELHI (Oil) has been painted by Singh Bhogal in his usual manner to display a wide multi-angular yellow expanse which has dark or light green structures around. The treatment yields a coordinated spatial quality in realistic approach. One of the soft toned oil paintings, AN OLD CITY, painted in mellowed crimson, green, grey and indigo has small white divisions to show houses, roads and other structures of a city. In this oil painting Madan Lal Nagar has described red sand stone walls and mosques after Moghul architecture or a temple and gates to give a bird's eye view of the city in divisionist style. This wins one of the ten awards.

Gautam Vaghela has adopted gouache process in **BLUE NIGHT**. Here against a broken blue and grey background is a skeleton of buffalo in whitish black beside which red-throated vultures flap their wings. It has enough of distortion. Cubist in design and mechanical in appeal are the twisted figures of a mother in greyish sienna and the disc-like head of her child in **MOTHER DEPARTING** by K. S. Kulkarni. In **OBSESSED BY DREAM** R. K. Dhawan has deployed violet and green which lack plastic expression. None of these has the audacity of feeling or vigour of expression to expose a surrealist pattern.



Grey Morning (Water)

Artist : M. S. Joshi

Lastly, let us see some of the dadaistic art works. K. C. Aryan has composed **PORTRAIT OF GOD** by assembling bits of fine to heavy wire meshes. Here and there he has used aluminium or bronze or blue tints. In it we see pieces of wire meshes with an oval blank circle and insides it are overlapping mesh bits and specks of colour to reveal eyes, nose, and mouth. The idea is from darkness to light and then to God. This too wins an award. Whether it is too pretentious or not, it is ultra-modern. **SHE STANDS BEFORE HER BROKEN MIRROR** has been done by S. Krishan by putting black, green and yellow earth and fixing round or bits of mica over the coloured parts. A red speck on this pell-mell arrangement perhaps associates our mind with the women mentioned in the title. Kishore Parekh has fixed a large plank scorched by a blow lamp on a plywood. This is his **COMPOSITION**. Suhas Roy's **COMPOSITION** contains a rectangular plywood with large patches of black paint. On the top of it is a round piece of hessian in indigo and at the bottom there is another irregular hessian piece which is connected with a patch of black paint by means of three red and yellow cat-

guts. Let us imagine it is the dadaistic portrayal of a bridge under the moon light. Pimaji Sagara contrives to make **WAY TO INFINITY** and **HOMAGE TO KAFKA** by using strips of iron plates, copper plate, nails, a bit of black paint all fitted on large wooden frames. The former shows the Sun in copper brown, the Moon in white iron plate and small bits are stars. In 'Homage to Kafka', he has nailed long iron strips in a row in upright fashion keeping two small openings at the bottom and on the top left is a large copper disc which has long iron nail bent and arranged all around it like radiating shafts of light. On the other side of the top portion, against black background, is a white iron piece resembling the moon. Perhaps the artist wants to express the effulgent genius which helped Kafka to write grotesque details and believe that man is in a hostile world. Anyhow, colour too can bring out the same feeling in a less baffling manner.

Thus artists are leading us to a branch of the fine arts which verges on crude craftsmanship. We might recall the idea of Epstein that when a mechanic can shape a metal piece elegantly or artistically he becomes an artist.

EDUCATION IN MOGHUL INDIA

BY PROFESSOR ATULANANDA SEN

DURING the Turco-Afghan period, specially from the time of Iltutmish to the reign of Sikandar Lodi the curriculum of the Madrasahs, where higher education was imparted, followed a set pattern. Greater emphasis was laid on theological education. The main subjects taught at the Madrasa-i-Firozshahi at Delhi were Jafsir (exegesis), Hadis (traditions), and Fiqh (jurisprudence). Besides these subjects, grammar, literature, logic, mysticism (tasawwuf), and scholasticism (Kalam) were also taught.

After the Moghul conquest of India all kinds of cultural activities, including education, received great encouragement. Both Babar and Humayun were men of refined taste. Humayun was a great bibliophile, and scholar. In the Madrasah which he founded in Delhi special provision was made for the teaching of Mathematics, Astronomy, and Geography, the subjects in which he was personally interested.

The Moghuls like the Turco-Afghan rulers had no separate department of Education either in the Central or the Provincial Government. But the emperors, and the Nobility were invariably great patrons of learning.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF AKBAR AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Akbar took a keen interest in the education and the curriculum of the Primary schools then in vogue. At his suggestion Logic, Arithmetic, Mensuration, Geometry, Astronomy, Accountancy, Public Administration, and Agriculture were included in the course of studies of the Madrasahs. Thus, the teaching of these subjects gave a secular bias to the entire Educational System of the country.

Though almost an illiterate himself, Akbar evinced great interest in the early education and training of children. The Ain-i-Akbari has given us an account of the organisation of elementary education for children. Ain 25 of the Ain-i-Akbari says "In every country, but specially in

Hindustan, boys are kept in school for years, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days, then the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verses in praise of God or moral sentences each written separately.

Care should be taken that he learns to understand everything himself, but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought, for sometime, to be daily practised in writing a hemistich or a verse, and will soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought specially to look after five things : knowledge of the letters ; meanings of words ; the hemistich ; the verse ; the former lesson. If this method of teaching be adopted a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand." As regards the subjects of study for higher education we have the following in the Ain-i-Akbari "Every boy ought to read books on Morals, Arithmetic, the notation peculiar to Arithmetic, Agriculture, Mensuration, Geometry, Astronomy, Physiognomy, Household matters, the Rules of Government, Medicine, Logic, the Tabiyi (Natural Science) ; Riazi (Higher Mathematics), and Ilahi (Metaphysics and Theology), Sciences, and History ; all of which may be gradually acquired."

"In studying Sanskrit, students ought to learn the Byakaran, Nyai, Vedanta, and Patanjali. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires." Thus, Akbar's Educational System was revolutionary in character, and marked a complete departure from the Educational System of the Turco-Afghan Sultans of Delhi.

These educational reforms of Akbar shed a new light on Maktabas, and cast a bright lustre

over Madrasahs, the main agencies for imparting primary and higher education respectively.

Making a reasonable allowance for exaggeration in the statements of Abul Fazl regarding Akbar's reforms in primary and higher education it can be said that this novel method of teaching, specially in Maktabas (primary schools), enabled a student to save his time and energy to a considerable extent.

The man who, more than anybody else, influenced the educational policy of Akbar was Mir Fathullah Shiraji, one of the greatest intellectuals of his age. He had many inventions to his credit. He constructed a Millstone, which was placed on a cart, and turned itself and ground corn. He invented a looking glass which, whether near or at a distance, showed all sorts of curious figures. He invented a wheel which cleaned at a time twelve barrels. He invented matchlocks. He also invented a gun which on marches could be taken to pieces, and then put together again when required. He could find time not only for his scientific and mechanical inventions, but also for teaching his advanced students. His chief hobby was to teach small boys of seven or eight. Abul Fazl's son was one of his pupils.

Akbar also made provision for technical and vocational training. Many karkhanas or workshops were established, which formed a regular department under Government. There were departments in these karkhanas, which specialised in particular lines.

For instance one department specialised in brocade, while another specialised in the manufacture of matchlocks, and guns. According to father Monserrate, the jesuit missionary, who was at the court of Akbar in 1580-82, Akbar had built a workshop near the palace, in which there were also studios and workshops for the finer and more reputable arts like painting, goldsmith's work, tapestry making, carpet and curtain making, and manufacture of arms. Akbar took a personal interest in mechanical experiments. Thus, the Karkhanas were not only manufacturing agencies, but were also centres for technical and vocational training to young men by the system of apprenticeship. They were placed under a master-craftsman (USTAD) to learn the trade, and in course of time became experts themselves. The Karkhanas trained and turned out numerous artisans and craftsmen in different

branches, who later set up their own independent workshops.

Akbar not only patronised inventors in his realm, but also sent envoys to foreign countries to bring the curiosities from them.

Thus, the bias of education in the time of Akbar was more secular than religious.

The result of the new educational policy of Akbar was that many Hindus took to the study of Persian.

In the Madrasahs and Maktabas there was no invidious discrimination between the Hindus and Muslims. Within a few decades of the new Educational policy there flourished many Hindu poets, Historians, and Lexicographers. Some of the Hindu Scholars became very proficient in rational sciences (maqulat), and were appointed as teachers in the Madrasahs. Some of them were, Narayan, Madho Bhat, Sri Bhat, Eishan Nath, Ram Kishnan, Balabhadra Misra etc. There were many Hindu scholars of Medicine, and Hindu physicians of eminence and repute were attached to the Court. Some of the Hindu physicians wrote books in Persian on the science of Medicine.

Akbar built a magnificent Madrasah near his palace at Fatepur Sikri. Abul Fazal also founded a Madrasah at Fatepur Sikri, which exists even today. Akbar also built a Madrasah at Agra for the convenience of the scholars of that place. Chalpi Beg, the reputed Savant of Shiraz, was appointed its Principal. In 1561 Akbar's foster mother, Maham Angah, established a Madrasah at Delhi, with a mosque attached to it. It was known as "Khairul Manazil".

During the reigns of Akbar's great successors the progress of education in the Empire was maintained. Jahangir ordered that on the death of a noble the proceeds of his property instead of being utilised by the State (according to the law of escheat) should be spent on the building and the upkeep of the Madrasahs. He encouraged men of learning. Agra became a celebrated seat of learning in his time, where Professors of every religion and creed took up their abode, and students from far and near came for acquiring knowledge. During the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan arts and crafts thrived as never before. Sir Thomas Roe has greatly admired the workmanship displayed by the Indian craftsmen. He mentions the craftsmanship of the Kashmiris in glowing terms.

Though architecture was Shah Jahan's hobby, other cultural activities also were encouraged by him. He founded a Madrasah near the JAMI MUSJID of Delhi, and endowed it with sufficient estates for its maintenance. During his reign Mulla Farid, a great Mathematician, prepared a new astronomical Table. Shah Jahan patronised the arts and eminence in one or other branch of knowledge flourished. Jahanara Begum (Begum Sahib), Shah Jahan's daughter, founded a Madrasah at Agra attached to the JAMI MUSJID, which acquired great renown, and continued to function and prosper even in later times.

Aurangzeb established numerous Madrasahs all over the country, and fixed stipends for teachers and students. A considerable amount of money used to be spent annually on these subsidies. The result of this policy was that the number of students in the Madrasahs increased to an unprecedented degree, and poor and deserving students could pursue their studies without financial worries. The assistance given to students was in proportion to their proficiency.

Aurangzeb had issued orders to the Provincial Diwans that all students from the lowest to the highest form, should be given financial help from the Provincial treasury with the sanction of the Provincial SADR.

But Aurangzeb's approach, even in the intellectual and cultural sphere, was orthodox. He could not tolerate the inclusion of any book in the curriculum of the Madrasahs, which in any way violated the orthodox point of view.

A great achievement of Aurangzeb's time was the compilation of the "Fatawa-i-Alamgiri," the most comprehensive digest of Muslim Jurisprudence ever compiled. For this work, he engaged the services of the most famous "ULAMA" of his time under the supervision of Sheikh Nizam of Burhanpur. Napoleon in later times, like Aurangzeb, earned great fame by making his Code Napoleon, which was one of his brilliant and lasting achievements.

During the later Mughal period most of the new Madrasahs owed their existence to private effort and munificence. Most of them were founded by the nobles, who were of a pious bent of mind, and were interested in the advancement of learning.

During this Period the courses of study with the bias towards "Maqulat" (rational sciences) continued to be the order of the day, with slight

modifications from time to time. In the middle of the eighteenth century Mulla Nizamuddin drew up a syllabus known as "Dars-e-Nizami," which was in keeping with the previous syllabuses in vogue. For the Primary and Secondary stages of education great emphasis was laid on the Persian language, and sometimes it was made the medium of instruction. Being the official language of the country even the non-Muslims eagerly learnt it.

Generally speaking, it may be said that each seat of higher learning specialised in one particular branch. This accounts for the fact that the Scholars constantly migrated from one place to another in search of a suitable teacher. There was constant and intimate touch between the teacher and the taught, which should be considered the chief feature of the Educational System of the Mughal Age.

Centres of Muslim Learning

The important centres of Muslim learning in Northern India during the period were Kashmir, Jaunpur, Lahore, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur; Sirhind, Jhameshwar, Ambala, Fatepur Sikri etc. There were also many far-famed centres of Muslim learning and scholarship in Bihar, e.g., Patna, Bihar Sharif, Maner, Barh, Bhagalpur, Hajipur, Rajgir etc. Patna possessed one of the most famous Madrasahs of those days, known as "Madrasah Saif Khan," where reputed scholars in large numbers flocked from distant places, and imparted instruction to numerous students.

Education of Muslim Students

Muslim children began their education at the age of four years, four months, and four days—in the nearest Maktab. The sons of nobles, and other well-to-do people were generally placed under the charge of private tutors or "Ustads" for their elementary education.

In almost all the cities and towns of medieval India there were Madrasahs attached to mosques and mausolems. Every where there were Maktabas in which reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught to the children of all classes without any distinction of caste and creed. The Maktabas functioned in the morning and in the afternoon, with an interval for the midday meal. The students were not charged any fees.

The teachers were supported by the rich of

the locality, and were respected by all. Such sports as Kabaddi were common all over the country. Good handwriting was valued, and calligraphy was practised, and encouraged.

Higher education was generally imparted in the Madrasahs or colleges situated in important towns and cities. The advanced students joined them, some of which had developed into famous seats of learning.

Students were promoted from a lower class to a higher class according to the opinion of the teachers concerned, who took into account the total academic career of the students, whom they knew very intimately. There was no regular system of annual examinations. Academic distinctions were awarded in accordance with the aptitude of the candidate in a particular branch of knowledge. For instance, one who had excelled in Logic and Philosophy was awarded the degree of "Fazil". One who specialised in Theology was awarded the degree of "ALIM". The expert in literature was awarded the degree of "QABIL". A regular ceremony, like the convocation of today, was held when these degrees were conferred upon eligible students.

The educational institutions were either subsidized and patronised by the State, or by some munificent nobles, or other enlightened public men. Students enjoyed free education. There was no system of paying fees to the teachers in cash, but that of presenting gifts, mostly in kind, to the teachers was in vogue. Stipends were fixed for teachers, and poor students. In any case, expenses of education were not at all burdensome.

Education of Hindu Students

Hindu education was mainly imparted by the private tutors, pathshalas or elementary schools, and Tols or colleges. Besides, the academic debates and discussions among learned scholars also greatly helped the cause of popular education and refinement. Normally there were only two kinds of educational institutions, primary and higher. The teaching profession had practically become the monopoly of the Brahmans.

Elementary or primary instruction was given in a large number of pathshalas scattered over the different parts of the country. The curriculum of these pathshalas was generally uniform and simple. The courses consisted of instruction in the alphabet, vowels and consonants, combination of words,

spellings, vyakaran, lessons in reading, and elementary arithmetic. A pathsala would either have a separate building of its own, or would sit in some building attached to a rich man's house, or under a shady tree. These schools had no chairs and benches. The students had to bring their own mats, and had to sit on the floor.

The teacher sat on a stool. There were various kinds of peculiar punishments (according to modern standard) meant for guilty students. The students were fond of celebrating certain important festivals like Saraswati puja etc. They generally enjoyed eight day's holiday in every month. These institutions were patronised and endowed by the rich or munificent people. Students generally enjoyed free education. Sometimes fees were also paid to the teachers, mostly in kind in the shape of presents, or personal services. We have had instances of occasional payments of fees in cash also.

In the tols or colleges, which were the seats of higher learning, sanskrit language and literature formed a very important subject of study. The curriculum included kavya, vyakaran, jyotish, chhanda, nyaya, darshan, administration, art of warfare, law, tantra, mantra etc.

Famous Centres of Higher Hindu Learning

Among the most famous centres of higher Hindu learning in North India the most well-famed and reputed was Banaras. According to Abul Fazl, Banaras had been the chief seat of learning in Hindustan from time immemorial. Bernier calls it the "Athens of India". Navadvipa in Bengal, the birthplace of Chaitanya, was another very important centre of learning. It specialised in navya-nyaya (a new school of Nyaya Philosophy). Mithila, Mathura, Ujjain, Kashmir, Prayag, Hardwar, and Ayodhya were other very important centres of higher Hindu learning and scholarship. The tols were generally helped by the State, but mostly by the Hindu Rajas or chieftains. Stipends were fixed for the students and the teachers. Broadly speaking, each seat of higher learning specialised in one particular branch. This accounts for the constant migration of scholars from one place to another in search of a suitable teacher. In the South, Madura and Tanjore had high reputation for erudition of their Acharyas (Professors).

Education of Women

The Mughal Emperors and the Muslim Aristocracy did not neglect the education of their womenfolk. Akbar had made arrangements for giving suitable education to the inmates of the royal harem. He also established a girls' school in his palace-fort at Fatepur Sikri. Moghul princesses and the daughters of the nobles were educated in their harems under the guidance of either old earned tutors, or educated mistresses, or accomplished eunuchs. Aurangzeb also arranged for the education of the females of his harem. Numerous instances in the Mughal period, are available of highly educated and accomplished ladies belonging to the royal families as well as to the well-to-do classes of society.

Babar's daughter, Gulbadan Begum, was a highly educated lady. She wrote the Humayun Namah, which has great historical value. Humayun's niece, Salima Sultana, was a highly educated and accomplished Princess. She was well versed in Persian literature, and was a reputed poetess. Maham Anagah, Akbar's foster mother, was an accomplished lady, and a great patron of learning. Nur Jahan was a woman of profound learning with unique talent and mental endowments. Mumtaz Mahal was well-known for her literary tastes, and highly developed poetical faculties. Jahanara (Begum Sahib) was reputed for her vast knowledge, and high cultural accomplishments. She was also a poetess.

Almost all the daughters of Aurangzeb were well-read, and they had been educated in accordance with the Emperor's own principles of education. Zebun-Nisa Begum was the most cultured and talented of them all. She was a poetess of great repute, and had a rich library of her own. She was also a patroness of learning. She established a literary academy, and a rich library for the use of scholars.

Thus, we find that the Muslim ladies belonging to the higher classes of society were generally educated, and accomplished. But on account of some difficulties of the age, specially the Purdah system, education of the girls among the rich and well-to-do classes was not universal, or on a mass scale.

Education of the girls of the middle classes was quite common. According to JAFAR SHARIF there was a number of educational institutions for

women in the different parts of the country, mostly attached to the private houses. Muslim widows generally deemed it their duty to teach young girls in their own houses. "The Holy Quran" formed their chief text-book. Besides getting lessons on morals and religion, they received a practical education for managing house-hold affairs.

The Hindu women of the upper and well-to-do classes also had a liberal education. They did not lag behind their Muslim sisters in the field of education and cultural accomplishments. On account of the seclusion of the Hindu women, like their Muslim compeers, their opportunities for receiving education were meagre, and most of the accomplished ladies of the well-to-do classes received their education in their houses under private tutors.

Training in fine Arts like Music, dancing, painting etc., was not neglected. Literature, philosophy, logic, religion etc., also formed subjects of study. We have numerous instances in contemporary literary works to show the extent of literacy among the Hindu women of different sections of society. Some sort of co-education existed. Sometimes boys and girls read in the same school at least at the Primary and the lower secondary stages of education. Not only the mental, but also the physical side of women was developed in this Period. In the Bengali literature we find instances of women going to war to fight against the enemies.

No regular separate schools seem to have existed for imparting education to girls, who had their early lessons usually from their parents. Girls in their childhood attended schools along with boys, and learnt the Quran (if they were Muhammadans), and one or two other lessons by rote. The rich appointed tutors to teach their daughters at home. There is no doubt about the literacy of high born and well-to-do women. The daughters of Rajput chiefs, and some Bengali Zamindars were usually able to read and write. Special stress was laid on the education of widows, some of whom even became teachers.

Thus, the education of women, Hindu, and Muslim, was mostly confined to the rich, and the well-to-do sections of the society. The growing curtailment of their freedom caused by the Purdah system, child marriage, and other social evils and practices was chiefly responsible for the prevailing mass illiteracy among them during the Moghul Age.

Women belonging to the poorer sections of Society had very little time or opportunities for receiving education, as they were too much pre-occupied with domestic and other duties to find leisure for intellectual pursuits or even recreation. The miserable condition of the poorer section of women of this period, specially in the field of education, was due to the fact that there was no systematic and conscious move on the part of the State or Society to ameliorate their lot, and to impart education to them.

The chief failing of the medieval system of education was that it was not found adequate to enable its adherents to form habits of accurate observation, and practical judgment. It was much too rigid, sterile, and bookish. Thus the system of education in vogue lacked resilience or purposiveness, and had become much too rigid and non-creative.

The medieval system of education, specially in the later Moghul Period, failed to impart the qualities of leadership, and thus ensure the supply of outstanding personalities in the different walks of life, which the later Moghuls needed so badly.

KRISHNAMACHARI'S SECOND BUDGET A Critical Evaluation

By KARUNA K. NANDI

THE popular reaction to the Union Budget for the year 1964-65, presented to Parliament last month by Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari, his second Budget so far and the first since his inclusion in the Union Cabinet last year, is that it indicates a basic departure from the fiscal policies and techniques of his predecessor, Shri Morarji Desai. We shall not concern ourselves with the trends of subsequent debates in Parliament on the Budget but shall confine ourselves to the Budget as it was originally presented by T. T. K. and the Budget speech he delivered on the occasion to evaluate the extent and the directions, if any, to which the present Budget indicates a departure from immediately preceding policies of the Government and the extent to which the present budget is likely to meet the requirements of development which, as the Finance Minister himself claimed, was the very first consideration in formulating the Budget in the manner he has.

THE PRICE FACTOR

Incidentally, we would also try to evaluate the extent and the manner in which the present Budget has been designed to meet the demands of an evolving "democratic socialism" in the country as enunciated at the last annual plenary session of the Indian National Congress held at Bhubaneswar.

It is generally admitted and the Finance Minister himself seems to endorse the view in course of the first part of his Budget speech, that the price factor has a vital bearing not merely on the trends of growth and investments, but its inevitable reaction upon the trends of increasing concentration of income, wealth and economic power in selected and necessarily microscopic areas of the private sector. While the general index of wholesale prices is stated to have moved upwards by the comparatively nominal extent of approximately 8 per cent over the first three years of the current Plan which, according to the Finance Minister, "cannot be considered large by any standards, and particularly against the background of the sizeable step-up in outlays under defence and development," the general price index moving up by a further 7.2 per cent over the next nine months between March, 1963 and January, 1964 is now admitted to be a cause "for great concern." The Finance Minister ascribes these price trends mainly to the inadequate rate of growth in agriculture which, after evincing a growth rate "by 1.2 per cent in 1961-62," again "declined by 3.3 per cent in 1962-63." Correspondingly industrial pro-

duction registered a far better trend, being 10 per cent over the first nine months of the current year compared to 8.5 per cent during the corresponding period of the preceding year. The Finance Minister goes on to state that "treating the problem of growth as an isolated factor and promoting growth by stepping up investment from the sources available within and without the country, without a corresponding policy for the incomes generated in the process, would only generate inflation. Similarly, a price policy which disregards the dynamics of growth or the impact on investment decisions cannot but be self-defeating in the same way as a price policy which is not coordinated with a corresponding policy in regard to wages Nor can one succeed in raising resources for defence or development by taxation if all such effort leads to price increases which are passed on all along the line By imposing statutory controls on the prices of certain basic products, we often succeed in discouraging investment in the very industries which produce those items Often controls of this type do not result in the commodities in question being available to the consumer at lower prices. What happens is that the higher prices that the consumers continue to pay do not benefit the producer And, because these prices are not legally recognized, the Exchequer is also deprived of its dues. In curbing prices fiscal devices can be used much more effectively than controls which lead to abuses."

A SHIFT IN ATTITUDE ?

On the question of prices, the Finance Minister who, immediately before he was re-drafted into the Union Cabinet, pleaded in a number of public addresses for the imposition of physical controls, began to resile from his earlier stand immediately after he rejoined the Government and now his entire reliance in this behalf would seem to be based upon fiscal devices only rather than on the imposition of controls which he frankly admits, he has neither the administrative nor other resources to effectively apply.

Indeed, to the orthodox student of economics and finance physical controls as the means of checking the rising trends in prices would appear to be only a half and a not too intelligent and effective measure and had better be avoided except as a measure of extreme emergency

over very short periods only. Fiscal measures are what would be calculated to deal with the problem both more effectively and over long-term periods. But in devising these fiscal measures it is necessary to evaluate the basic causes for the rising price trends. There is no doubt that agricultural production, especially of edible items, have been in short supply correspondingly with the periods of development in the economy and there does not seem to be any early prospects of the situation improving materially in this regard unless the entire Plan of development has been revised to impose added emphasis upon agricultural production with appropriate first priorities to those producer bases like irrigation, flood control, fertilizer production etc. calculated to service a fast-growing agriculture. But that would not seem to explain present trends in the price situation in its entirety. One factor which has been admittedly causing a great deal of pressure on the price structure especially in the essential consumer sectors,—a fact which has also been again and again underlined by the Finance Minister himself,—is that large and unorganized credit market in the country which is generally regarded to be the principal culprit in hoarding commodities in short supply and generally creating speculative pressures upon the price structure. The Finance Minister has, since reassuming the present portfolio in the Union Government, again and again reiterated the need to curb the activities of this menacing factor in the national economy but, so far, no effective measures would appear to have been evolved which would be calculated to deal with this matter. There can be no two opinions about the urgent need for devising such measures as would be likely to effectively circumscribe if not quite eliminate the influence of this admittedly large sector of the credit market. The Budget, in spite of the penal measures introduced therein for dealing with cases of tax evasions does not seem to include any operative provisions in this regard. So far as the measures proposed to deal with cases of tax evasion are concerned, since it is well known that there are as many ways, to the resourceful, of getting round the laws as there are laws themselves, it is yet too early to visualize to what extent they might be effective in dealing with bonafide cases of large tax evasion and the apprehension has been generally voiced that their only effect may be to subject a lot of people to

a great deal of unnecessary harrassment while the real tax-dodger would comfortably manage to continue to snap his fingers at the tax collectors.

THE TAXATION STRUCTURE

Another factor which must be admitted to have contributed in very large measure to substantial inflationary pressures on the price structure, to which reference has already been made, is the present taxation structure in the country. The Finance Minister himself admits by implication that although his predecessor in office was obliged to resort, during his four year regime, to increasing measures of indirect taxation for urgent purposes of defence and development, it cannot be regarded as a very healthy trend in public taxation. In fact Shri Moraji Desai has been so prodigally resorting to indirect taxation measures for purposes of revenue that in his last 1963-64 Budget, the proportion of indirect taxation to the gross taxation burden on the country had already risen to as high a figure as 74.6 per cent of the total. It is significant that Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, in course of his 1950-51 Budget on the eve of the launching of the First Plan had calculated the burden of indirect taxation on the country in that year at only about 7 per cent of total tax burdens. The incidence of indirect taxation has steadily mounted with the increasing burdens of taxation on the country as a whole, a very large proportion of which covers excise imposts on a variety of essential consumables. It would, however, be unfair to blame Mr. Moraji Desai for having set the fashion in this regard for one of the very first steps in this direction of easy revenue in complete disregard of the basic canons of sound public taxation was really taken by Mr. Krishnamachari himself during his earlier regime as Finance Minister when he placed an excise duty on mustard oil.

EXCISE ON CONSUMABLES

It is a universally admitted canon of sound public taxation that excise imposts on consumables, especially those of an essential nature, should be wholly avoided for purposes of revenue except in such cases where it would be calculated to be a measure of sound public policy to restrict materially the consumption of certain kinds of consumables. Alcoholic edibles and other in-

toxicants come within this category naturally for it is universally recognized that restrictions placed on their unlimited consumption are regarded as a principle of sound public policy. Similarly sale or purchase taxes on certain kinds of consumables, especially those of the non-essential and luxury categories are regarded as an equally sound principle of taxation, especially during war time emergencies as a stimulant to public savings. It is also agreed that where such purchase or sale taxes are imposed, they should be listed in an identifiable manner in the bill of sale so that the consumers should be able to specifically realise the extent of the actual burden that their purchases of such nonessential or luxury goods have been imposing upon them as a direct measure of abstinence from unnecessary and avoidable consumption. In all other cases excise imposts on consumables, especially of an essential nature should be wholly avoided, for they are generally found to contribute materially to inflationary pressures on the price structure. It should be noted in this connection that Mr. Moraji Desai in the course of his increasing incidence of indirect taxation from one Budget-year to another, invariably sought to justify his measures on the plea that they were devised essentially as measures for restricting conspicuous consumption. But the operation of these tax measures in actual effect had rather the contrary result of putting increasingly additional pressures on the price structure.

GROSS PRICE RISE

When Mr. Krishnamachari, in course of his current Budget speech states that the fact that the wholesale general price index rose, during the first three years of the current Plan, by an aggregate 8 per cent, it could not be considered "large by any standards," he evaded an evaluation, perhaps with deliberate intent, of the actual measure of price increase over the entire period of Planning since 1950-51. For it is only when the incidence of the rise in the price level has been assessed on the background of the corresponding rise in the income level throughout the entire period of Planning that a somewhat correct measure of the real impact of rising prices on the progress of the economy as a whole and, especially, on those of the living levels of the people, would be avail-

able. In this country it would also be regarded as crucial in any attempt to measure the impact of rising prices by assessing in relation to the rise in the general wholesale index the actual rise in retail price indices, especially in the essential edible and other consumables' sectors. For it is really at this level that the living of the people is closely affected by prices and a mere consideration of the general wholesale price indices, which seldom are found to circumscribe rises in retail prices in the essential consumable sector to only a corresponding extent, that the impact of rising prices on the peoples' living levels is really to be discovered. In the Finance Minister's Budget speech this aspect of the problem of prices has been completely by-passed.

SHORTFALLS IN PRODUCTION

In any consideration of the price problem one has also to take into account the shortfalls in production in relation to the laid down capacity in terms of investments in both the private and the public sectors for it is at this level that additional pressures on the price levels are also inevitably eventuated. The Finance Minister, while taking note of this factor, has especially emphasised the need to enunciate a correct wage-price policy as a possible corrective against inflationary pressures as a result of isolated growth and additional incomes that are generated in the process as a result thereof. In a factual assessment of the problem it would, however, be bound to be discovered that it is not so much the additional incomes generated as a result of economic growth but rather the inadequacy of the incomes so generated in relation to the investments undertaken and the expanded production capacities laid down, that are the real culprits in this matter of price pressures. The comparatively low productivity derived from investments in many of the large private and public sector undertakings, which have been a significant feature of our development ever since development planning has been launched and which have been assuming increasing proportions over the years, have inevitably contributed to high production costs and correspondingly higher price levels. This also has to be corrected if a regime of stable price levels has to be ushered in.

PRIORITY TO AGRICULTURE?

It should be considered relevant in this context to enter into a discussion of the total picture of development planning in the country as it has been and is being essayed over the years. An inescapable historical lesson of industrial development in almost all developed countries is that rapid industrial development has invariably followed, not preceded, the growth of an agricultural surplus. In this country, while in the First Plan this historical lesson would seem to have guided the counsels of the architects of planning, there has been an obvious *volte face* since even as early as the Second Plan and the entire emphasis has been shifted from agriculture to industry. That may, in part, explain the present rather languishing state of agricultural development and the country's continuing dependence on large imports of food grains and some commercial crops like cotton to feed the people and keep the wheels of the most important single consumer industry in the country turning. Indeed, as Mr. Krishnamachari himself admits, the present stage of growth in agricultural production which, after programming for a 40 per cent growth over the entire Third Plan period, has so far yielded only a 1.2 per cent growth rate over the first two years of the Plan and a set back by 3.3 per cent during the third year, has been causing the gravest anxiety. The former Food and Agriculture Minister, Mr. S. K. Patil, before he relinquished the burdens of office, was quite forthright enough to have been reported to have said that self-sufficiency in food production in the country would be quite impossible of achievement during the Current Plan and possibly not even in the Fourth; it may be possible to achieve this goal in course of the next ten years or so. In this connection we have heard a great deal about the need to provide necessary incentives to farm producers to stimulate the agricultural growth rate. Cash incentives or even the prospects of larger profits than hitherto are, however, not likely to contribute materially to agricultural growth unless the necessary conditions precedent to encouraging farm productivity can be established. One of these is inevitably more adequate supplies of basic farming incentives, like irrigation water and fertilizer availability, none of which have so far been generated in anywhere like an adequate measure and agriculture, by and large, still con-

tinued in this country, to remain materially dependent upon the mercy of the seasons. Again, although land tenure reforms have been essayed in many States calculated to prevent further fragmentation of holdings, they have so far not been adequately and effectively applied, and the vision of a more wholesome agricultural lay-out in the shape of large and integrated holdings by way of cooperative farming or otherwise have continued to remain as distant as ever. Price incentives alone to farm producers are not, therefore, likely to contribute materially to the growth of agricultural production until these essential conditions have been fulfilled. But neither in the Plan, nor in the Government's administration, —nor at the Centre, there seem to be any visible signs so far of any fresh and wholesome approach to the problem in this regard. A deficit agriculture with a rapidly growing industrial lay-out, especially in a country like India where the economy as a whole is bound to remain, for as long as one can visualize, principally agriculture-oriented, would be not merely bound to widen existing disparities, such a condition in the economy would be bound, as it has been visibly doing, to generate increasing inflationary pressures on the price structure, especially on the essential edible sectors. Unless, therefore, far greater emphasis is laid upon agricultural development than has been the case so far, the growth of the economy would be bound to remain both eccentric and unwholesome. Not sufficient attention would seem to have been bestowed by the Finance Minister on this very crucial aspect of growth.

MULTIPLE PRESSURES ON PRICES

Various causes, none of which is capable of singly attenuating the continuously increasing pressures on the price structure have thus been listed. Thus, for instance, the pressures created by speculative hoarding of commodities in short supply, especially those in the essential edible sectors and which is generally known to being financed by that subterranean capital market whose operations are unregulated and the effect of whose operations are known to materially neutralize the effect of the policy of selective credit enunciated by the Reserve Bank at the instance of the Finance Ministry for some time. Then, there are the shortfalls in industrial pro-

duction norms, which have inevitably been materially contributing to high costs and corresponding price pressures. Further, the effects of a languishing agriculture, especially in the background of fast expanding industrial capacity, is another recognized cause for inflationary pressures on the essential sectors. Finally, there is the taxation structure which, constructed as it is today and from which the present Finance Minister has not been able to make any substantial departure although he seems to admit its *irrationality* in so many words, has inherent within itself inflationary potentials from which there would seem to be no escape in any direction. By and large the effect of the operation of these varied factors upon the incidence of prices over the years since planning has been launched was bound to have the most inimical results on the purchasing power at the bottom levels of the economy in real terms, in spite of a visible expansion in the gross national product. The Finance Minister speaks of Fiscal disciplines and other like measures to deal with the price problem rather than the introduction of physical controls which are not the best method of dealing with a situation like this and if fiscal and other disciplines would yield the desired result in curbing the continually ascending price spiral, it would, indeed, be a very welcome eventuality. Apart from the fact that physical controls, which would really mean rationing of some sort or other, are based on basic principles, the Government would not seem to have either the administrative rectitude, imagination and efficiency to apply such controls effectively and wholesomely. Fiscal disciplines would, therefore, be a very desirable measure to deal with the situation, but in the various measures proposed in the Budget under review, there does not seem to be anything which would be likely to have any spontaneous effect on the dynamics of prices. As it is, during the very few weeks since the Finance Minister has presented his current year's Budget to the Lok Sabha, a fresh and quite an overt price spurt has been in evidence in the Eastern Indian markets and which appears to have been assuming the shape of a virulent outbreak especially in all the edible sectors and particularly so in the retail markets. For instance, as we write, in spite of the control imposed on rice prices by the West Bengal Government at the beginning of the last winter harvests, the retail price of rice has

gone up by very nearly 10 per cent on an average; pulses and grammes have registered an increase of as much as 20 per cent, mustard oil has gone up very nearly 30 per cent and the pressure has passed on also to the green-grocery market, potatoes having registered a rise of as much as 40 per cent over the last one and a half weeks, with other common vegetables lagging only a very short way behind. The Government and the people alike seem to be completely helpless in dealing with the situation and forces are becoming increasingly evident which might even contribute to almost a famine condition again, in spite of apparently ample supply positions. Even wheat appears to have been causing a great deal of concern and anxiety and in spite of the Government's earlier assurances that as much wheat would be supplied to the Eastern Indian consumers as may be required by them, it is already in somewhat short supply. Possible fiscal disciplines against price pressures that may be claimed by the Finance Minister to be inherent in his current Budget proposals, would thus seem to have been completely set at naught.

ECONOMIC GROWTH

Incidentally, it should not be considered entirely irrelevant in this context if note were to be taken here of the basic concepts of economic growth which would seem to have been informing both the Planning Commission and Government alike. The overwhelming emphasis in industrial growth to the comparative neglect of agricultural growth has already been commented upon in foregoing paragraphs. The results of the inquiry on income distribution by the Mahalanobis Committee which has been released late last week would seem to underline the fact that the income of the agricultural worker in the country is approximately only one-half of that of the industrial worker and while the income of the latter has increased correspondingly with the average rise in the income of the employed person over the first two Plans, the income of the agricultural workers has remained comparatively static. An obvious offshoot of such a situation would be bound to deck out the total national economy between two distinctive tiers, a still comparatively microscopic upper industrial deck and an overwhelmingly wide lower agricultural deck with such income disparities

between the two as to make the two completely insular in relation to each other. The effect of such a condition of affairs can be easily visualized, especially when regard is had to the fact that it is the upper deck that determines the price levels. The disparities between agricultural and industrial incomes have always been a problem even to the more highly developed countries and various measures of relief to the agricultural worker have been conceived and applied for maintaining incentives and the structure of effective demand. The recent experiments being more or less successfully carried out by the countries in Western Europe comprising the European Economic Community in respect of farm price policies, would seem to be a further improvement, if their stability can be maintained, on the methods of other developed countries of Europe and the U.S.A. Viewed in this context the continual widening of the already existing gulf between farm and industrial dividends to the workers in the respective sectors of the economy would seem to be fraught with the extreme danger of a possible eventual breakdown in the structure of effective demand which, in the ultimate analysis, is the real determinant of economic progress and strength. All these the Finance Minister should have included in his consideration in framing the national Budget but of which very little indication, if any at all, would seem to be available in his current Budget proposals.

PEOPLE BETTER OFF ?

In this connection one is reminded of the constantly reiterated claims by the Government that people at large in the country today are, on the whole, better fed, better clothed and better housed than they were before development planning was undertaken under Government aegis. One is reminded of the controversy raised on this issue by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and the justifications offered in reply by the then Minister of Planning and Labour, Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda. Mr. Nanda, we then commented, virtually by-passed Dr. Lohia's indictment by producing statistical data regarding the consumption expenditure of the people at the bottom levels of the economy and thereby sought to disprove the latter's accusation that in spite of ten years of development planning at enormous outlay of capital,

both indigenous and foreign, very nearly 60 per cent of the country's population had to subsist on a daily income of something like 3 annas or roughly 19 nP. Facts and figures produced at the instance of the Planning Commission and the Government, we then pointed out in these columns, would go to demonstrate that if the data then produced by Mr. Nanda were correct, the only thing they proved was that the people have been living partly on capital or by hypothecation of their future labour, for clearly the disposable income of the people concerned was materially less than the figures of consumption expenditure as produced by Mr. Nanda. Information recently released by the Planning Commission regarding the volume of existing rural indebtedness would seem to conclusively prove such a contention. Mr. Nanda then also reiterated the claim that the people on the whole were better fed, better clothed, better housed and even better educated than they were a decade ago. There was not much logic in what Mr. Nanda had to say then on the subject, but the Mahalanobis Committee's report now available states that it had failed to discover any proof substantiating this claim.

CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER

On the contrary, there is clear admission in the Finance Minister's speech of the earlier indictment of the Congress Party at its Bhubaneswar session, that the period of development planning has led to an increasing concentration of income, wealth and economic power and the tendency towards the growth of monopolies in the private sector. The Bhubaneswar resolution on democracy and socialism emphatically underlines the fact and demands effective curbs to be put in the way of their increasing operations. The Finance Minister also admits the fact of increasing concentration of wealth and economic power and what he says in this connection by implication also underlines the admission that this concentration has occurred more overwhelmingly in the corporate sectors than in other areas of the private sector. He goes to great pains, however, to prove that it is not so much the contents of ownership in the private corporate sector but what he describes as *control*,—and he makes quite a distinction between the two,—that is the real culprit in the

matter. But whether it is merely ownership or control in the private corporate sector that is accountable for the increasing concentration of economic power, the effect so far as the people at large and the total national economy is concerned, is the same. If the Mahalanobis Committee's recently released findings have to be believed, the concentration of wealth and consequent economic power in the hands of a few and the inevitable trends towards the growth of monopolies which must follow as a result, has been going on unabated. The Finance Minister claims that some recent measures by way of the amendments of the Companies' Act and the Banking Companies' Act have already "paved the ground for the State to have strategic control over the private sector in order to ensure . . . that *anti-social* activities are curbed and controlled." It is yet too early to visualize to what extent these measures may be effective in attenuating already acquired concentration of economic power or to prevent its further inroads upon the economy, but the reliefs proposed in the Budget to the corporate private sector for the so-called purpose of enabling larger savings to be generated and stimulating investments for development, would be bound, in very large measure, to attenuate the effects of the restrictions on increasing concentration, if any, inherent in the amendments of the Banking and Companies' laws.

INCENTIVES FOR CONFIDENCE

The Finance Minister makes much of the so-called need to "infuse some confidence" in the private sector and has therefore proposed various measures for providing incentives for existing companies and, at the same time, for removing or, at least diminishing, "the disincentives for inter-corporate investments." He also makes a distinction between "capital-intensive" industries and others on the plea that the need for the growth of basic industries is much too urgent. One does not repudiate this need, although having regard to the especial circumstances of the country, the need for the development of a wide-based structure of labour-intensive industries also with its higher and more rapidly effective employment potential at the same time, would seem to be of equally urgent moment. If the ultimate content of development is admitted to be indexed by a process of steadily widening areas and depths of

effective demand of which a correspondingly steady progress towards *full employment* is the only reliable yardstick, it would not do merely to stimulate the growth of capital-intensive basic industries with its necessarily low employment potential, but it must also and simultaneously be complemented by an orderly growth of more labour-intensive medium and intermediate industries. It is only then that the process of development can assume a progressive, balanced and wholesome tenor.

LARGE CORPORATIONS

So far as incentives to the large corporate private sector with a view to infusing confidence, of which so much is made by the Finance Minister, is concerned, the Mahalanobis Committee's findings seem to indicate that such inducements are wholly superfluous. As it is "it is the concentration of control in the industrial sector as a whole . . . that presents the more menacing aspects of the concentration of economic power . . . 10 groups had an interest of one kind or another in 875 companies with a share capital of Rs. 205 crores in 1951 and 929 companies with a share capital of 297 crores in 1958. The top four of these 10 groups had control over companies with a share capital of Rs. 147 crores in 1951 and Rs. 225 crores in 1958. *Inter-corporate investment is the main instrument and an increasingly important one* (emphasis our own) for the control of companies. There is a significant link between leading banks and large-sized industrial undertakings." One of the reasons, according to the Mahalanobis Committee, for the increase in economic power of the large groups is the flow of foreign investment and technical know-how through joint ventures. Also, "there is much inter-linking between newspapers and big business." The Committee also states that one of the causes of economic concentration is inadequate development. We have already endeavoured to demonstrate in the foregoing analysis that the admittedly inadequate levels of development derives from a variety of causes,—the comparative lack of emphasis and the failure, so far, to lay down the necessary producer-bases for rapid agricultural growth for one, which has been leading to the growth of a high-cost and numerically infinitesimal industrial super-deck in the economy, the comparatively inadequate produc-

tion-yields of a now fairly wide-based industrial-capacity created at the expense of enormous but all too scarce capital, the operations of an unregulated and generally unidentifiable but admittedly large credit market which is not amenable to the ordinary fiscal disciplines of the State and which is known to have been creating constant and progressively widening speculative pressures on the price structure especially in the essential sectors. All these have contributed their respective quotas to big business in its process of concentration of economic power. So-called additional incentives to this already very powerful sector in the economy for the alleged purpose of "infusing confidence" as has been sought to be done by the Finance Minister in his Budget proposals, would be bound, we are afraid, to further and materially accentuate the process of concentration of power in the large corporate sectors and the fiscal, legislative and administrative measures that the Minister claims would begin to effect a steady process of "dispersal" would hardly be likely to prove effective even in a microscopic degree.

CORPORATION TAXES

Even a cursory examination of the inducements and incentives thus offered to the large corporate sector in private enterprise in concrete terms should be quite revealing. For one thing the Super Profits Tax imposed by the preceding Finance Minister has now been removed from the Statute Book and it has been replaced by a Surtax which, the Finance Minister claims would have the effect of curbing too much profiteering while at the same time maintaining incentives for widening enterprise and development. The Super Profits Tax, as conceived by Mr. Morarji Desai, it must be admitted, was somewhat inequitable in its operative shape. It must, however, be admitted that there is nothing repugnant or evil in the conception of a tax which seeks to appropriate for public purposes anything above and beyond an accepted norm of legitimate profit that any business or industrial enterprise would make. There may be difference of opinion as regards, first, the structure of the capital base upon which such a norm of legitimate and permissible level of profits should be enunciated, as there was in the case of last year's legislation in this behalf. There can also be difference of opinion as regards

the first charges on profits which would be accepted as admissible before working out the net profits on which the super-profits tax should be assessed. Further it might also have been legitimately claimed that the rate of tax imposed might have been more moderate and that its incidence should have been determined on the basis of net profits after tax and not the gross profits before the basic income and super-taxes have been assessed. But for these controversial points, which might have been settled on a more rational basis than Mr. Desai had agreed to do in his last year's imposition, there should not have been any basic objection to a structure of super-profits tax as such. Apparently, however, the present Finance Minister felt that the nature and incidence of such a tax would prove a deterrent against private enterprise, destructive of confidence in the private corporate sector and that its continuance on the Statute Book would prove a deterrent against development investments. He has now replaced this by a new Sur-tax which, will include in the capital base for the assessment of the new tax all equity and preference capital, debenture stocks, reserves, loans from approved institutions and banks for 10 years and more, or from foreign sources for the purpose of creating additional capital assets, and a 10 per cent additional deduction on the gross capital base after tax. Only the residual profits will then be taxed to the extent of 40 per cent. The manner of computing this tax, whether it provides incentives for savings and new investments or not, will certainly have the effect of enabling most large corporations to avoid paying any tax at all of this category and, to that extent, stimulate further concentration of economic power. As already commented upon by the Mahalanobis Committee that concentration of economic power has, largely, been the result of inadequate development in the economy, the converse may also prove to be only too painfully true, that encouragements to further concentration, as this particular tax in lieu of the old super profits tax will be calculated to offer to the larger corporations, may correspondingly halt the process and dynamics of development.

In the process Mr. Krishnamachari has also proposed a very important additional inducement to certain categories of what he describes as high priority industries who would be allowed a 10 per cent rebate of the existing super tax

of 25 per cent each, as well as an additional 20 per cent rebate on the new sur tax assessed on these enterprises.

INTERCORPORATE OPERATIONS

But, perhaps, the most important concession to the private sector offered by the Finance Minister has been in the field of inter-corporate operations. Whatever may be the view of the Finance Minister in this regard, there can be no repudiation of the incontrovertible fact that the increasing concentration of economic power has been more largely stimulated by inter-corporate operations, especially those between large Banks and other corporations under common control than any other single factor. As a deterrent against concentration, therefore, it would seem that the most legitimate measure should have been to circumscribe inter-corporate operations within severely defined limits and not certainly to offer inducements to their further widening. It is, however, just this latter measure which Mr. Krishnamachari has included in his current Budget by offering the very substantial inducement towards increasing concentration of economic power by altogether absolving all inter-corporate dividends from the present super tax on such dividends. This would seem to be a direct and a deliberately overt repudiation of the principles enunciated in the celebrated Bhubaneshwar resolution on democracy and socialism.

CEILING ON PERSONAL INCOME

Mr. Morarji Desai imposed in his last year's Budget a ceiling of Rs. 60,000 per annum by way of remuneration to all Indian employees, inclusive of the value of perquisites drawn which would be allowed as legitimate expenses of a company for purposes of tax computations, while at the same time he exempted all foreign employees from this ceiling. We did not like this distinction as, apart from being invidious, this would be a direct deterrent against the gradual process of Indianization of management personnel which has been in evidence for some time. This would have the effect of further stimulating expatriation of

that already large body of Indian scientists and technologists who have been increasingly seeking and obtaining employment outside the country and whose services the nation would seem to need so urgently to-day. But that in a country as poor as ours and where existing economic disparities have already been far too wide and unbridgable and which has been generally assessed to be one of the factors in the process of concentration of economic power and the growth of monopolistic tendencies, some ceiling on individual incomes is a needful measure could hardly be repudiated by anyone in his right senses. What was wanted was that the distinction as between an Indian employee and a foreign one in a corporation should have been severely attenuated, if it was not possible to eliminate it altogether. The Government have been allegedly pursuing a policy of offering a tax holiday to foreign personnel in Indian enterprises for a limited period in order to fill the gap in technical personnel. This, however obnoxious in itself, might have been regarded as a necessary short-period measure for specific objectives of development. Unfortunately, however, the Government machinery determining where, to what extent, and the specific objectives for the attainment of which such a tax holiday has to be needfully offered, has either been too lax or too inefficient to limit its incidence to only needed and specific objectives and for only specified periods of short duration. It was also necessary to determine in each case that the personnel so imported and employed fulfilled certain requisite needs and were not diverted to other less needful uses which could be as well covered by corresponding Indian personnel. For instance, it should have been a declared objective of the Government that such tax holidays would not be allowed to imported personnel except to those who are assigned to specific jobs involving advanced technology of which necessary know-how is ordinarily not available within the country. Instead all and sundry, assigned to whatever jobs they may be, so long as they are imported from abroad, are being allowed this especial concession to enormous losses to the public revenues for

which there could never have been any legitimate justification. If a factual survey were to be made of the qualifications, attainments and technological experience of all the foreign personnel employed in Indian enterprises, we have not the least doubt that a very large proportion of these would be found to be mere mechanics or even less—*bilaiti karigars* as they are popularly dubbed—whose places might have been far less expensively and more adequately filled in by Indian personnel. This would seem to be as true of the public sector as of the private and the process would appear to have assumed such proportions already as to indicate as if this country has become the happy dumping ground for most unemployables from other advanced countries. One is reminded of a story in this connection that a top-ranking plenipotentiary of a highly developed country while asked by one of his Indian friends as to since when his country had become so altruistic that she were able to send out her so-called technically qualified personnel to this and other underdeveloped countries while herself importing large numbers of personnel from abroad to run her own industries, was answered, on the condition, of course, that it was considered off the record, by the simple and forthright question as to why his country would not export her "sodden goods" if a remunerative price was offered for them? As regards the limit of 3 years for which such tax holidays would be available to foreign personnel, exemptions and exceptions are so widely and universally being made that most foreign personnel in Indian enterprises are being allowed the privilege in perpetuity and *ad infinitum*. The loss to the public revenues would appear to be overwhelming for most of which there would seem to have been no legitimate need at all.

RELIEF TO LOW INCOMES

- So far as the bottom income levels of income-tax payers are concerned, Mr. Krishnamachari has removed a rather obnoxious measure altogether from the Statute Book. I mean the compulsory savings depo-

sit which had already been partly amended earlier in so far as it affected those who did not come within the purview of the income tax. Now the income tax payers will also be exempt from it. This is good so far as it goes for the two principal reasons; first that its effect was to attenuate the fundamental rights of the individual citizen guaranteed by the Constitution and was basically repugnant on that account; secondly it was an imposition which, at the bottom levels, had the inevitable effect of further severely attenuating already too low living levels. But his claim that he has given these categories of income-earners some relief would not appear to be borne out by facts. He has integrated all previous surcharges into one basic and uniform tax rate subject to the usual allowances. Thus, at the lowest levels the present tax rate sums up all these previous surcharges and additional surcharges inclusive of the compulsory deposit into one single rate the aggregate of which is not less than but actually equal to all these different elements in the deposit. In the former computation the tax payer would, at least stand to receive back the amount he deposited under the savings scheme. In the present case, however, although he has to pay, in the aggregate, quite as much as he had to do last year, he does not get back anything at all. Where, then is the relief to these unfortunate income-earners of which so much is sought to be made by the Finance Minister? The annuity scheme for those who earn Rs. 15,000 per annum and more is, indeed, a good one, but on basic principles it should have been voluntary and not made compulsory.

PRIVATE FOREIGN CAPITAL

It would be unfair if a passing reference was not made in this context to the **super-inducement** offered by the present Finance Minister to private foreign capital for participation in Indian public sector enterprises, if only to comment that he has thus opened

the door wide to a new field which may be fraught with a variety of dangers to the future process of development in the country. It is also additionally obnoxious that identical privileges continue to be denied to private Indian capital. This would seem to indicate a shift in the Government's economic policies which may be quite far-reaching in their effect.

It would seem, therefore, that the current Budget of the Union Government would be bound to have the eventual result, on the one hand, of further enriching the already rich and thus allowing him to wield progressively more increasing economic power, and at the same time to further impoverish in real terms the already very poor. For, if the effect of the Budget would be bound to prove even harsher than it already was on the bottom levels of those who come within the purview of the income tax, how much harsher it would be bound to prove to that very large and numerically overwhelming class in the country who remain far below the reach of the income tax can easily be visualized. The inevitable effect would be bound to further substantially widen already existing and very wide economic disparities in the country and thus would prove to be a direct repudiation of the principles enunciated by the ruling party at its last Bhubaneswar get-together. We had commented in these columns earlier on the Bhubaneswar resolution that no serious departure from the present economic lay-out in the country could have been genuinely intended, for it is not conceivable that the hand which had been again and again elevating the party into powers of government would be sought to be deliberately bitten by those who have been the beneficiaries of the largesse of big business and the moneyed classes. With another general election looming ahead in course of the next two years, it is only legitimate to expect that the Government would seek to further strengthen the hands of those whose munificence would again be expected to vote it back into power.

EDUCATION FOR LIBRARIANSHIP

By R. C. BANERJI M.Sc.

In order that a library may meet its heavy responsibilities in modern days, it must have competent staff to manage and service it. The intricate services which a modern library renders can only be handled by persons who are aware of the purposes and potentialities of the library and the modern techniques and tools of achieving them. Without persons on the staff of the library who are thoroughly familiar with all facets of modern librarianship [“the building would be dead,” observes Ernest H. Wilkins* and “the books moribund; slowly handled, poorly bound, poorly classified, poorly catalogued, poorly shelved, poorly charged, poorly controlled in every way, and often misplaced, or completely unfindable—a scholar’s nightmare.”] The preparation of persons to handle the complicated and complex professional tasks connected with the ordering, cataloging and classification of books and the general direction of a modern library, therefore, assumes great importance.

The need for instituting courses in librarianship, however, came to be recognized only a few decades back. Before that there were no training courses for librarianship and the eager novice used to learn by means of an apprentice system. In those days the libraries contained limited number of books. It was therefore, not essential to have elaborate catalogues or any other reference tools. The circumstances have changed now with the continuous flow of publications. In order to make the materials in libraries manageable and easily accessible for daily use, librarians evolved some methods for efficient acquisition, cataloguing and classification and perfected these methods. They realised that some type of formal training was necessary before one could efficiently handle the responsibilities in a library. They discovered, just like the journalists, that there was a time when doctors and lawyers also did not receive any professional training. “The shop idea is the one that used to prevail in law and medicine. Legal studies began

by copying bills of cost for the lawyer, medical training by sweeping a doctor’s office. Now it is recognised that better results are obtained by starting with a systematic equipment in a professional school. Now the doctor begins only after he learns the principle—the experience of others. He must then work in a hospital to acquire the art of practically applying his theories” (Joseph Pulitzer—editor and publisher of the New York World).

Librarians realized that the development of professional training enriched and enhanced the standing of the profession itself. This, they found, was true in the case of law and medicine and engineering too. They realized that a librarian, if he is to hit his target, is as much in need of perusing books on librarianship as the lawyer is in the need of reading the principles of jurisprudence. The need for systematic training and testing was thus slowly recognised and, in 1887, the first school for the education of librarians was set up at the Columbia college (now Columbia University) at New York. After that, the number of such schools increased in geometrical progression and today almost every country is having facilities for the professional training of librarians.

Training Facilities in Our Country

In our country the lead in starting classes to train students in the science and art of librarianship was taken by the Punjab University in 1915 i.e., before partition. But this was dislocated due to partition of the country and was later restarted. The Madras Library Association was the next to start a course in 1929. This course was taken over by the University of Madras in 1938. After the Madras Library Association, courses were instituted by the National Library at Calcutta, the Bengal Library Association and the Universities of Andhra, Bombay, Banaras, Calcutta and Delhi.

Today there are in our country sixteen Universities which offer courses in Library Science. These are the Universities of Aligarh, Andhra, Banaras, Baroda, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Karnatak, Kerala, Lucknow, Madras, Nagpur, Osmania, Punjab, Rajasthan and the S.N.D.T. Women's University.

Certificate Course

The certificate course is conducted in the Universities of Aligarh, Andhra, Madras, Osmania and Rajasthan. The minimum qualification laid down for admission to the course is a pass in High School or S.S.L.C. Examination with experience of library work varying from one University to another. In the Aligarh and Rajasthan Universities at least one year's experience is required; in Andhra some experience is required; and in Madras five years' experience is required. In the Universities of Rajasthan and Madras some concession regarding the requirements of experience for admission to the course is given to students who have passed the Higher Secondary or Pre-University examination. Such students are required to possess experience of three years in Library work in the University of Madras and no experience in the case of Rajasthan. The duration of course is three months in the Universities of Rajasthan, Andhra, Madras, and Osmania; and of four months in the other two Universities. There is some uniformity in the curriculum covered by the Universities, and all Universities have the following papers in common:—(1) Classification and Cataloguing (Theory and Practical); (2) Library Organisation and administration. In the University of Rajasthan there is also a paper on Bibliography, Book selection and Reference Services and another on School library science. The total number of students enrolled is seventy in Aligarh; twenty in Andhra; twentyone in Madras; twentyeight in Osmania; and twentysix in Rajasthan.

Diploma Course

The Diploma course is conducted in the Universities of Andhra, Banaras, Baroda, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Karnatak, Nagpur,

Osmania, Punjab and in the S.N.D.T. Women's University. The minimum academic qualification prescribed for admission to the course is a Bachelor's Degree. The duration of the course is of one year in all the Universities although there is a great divergence in the total number of hours devoted for lectures, tutorials, practical classes etc., per week. The papers in which the students are examined varies from one University to another but the following compulsory papers are in common: Library administration and organisation; classification (Theory and Practical); cataloguing (Theory and Practical); and Reference service. In addition to these there is a separate paper on Bibliography in all Universities except Bombay. There is a separate paper on Book selection in six Universities, namely Baroda, Calcutta, Delhi, Nagpur, Osmania and Punjab; a paper in general knowledge in the Universities of Bombay, Calcutta, Karnatak and in the S.N.D.T. University. There is a paper in History of Libraries and Library movement in the Universities of Bombay, Karnatak and S.N.D.T. In the University of Bombay, cultural history of India forms a paper while in the University of Calcutta students have to cover a paper on one of the following four languages—French, German, Hindi, and Russian. In the University of Punjab, Sessional note book and Project Report form the two separate papers. Students have to appear viva-voce in the University of Karnatak and Nagpur. There is no provision for optional papers in any University excepting the Banaras Hindu University which proffers an option to students to choose one of the following three papers on Library Organisation—University college and special Libraries; Public Libraries; and School and Children's Library. The number of students on rolls in the diploma course is 10 in Andhra; 39 in Banaras; 8 Baroda; 34 in Bombay; 88 in Calcutta; 64 in Delhi; 10 in Karnatak; 32 in Nagpur and Osmania; 40 in Punjab and 21 in the S.N.D.T. Women's University.

Degree Course

The Degree course is conducted in the Universities of Aligarh, Kerala, Madras and

Rajasthan. The minimum qualification laid down for admission to the course is Bachelor's Degree. Some experience as an apprentice, under a qualified librarian, is required in the universities of Madras, and Rajasthan. In the Aligarh University preference is given to holders of certificates in library science and in Kerala to candidates deputed by Libraries. The duration of the course is of one year. There is more or less uniformity in the courses of study in different universities. The following papers are common:—Classification (Theory and Practical) Cataloguing (Theory and Practical); Library Organisation and administration; book selection and physical bibliography; and document bibliography and reference service. The number of students enrolled in the degree course is 39 in Aligarh; 24 in Kerala; 13 in Madras; and 31 in Rajasthan.

Master's Degree Course

The Master's degree course in library science is conducted only in the university of Delhi. The minimum qualification laid down for admission to the course is a Post-graduate diploma in library science of any university recognised as equivalent to the Delhi course. To be eligible for admission students must have secured at least 50% of the marks in Diploma course and must have passed an admission test in library classification and catalogue. The duration of the course is of one year. The curriculum consists of a universe of knowledge; Advanced library classification (Theory and practical); Advanced Library Catalogue (theory and Practical); Advanced Library organization and literature survey. In addition to this students have to choose one out of the following optionals:—Academic libraries; special libraries and Archival libraries.

Research

The University of Delhi offers facilities for research work in Library Science; leading to Ph.D. degree. The minimum academic qualification required for admission to the course is Master's degree in Library Science. There is, however, no student enrolled for research work.

In the Lucknow University students can offer a paper on Library Science in the

Bachelor's degree course. Besides this some Library Associations also conduct courses in Librarianship. The total annual output of trained persons, however falls short of the actual requirements. There is, therefore, a great need for expansion of the facilities for training. This expansion is all the more necessary for another reason also.

We are conducting in our country a stupendous experiment in democracy, never attempted before in any part of the world, towards which all the eyes are fixed. Democracy attaches the greatest value to public opinion and the ultimate success of democracy hinges on the effective and intelligent participation of the masses in the affairs of the state. Unfortunately, the vast millions of our countrymen are still illiterate and grouping in ignorance although they are not unintelligent. It is, therefore, difficult for them to form and exert opinion about the grave issues facing the country intelligently. In order that they may be sincere and active in thought and action to influence the policies and decisions of the country intelligently, it is imperative that we spread knowledge and enlightenment among the unenlightened people. In this uphill task of spreading knowledge the Library can play a salutary and beneficent part. It can exert a constructive influence by the recognition and encouragement of ideas and aspirations, plans and proposals which may lead towards the betterment of the country. The libraries in our country are already taking some interest in this direction, but the success of their attempt will depend mostly on the availability of qualified Librarians who can guide the people intelligently. To meet the needs of the times, we must provide more facilities for rearing up an army of qualified and competent craftsmen to discharge successfully the heavy responsibilities of the Librarian.

The Universities in the country have realized this need and are opening their portals, one after another, to eager aspirants to this noble profession.

*Ernest Hatch Wilkins in his paper entitled "The University Library and Scholarship" presented in the conference on "The Place of the Library in University Library, Cambridge, 1950.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati :

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

STUDIES IN BENGALI POETRY, by Humayun Kabir. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. August, 1962. Price Rs. 2/-.

Professor Humayun Kabir's views on Bengali Poetry have been well-known, and the basis of the volume before us is more than 25 years old. He has in a very compact manner presented the whole range of Bengali Poetry from early times to our contemporary poets. An able writer, himself a poet and lover of poetry, the author of many major publications, his 'studies' will be read with interest. His judgment on contemporary Bengali Poetry will be accepted by many, and his eulogy of Tagore will be read with sympathy and appreciation.

But there are many places in this brief study where the reviewer has to demur to the author's prejudices against Bankimchandra; he refers again and again to Bankim's **surrender** to European influences (p. 76), **blind admiration** for British rule (p. 75), and says again; 'For Chatterji and his contemporaries, the British were chosen instruments of Destiny and hence they **never suspected the British of distorting history.**' (p. 72). It is not necessary to multiply instances where prof. Kabir's pronouncements will find no support in the writings of Bankimchandra, and will be unacceptable to any competent critical judgment.

The comparative study of Hindu and Moslem middle classes to poetry (Bengali) and nationalism or national movement also

is fruitless now, or fruitful not of good. A historical explanation (a plausible one) might be found in Mcnut's *The Rise of the West* (pp. 776 ff), a University of Chicago Press publication.

SUFIS, MYSTICS AND YOGIS IN INDIA by Bankey Behari. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. August 1962. Price Rs. 2/-.

This is the 100th publication of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan—Institute of Indian Culture—the well-known Book University which has for its general editors K. M. Munshi and R. R. Diwakar. The writer of this particular volume is a remarkable **sadhak**, not a mere scholar, who has drifted from law to mysticism. He has been an inmate of Brindaban since 1940 and the volume shows the path pursued by saints who realised God in life. The compositions of Farid, Sarmad, Bullah Shah and Nazir—Sufi saints—are given in their English version with a brief account of their lives. They are followed by the Yogis and Shabdamargis—the great Shankaracharya, Nanak, Kabir and the saints of Maharashtra.

The book makes accessible to the reader the rich heritage of mediaeval India in point of spiritual achievement, and it is an opportunity to have close at hand so much information which should not be missed. The original versions of the sayings and songs of the great saints, given in sections at the end will be highly appreciated. The Vidya Bhavan has rendered great service to the cause of education by this publication.

P. R. Sen.

STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENTS—Demy 8 Vo. Pp. 240, Price Rs. 5.25 nP.
STUDIES IN ANCIENT POLITICAL THOUGHT—Demy 8 Vo. Pp. 140, Price Rs. 5.50 nP. Both compiled by Prof. B. R. Sen Gupta, Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, D. M. College, Imphal (Manipur), and both published by the Students' Stores, Imphal.

The first of these books under review is a study of the Governments of Britain, U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and India with an appendix on the Government of Japan. It is mainly designed to meet the requirements of students of the three-year Degree course of the Gauhati University particularly, although it should equally cover the needs of students at other standard universities in India pursuing an identical course of studies.

The book is divided into four parts covering the systems of government of each of the countries under study. Thus Part I deals with the Government in Britain, Part II with the U.S.A., Part III with the U.S.S.R., Part IV with the government of Switzerland and the last part with the Government of India. In the Appendix is appended a short summary of the principal contours of the system of Government in Japan. -

Mainly a compilation from a number of authoritative sources, the layout of the book, as already observed, is principally designed to give, in a composite compendium all that a student of this class needs to know about these Governments for his university examination. The language of the book is simple and direct and the presentation of the subject matter both lucid and comprehensible. Ordinarily this might have been regarded as only one other of those numerous books for purposes of cramming for examinations which usually does such a lot of harm by cramping the imaginative functions of the students' minds and by

correspondingly robbing him of that measure of self-reliance which a proper and critical study of a subject alone could yield to a student. Fortunately, the book under review is not anything like these books for cramming and its presentations are so designed as not to kill but rather to stimulate independent thinking, criticism and evaluation. At the same time the book brings to the student a lot of useful material within a short span to gather which he would otherwise have to wade through a variety of books and compendiums.

The second of these books is likewise designed to fulfil an identical purpose. In a sense however, this is a much more valuable compilation, since it covers within its very few pages and in very lucid and easily comprehensible language the whole range of the history of political thought beginning from Ancient Greece down to the present times. Indeed, for a proper comprehension of the trends of evolution of political thought in the modern world, one has inevitably to plough back to the days of the heathen Greeks who, as the author himself states in his preface to the First Edition, "broke new ground for fruitful research" and, indeed, "almost laboratory experiments in political science." Even the most modern political thinker and the philosophy he has been enunciating, would be found to derive the first principles upon which their thinking and conclusions are founded, to the ancient Greeks. Designed mainly to cover the immediate needs of university examinees, the book under review would, I have no doubt, be found both interesting and rewarding to even a maturer reader who is genuinely interested in the history of the evolution of political thought in the modern world.

Karuna K. Nandi



Indian Periodicals

MAY THE GOVERNMENT BECOME WISER!

Writing Editorially under the above caption, what the **Commerce** has to say on defence and development should keenly interest our readers.

Prime Minister Nehru said in the Lok Sabha on Monday this week: "Nobody can defend us; not the greatest power in the world can defend our borders except ourselves." He conceded that, to a certain extent, help from outside was necessary and that it was being obtained, but he reiterated that, ultimately, India's borders had to be defended by Indians themselves. He also said that a peaceful settlement of conflicts with Pakistan and China "would be desirable, but such settlements must be in keeping with the honour and integrity of India." Broadly speaking, these are sensible statements, the realism underlining them being borne out by the history of this generation that has seen two devastating World Wars. But, if this country is to be self-reliant in defence, it must be strong both militarily and economically. Again, if this country is to negotiate with China and Pakistan for settling the disputes (which are not its creations) peacefully and honourably, it can do so only from a position of strength. This is also the lesson brought out by the post-war history. So military and economic strength are imperative and the primary task of our leaders, especially of those who are in power, is to ensure that this goal is reached as quickly as possible, without wasting time and energy on useless ideological pursuits. Development and defence go together. Without a strong agricultural and a diversified industrial structure, it is not possible to develop a military force that can serve the objective of self-defence against aggression.

This is an elementary proposition. Yet it has to be reiterated, because it is not remembered by several of our politicians when they examine or explain the econo-

mic policies of our Governments, Central and States alike. Nor is adequate regard for it had by the Ministers when they frame their policies and programmes. India needs many modern industries and economic services, but its resources—financial and non-financial—are inadequate. Both the public sector and private sector have to co-operate, one supplementing the other. There is a limit to which the external resources that are required can be found through inter-Government loans. It is, therefore, essential to attract foreign private capital, especially for fields where know-how, technical personnel and plant and machinery have to be imported. The admission of such foreign capital will have to be on realistic lines. Its participation need not be confined only to the private sector but could cover the public sector as well.

In the past one year, the momentum of economic growth has slowed down. There has been virtual stagnation in the creation of new industrial capacity, vide Mr. G. D. Birla's speech published on pages 668-69 and commented upon on page 639 of this issue. This state of affairs is not conducive to the preservation of India's political independence and to the peaceful solution of its troubles with Pakistan and China. A wrong set of fiscal policies adopted in the last Budget of Mr. Morarji Desai has been largely responsible for this damage. His successor, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, has only made things worse. He, of course, claims to have improved the fiscal climate, but he is only deluding himself. The few concessions given by him are more than offset by the fresh imposts. He has doubtless tried to make India more attractive to foreign private investors by giving them a few additional benefits, but, in its totality, the Budget has not improved the position to any significant extent. In some cases, it has been made more adverse. The Esso Refinery Company, for instance, admitted a certain amount of Indian capital in the

form of cumulative preference shares, in addition to issuing debentures. It is, therefore, an Indian company, with a minority share for Indian investors, and comes within the mischief of Section 104 (old Section 23A) of the Income-tax Act. It has to suffer a higher incidence of taxation under T. T. K.'s proposals than the **Burmah-Shell Refinery Company**, a subsidiary wholly owned by a public limited company in Britain. This company, which has taken rupee capital only in the form of debentures and not in the form of shares, preference or otherwise, has actually had some relief. There may be many instances of such anomaly. Moreover, it is unrealistic to think that a fiscal policy which is slightly more attractive to foreigners but quite harsh on domestic investors will yield **satisfactory** results, for enough indigenous capital will not be forthcoming to go in partnership with foreign capital. This criticism will no doubt be not wholly valid, if the Government's intention is to encourage participation of foreign private capital in India's economic development only through partnership with public sector corporations and or wholly-owned subsidiaries. But that surely is not its intention; in fact, the emphasis in its policy has all along been on minority participation by foreign capital.

In fine, a substantial reorientation of the fiscal policy in favour of investors is urgently called for, in order to stimulate industrial growth to attain a pace that will serve the twofold purpose of Defence and Development. This is one of the prerequisites for the successful outcome of public relations efforts that have been undertaken for infusing confidence among foreign investors and for attracting them on a large-scale. In making this remark it is not our intention to minimise the importance of good public relations work of the type that is being carried on by the Investment Centre and by some of the foreign bodies themselves, as, for instance, the U.S. Commerce Department and the Federation of British Industries in the U.K. Only, it is sheer commonsense to say that these efforts will yield impressive results, if they are backed by tangible and sustained incentives. The

fact that the results achieved so far in this direction have fallen far below expectations clearly substantiates our statement. Fortunately for us, there is a definite move in the Western countries to encourage the flow of private capital to developing countries **through special tax concessions**. The U.S. Administration, for instance, has on the anvil a legislation for giving a large tax credit to American businessmen who invest in developing nations. The tax credit would reduce a businessman's Federal income-tax by 30 per cent of the amount he invests in them. A similar facility is being offered by West Germany too. It is only a question of time before the other countries follow suit. It would be a pity if this move were to be neutralised by the developing countries through imposition of excessive taxation on individuals and corporations as is being done in this country.

One may regard these observations on the fiscal policy of the Government of India as rather inopportune because of the arrival this week of a delegation of 40 leading U.S. businessmen for discussions on foreign investment opportunities in India. The businessmen are the guests of India, having arrived at the invitation issued by the Government through the Investment Centre. It is customary on an occasion like this to play up the favourable features of India and play down the unfavourable ones. It is equally customary for both the guests and hosts to be soft, polite, courteous and pleasant. All this is undoubtedly necessary, but, if anyone thinks, that these businessmen, some of whom have been in India before and know the country very well, will be carried away by the diplomatic policy of being nice and sweet, one will be seriously underestimating their competence. It is not suggested that the authorities in New Delhi, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and Mr. C. Subramaniam in particular, are guilty of this underestimation. They must have been aware that their guests would make the most detailed enquiries. If they still invited the Americans to come to the country and see for themselves, it must have been because of their confidence that they could convince them that, as against

the high rates of taxation, there are many valuable advantages, such as political stability, large size of the market, protection against competition from imports, good profitability, freedom to repatriate capital and profit, and keen desire to have foreign capital and to treat it well. There is no doubt that these advantages are there and that they compare favourably with other countries in need of foreign private capital. Even Mr. A. D. Ogilvie, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry, a body representing the great bulk of foreign capital already invested in this country, has clearly conceded this point at the meeting with the American businessmen on Wednesday this week. It must also be said to the credit of the Government of India, in general, and Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and Mr. C. Subramaniam, in particular, that procedural matters pertaining to obtaining of licences, sanctions, consents, etc., have been greatly simplified and streamlined, though there is still a lot of red-tape. But how much more favourable will the climate for foreign capital be if the fiscal policies happen to be less onerous, with their expropriatory features substantially trimmed! That really is the crux of the issue. It is to be hoped that the visit of the U.S. delegation will make the authorities in New Delhi a little wiser.

If the invitation extended to American businessmen to visit this country for talks and consultations reflects the Government's awareness of the value of foreign capital, the promptness with which it was accepted and acted upon by the invitees is an indication of their willingness to participate in this country's economic progress to the mutual benefit of both sides. The leader of the delegation, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. U.S. Under-Secretary of Commerce, aptly remarked when he said: "We have come at your invitation with seeds of additional economic growth which are yours to

plant and cultivate. We hope only that the ground be prepared, that favourable weather conditions and climate be maintained, and that opportunity for growth be reasonably assured." A lot, therefore, depends on our Government and businessmen. They have to permit foreign capital to play its part in areas where it can be most useful, as, for instance, oil, petrochemical, drugs, fertilisers, heavy machinery, machine tools, shipping and shipbuilding, aircraft, electronics, special steels, aluminium and copper, to mention only some. Rapid progress in all these industries, it is needless to add, is absolutely essential, if India is to attain the status of a modern industrial power and have the sinews of defence.

Not all these industries can be established in the private sector, for it is not big enough for this purpose. Nor is it politically feasible, even if desirable, to allow most of them to be established with one hundred per cent foreign capital. There will, therefore, have to be collaboration between the public sector and foreign private capital, besides the usual partnership between domestic and foreign private capital. The Government must be prepared to carry the public and Parliament with it by persuasion on this point. The spokesmen of American private capital now in this country will also have to change their attitude in this respect and persuade their colleagues at home, too, to do likewise. In saying this, we are only echoing what Mr. Roosevelt said: "We come not to tell you that our system is the best system, that to succeed you must copy our system; for we believe that each nation must conceive and evolve that system which is best adapted to its resources, its peoples, and its philosophy: that system which can best solve its own problems and assure its own future." This is a very realistic sentiment which it is to be hoped is fully shared by all the members of the U.S. delegation.

Foreign Periodicals

A Macro-Micro Man

This is the story about the valuable work of the little known atomic researcher, Prof. Herbert Anderson which is packed with human interest.

The first time the "cat burglar" broke into Professor Herbert Anderson's home in Hyde Park, near the University of Chicago campus, he took a pocketbook in which the professor's wife, Jean, had put her house key. On the next visit, the "cat" used the key from the pocketbook to open the front door, and left the house with a suit of the professor's clothes. The third time the "cat" called he called at night, wearing the jacket of the professor's suit and using the house key so deftly that he reached the hall leading to the professor's bedroom door before being noticed. At that point Mrs. Anderson heard a noise, looked into the hall and saw someone who was obviously not her sleeping husband. She jumped out of bed, ran into the hall, took the burglar by surprise, and chased him down the stairs. As he headed for the front door and freedom, she grabbed the tail of her husband's stolen jacket and pulled. The jacket tightened on its wearer, pinning the "cat's" arms in the sleeves and throwing him. Mrs. Anderson heaved herself on top of his prostrate body and sat there.

The commotion wakened Professor Anderson, who hurried downstairs and joined his wife on top of the struggling burglar. Richard Lundy, a physics student living with the Andersons at the time, came out of his room and made it three on the "cat". The Andersons' daughter Faith telephoned the police while her three siblings—Clifton, Kelley and Dana—applauded the performance from gallery seats at the top of the stairs.

When the police removed a knife from one of the "cat's" pockets, Mrs. Anderson said she was scared. And she may have

been. Nevertheless, when three young hoodlums in the neighbourhood some time later attacked her in an attempt to steal her pocketbook, she fought them off.

Still later, after a bicycle belonging to one of the Anderson children had been appropriated by another youngster known to the family, Professor Anderson and his wife went alone into a slum for a friendly discussion of the incident with the culprit's parents.

If asked, Professor Anderson will confirm these episodes but will not moralize about them. He has chosen to live near the campus of the school with which he is associated, and to participate actively in the great racial harmony experiment being conducted there. He must accept the consequences, the dangers along with the satisfactions. He knows that the crime rate in Hyde Park is still too high, but remembers how much higher it was before the Hyde Park urban renewal project began under University of Chicago leadership. He recognizes that slum conditions everywhere demand a degree of basic research in the social sciences far beyond anything yet tried.

The accelerating urban crisis is more excruciating to him than it is to many men because the professor's position of authority and responsibility at the Enrico Fermi Institute for Nuclear Studies immerses him in the continuing struggle for research funds derived from public tax monies. The competition between one scientific discipline and another is fierce, and growing fiercer by the day. In his own field of study, atom smashers are necessary to explore the mysteries of the atomic nucleus. Building and maintenance of these enormous instruments costs billions of dollars. But defense of democracy may depend on the knowledge of nature uncovered by these incredibly expensive tools. At what point should spending for democracy's survival stop in

order to permit more spending for nourishment of democracy in practice?

Professor Anderson has risked his life in both directions. By continuing to reside where he does, he holds his physical comfort always in some jeopardy. His search for understanding of the atom likewise has been hazardous. For years he has turned back the ravages of beryllium poisoning through treatment with cortisone at Billings Memorial Hospital on the University campus. He makes a joke of the fact that he consumes more cortisone than any other man alive.

Professor Anderson is a genuinely historical figure. Without him, the dawn of the atom age might have occurred at a later time and at a different place on the horizon. He was one of the first Americans to hear the news of the fissioning of uranium (by word of mouth from Niels Bohr, who had heard it from Germany). Enrico Fermi had just arrived at Columbia University in New York City, an exile from Mussolini's fascism in Italy. As an "enemy alien," Fermi had no access to facilities with which he might apply his theoretical knowledge of the German discovery. Although only an unknown graduate student from the Bronx, Anderson did have a facility of precisely the type that would be most useful to Fermi. This was the cyclotron Anderson had built for Columbia physics Professor John Dunning. Anderson suggested to Fermi that Fermi's brain and Anderson's hands together might make a valuable contribution to nuclear science, and Fermi gladly accepted.

Taking an instrument of Anderson's design, and hitching it onto the cyclotron, Fermi not only confirmed the fission achieved by Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman in Berlin but demonstrate that freed neutrons might enable a chain process of producing nuclear power.

When the time came to build the first atomic furnace, Fermi wanted to make the attempt in New York. A National Academy of Sciences committee headed by Dr. Arthur Compton decided that whoever built the furnace would do so in Chicago. Being young and eager to see the world, Anderson came to Chicago and encouraged Fermi to

come, too. Toward the close of 1942 the trip paid off.

"For me the eventful day began at midnight December 1," Anderson wrote later, "I was the straw boss of the building of the pile (of interlaced uranium and graphite). My job was to build the pile layer by layer and see to it that the graphite and uranium were put on in their proper places. . . . On this day our measurement showed that the pile would reach criticality (be ready to work) at the fifty-sixth layer. . . . job would be done. I could send the crew home and survey our completed handiwork."

It is curious that this man who did so much to facilitate the exercise of Fermi's genius has never been given material recognition by the Atomic Energy Commission. A payment of \$20,000 (what a piddling sum alongside the spectacular present day atomic power investment!) has been requested but never awarded.

If Professor Anderson were less modest than he is, it might be easier to appraise the long-term significance of an experiment in which he is now engaged—for the execution of which he recently resigned the directorship of the Fermi Institute. My own layman's guess is that it will speed up atom-smashing research of all kinds and perhaps lay the foundation for more rapid development of simplified nuclear theory.

At the time when Fermi and Anderson worked together, the result of any given experiment always was known by nightfall of the day the experiment took place. Fermi simply didn't go home until he knew the answer. It was therefore easy to plan the next day's experiments on the basis of that day's results.

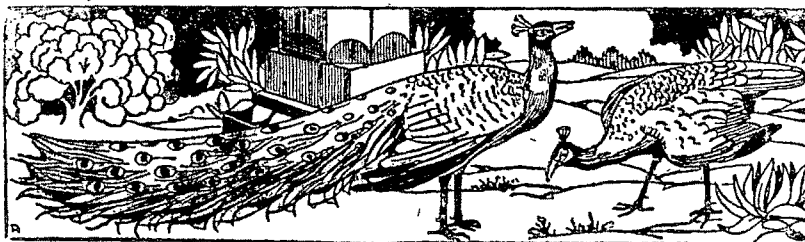
Since then, however, the nucleus of the atom has become progressively more difficult to understand. Almost a hundred different particles have been indentified in it, tentatively grouped in octets. The natures and energies of these fragments make them difficult to trace. To permit them to be trailed accurately, they are shot through chamber filled with bubbles. The tracks left in the bubbles are photographed. Thousands of photographs are taken. Their

analysis may occupy a year or more before the result of an experiment can be known. Until that result is known, related experiments must be haphazard.

To speed the process of identifying the nuclear particles, a new detector called a spark chamber has been invented. In this device the passing fragments leave a trail of sparks which can be timed very accurately. This means that only certain fragments may be watched for, while others are ignored. The experiment time is thus reduced. Professor Anderson proposes to reduce it even further by training TV cameras on the spark chamber. The distances of the sparks from

the edges of the TV screen are measured electronically, the measurements are read directly into a high speed computer, and the computer gives the result of the experiment within the hour.

Being dedicated to her husband's happiness, Mrs. Anderson—a former airline hostess who met her handsome spouse at a tea party at Fermi's house in Chicago—undoubtedly knows all about this enormous ZGS instrument at Argonne National Laboratory of the Atomic Energy Commission. She might be forgiven a request for a TV detector that would watch for stray "cats" around the house.



Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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NOTES

Jawaharlal Nehru

India's Man of Destiny has crossed over into eternity. The peoples of the Indian Union, who were all so dearly beloved by him, regardless of caste, creed or of religious and social boundaries, are plunged into grief. The shock is all the more poignant because he seemed to be so well set on the path of recovery from the sudden attack of illness that he had suffered in January last, that he himself had smilingly remarked, in his last press Conference of May 22, "My life is not going to end so very soon." The Nation had rejoiced at this message for it marked the recovery in body and spirit of the man in whom the common citizen of India reposed the maximum of faith, trust and regard.

Few persons in our history, or in the history of any nation, have been so close to the hearts of so many of their peoples, as was Jawaharlal Nehru, and few indeed have commanded so much respect and regard, in the hearts and minds of so many of their own, in the annals of history. Indeed in the recent history of our own peoples only the Father of the Nation can be named and placed above and before Jawaharlal, and Jawaharlal was chosen by him to lead his people at the advent of freedom.

In one of his first public speeches after

freedom had been attained, Pandit Nehru spoke of the wager that he, together with the rest of the devoted and dedicated band under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, had laid with Fate regarding the destiny of his Nation. In the stakes that were pledged by him were all that he had and all that he held dear, and on the other side was Freedom—Freedom with honour. The wager was won but a terrible price had to be paid later in the terms of partition accompanied by riots, bloodshed, rape, arson and loot, together with the migration of millions of uprooted and evicted humanity that had suffered untold agonies.

Through all the storms and stresses that followed the partition of India, and through the intense tensions and strains of the first few years of the resurgence of Indian nationhood he staunchly steered the Union and its peoples towards the goal of progress, peace and attainment of self-sufficiency. The path towards fulfilment has been beset with trials and seemingly insurmountable difficulties all along the sixteen years of the premiership of Jawaharlal Nehru. But the country and nation has been able to maintain its progress despite all that without surrendering part of its freedoms and honour, mainly because of his steadfastness regarding his ideals.

It is not possible at such a short internal We, who have been trained to observe the of or the sudden and appalling shock—so passing moods and phases of our own people toally unexpected—that the news of the through forty years of experience as a jour- demise of our beloved leader has delivered, nalist, were astounded when our young to set forth the qualities and the achieve- sweeper boy—who seemed shocked almost ments of this titan amongst the statesmen of to the point of tears when he heard the news the world, in any coherent order or in any —said “now who is left to look after us? He comprehensive detail. The publication of this was the only one who had all of us in his particular issue of this journal has been thoughts!” (Hum sabi logoki khayal). This delayed through circumstances beyond the was singularly true of the man we mourn, control of its staff or direction and we are after the passing of Gandhiji, he was the called upon to place on record the doleful only great leader in India who kept all the news and pay our homage on almost the last sections of all the peoples, all over India, con- hour prior to printing these columns. stantly in mind. He represented India and the Indian Nation more comprehensively than any other Indian after the Father of the

Since the day in 1947 when he was Union by Lord Mountbatten until the fateful day of his passing, Jawaharlal Nehru remain- ed firmly placed as the Chief Executive of the Union, not merely by virtue of his leader- ship of the majority party in the political field of India, but far more justifiably be- cause “This was a man who, with all his mind and heart, loved India and the Indian people. And they, in turn, were indul- gent to him and gave of their love most abundantly and extravagantly,” as he himself wrote while in a pensive mood he composed an epitaph for his own self. from our President's broadcast to the Nation, on May 27, are true to the last letter of every word :

“His courage, wisdom and personality has held this country together. It is these qualities which should be cherished, if we are to hold on. Our thoughts today go out to him as a great emancipator of the human race, one who has given all his life and energy to the freeing of men's minds from political bondage, economic slavery, social oppression and cultural stagnation.”

The World

At the time of writing these, actual shooting warfare was going on in three small areas; the first and the most controversial one was at the Southern tip of the Arabian peninsula, where it touches the mouth of the Red Sea. Here the British were shooting and bombarding, by rocket throwing hunter planes and by heavy artillery, the strong- holds and hideouts of the Arab tribesmen who are out to demolish the British sponsored South Arabian Federation, composed of a dozen or more tiny Sultanates, Emirates and Sheikhdoms, which run along the lower rim of the Arabian peninsula. The tribesmen call themselves the Red Wolves of Radfan and can muster about a thousand men, who have been harassing the key trade routes

between Dhala and Aden. They are getting support from the Yemen as well and are able to utilize their capacity for hit and run raids to the full, because of dual base lines along the Radfan hills and the Yemeni border areas. They are further amply supplied with arms and ammunition by the Yemeni forces, which include 40,000 Egyptian troops.

The British have staged a minor puni- tive war, with air and artillery aiding the troops they have rushed in, in support of the Federation's British-officered army totalling 4,000 men. The Arab members of the U.N. have got together about 12 countries who have petitioned the Security Council to intervene.

The two other areas where actual fight- ing—sporadic in nature—is flaring up frequ-

ently are Laos and South Viet-Nam. In Laos the situation seemed peaceful after a temporary interlude when the Rightists staged a **coup d'etat**, thereby deposing the neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma, which misfired in its turn. Talks were proceeding a short while ago between the neutralist Premier, the pro-Communist Pathet-Lao Chief, Prince Souphanouvong, and General Phoumi Nosavan, head of the Royalist right-wing forces. Then suddenly the talks broke down and the Pathet-Lao, which seems to possess the only fighting troops ready for combat, started their warlike operations and, at the time of writing, the neutralist positions in the Plain of Jars is exceedingly precarious. The neutralist Premier has asked the Commission appointed at the Geneva talks, to intervene. The Commission consists of India, Poland and Canada. The situation is unstable there, to say the least.

The American leadership, which has assumed responsibility to a very great extent in South-Vietnam and to a lesser extent in Laos, is under serious challenge in that section of the Far East. Indeed, some of the sensation-mongering news weeklies started talking about Dienbienphu, where the French made their last stand against the liberation forces of Indo-China in their losing war of about a decade back. Indeed the tenth anniversary of the savage battle that lost France her century-old Indo-Chinese empire, was celebrated in many cities of the Asian Communist countries.

The French themselves expressed their doubts about the outcome of the war against Communism in those areas in no uncertain terms during the SEATO Ministerial Council deliberations at Manila that took place about the middle of April last. The international edition of **New York Times** of April 19, contained the following editorial comments:

"The military situation in Vietnam reverberated in the deliberations of the Ministerial Council of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in Manila last week. Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville expressed new French doubts that the Khanh Government was capable of defeating the Vietcong.

The French view was reflected also in its refusal to join the other SEATO members last week in a declaration of support for the South Vietnamese military effort against the Vietcong. President de Gaulle has proposed "neutralization" of Vietnam as a solution to the conflict there. The U.S. view, in so far as it is able to fathom what General de Gaulle has in mind, is that neutralization might only prove a transitional stage to full Communist takeover.

The difficulties of the neutralization approach were underscored last week by developments in Vietnam's theoretically neutralized neighbor—Laos. A conference of the three leaders—rightist, leftist, and neutralist—of Laos' coalition Government broke up in disagreement over measures for ending continuing strife in the country. The neutralist Premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, said he would ask King Savang Vathana to relieve him as Premier—a step that could mean collapse of the coalition if the King acceded to the request.

At the weekend, Secretary of State Dean Rusk was in Saigon, following his participation in the SEATO meeting. He strongly reaffirmed support for the Khanh regime. The U. S. was said to be concerned about the possibility of a coup against General Khanh by some dissident military elements."

The sombre tones underlying the above comments were further reflected in the following editorial comments in its April 26 issue:

"Ten years ago, Indochina was, to most Americans, a remote, little-known land where the French were coming to the end of a cruel, losing war. Today, it is the arena of an increasingly complex struggle that has already taken a toll of American lives and treasure and is posing a test of American leadership of the forces of anti-Communism in the Far East.

Last week, the complexity of the struggle was reflected in events in two of the states involved, Laos and South Vietnam.

In Laos, a neutralist regime—a frail buffer in the East-West conflict—was swept aside by a rightist military revolt.

In South Vietnam, the pro-Communist guerrillas were intensifying their attacks.

placing the U.S. under pressure to devise new responses.

The immediate crisis was in Laos. It grew out of the collapse, only the week before, of talks."

Although the areas where active conflicts were in progress were limited to the above-mentioned three places, this did not indicate that there was a general relaxation in World tensions where either covert hostilities or open declarations of animosities were concerned. The only indications of a somewhat less tense conditions in the East-West cold war were detailed by the *New York Times* as follows, in the aftermath of the showdown in Cuba over missiles:

"(1) The two countries, joined by Britain, signed a treaty agreement to stop above-ground tests of nuclear weapons.

(2) The three nations agreed not to export nuclear weapons in outer space.

(3) A "hot line" was installed between the White House and the Kremlin to permit rapid communication between them in case of emergency.

(4) The U.S. agreed to sell up to \$250 million worth of wheat to Russia to help compensate for Soviet harvest failures.

There has also been an easing of Soviet pressures on the West and of the propaganda battle. Both sides seem eager to smooth over incidents, such as the downing of U.S. firms over East Germany, that would have set alarm bells ringing in the old days. As for Cuba itself, neither side seems to want another showdown there, despite occasional rhetorical flareups.

None of this has brought Russia and the West any closer on the basic issues of the cold war—disarmament, the division of Germany (including the status of Berlin), and the continuing Soviet commitment to spreading Communist rule (even if the emphasis now is on "peaceful competition" rather than revolution).

However, the fringe agreements reached have improved the atmosphere of East-West relations. And both sides seem interested in continuing that process, while keeping in the background the central issues that seem to defy solution for the time being."

Elsewhere the tensions are still actively evident in some places, like the tangle in

Malayasia, which newly born state has been bedevilled right from the start of its birth pains with the open and actively hostile attitude of the Indonesian authorities and the less blatant demands of the Philippine Government. The foreign minister of the latter state is now attempting to bring about a summit meeting between the heads of these States in order to arrive at a solution of the problem. The position at the time of writing these was somewhat more hopeful than at the end of last month, but as yet there are no signs that the Indonesian dictator is willing to give up his policy of "Confrontation," which consists at present in guerrilla warfare by Indonesian forces in the North-Borneo territories of Malayasia.

The tension that has developed between the two giants of Communism is still at a peak, though there does not seem to be any likelihood of a shooting war unless the megalomania of the Peking autocrats flares up into causing major incidents. As yet both sides are attacking each other with acrid propaganda in speeches, pamphlets, radio dissertations and newspaper articles. Russia is actively moving in neutral and non-aligned spheres to counteract the effects of the Chou En-lai mission to Africa and the Arab States. The latest moves have been in Egypt, where Mr. Khrushchev "assisted" at the opening of the first-phase High-dam at Aswan, thereby considerably dimming the image of Chinese munificence and brotherly love and sympathy as painted by the adroit Mr. Chou En-lai during his propaganda mission to the Arab and African nations. But still the strife between Peking and Moscow is limited to ideological skirmishes as yet.

Minor tensions, such as between the Arab nations and Israel over the waters of the Jordan, and between Cuba and the U.S.A. over the U. reconnaissance flights, still remain at a fairly low level principally due to lack of instigation.

Near at home, the aggression by Red China on our Himalayan frontiers remains unresolved and unsettled, due to China being handicapped seriously through the ideological conflict with the Western World of Communism which has meant a complete stoppage of major warlike supplies from the

West. Although some countries of the Soviet Bloc like Rumania and Poland have not ideologically broken-off from Peking, they have little potential for the supply of war material to China and of course no direct channel of transportation to Red China, even if they wanted to send war material to replenish Red China's warlike stocks. Albania, the only Western Communist country that has adhered firmly to Peking, is a complete liability in every way to her Far Eastern ally and possesses only nuisance value as a Chinese satellite.

On our side the defence preparations are going on according to the plans, but long years of criminal negligence have imposed handicaps that are at last showing some signs of reduction. As such there is as yet no move on our side to resolve the Chinese aggression by force, as hasty measures are not advisable under the circumstances and, of course, our national policy of trying for peaceful solutions of all issues involving international disputes and conflicts to the uttermost limits must be given the fullest trial. Pandit Nehru has declared that we are prepared to meet China at a conference table if she agrees that neither side shall have any posts or strong points in the demilitarized zone in Ladakh. He has said that that would be in conformity with the Colombo proposals and would permit us to enter into direct negotiations with China without any loss of national dignity and honour. The differences with Pakistan remain unabated and indeterminate.

Kashmir, Pakistan and Sheikh Abdulla

Pakistan's latest adventure into U. N. politics has ended in a fiasco, after the leader of the Indian delegation, Education Minister M. C. Chagla, had effectively smashed the arguments of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and the leader of the Pakistani delegation. Pakistani arguments and the "Case" made out by Mr. Bhutto received stout support from Britain and the U.S.A. on some occasions. But despite all that, Pakistan could not make the U.N. Security Council either to pass any resolution nor could it persuade them to come to a "consensus." Indeed, Mr. Chagla's comment

on the Kashmir debate in the Security Council, in which he styled it as "An exercise in futility" was more than justified by the results—or rather the lack of any. Pakistan could not adduce even a shred of evidence to prove her charges against India. The news from New York received at the time of writing these, report that:

'Before the Security Council adjourned *sine die* last night, President, M. Robert Seydowk of France emphasised that the Council members felt the two parties should resume contacts as soon as possible in order to resolve their differences by negotiation.

In his final speech, Mr. Chagla said that for negotiations to succeed there must be goodwill on both sides.

Pakistan, he said, must accept certain basic positions.

These were: Kashmir is an integral part of India and no country can agree to give up a part of itself or have self-determination for a part of the country.

India, he said, was an example of society where inter-communal harmony could exist

"My appeal to Pakistan is: Do not interfere with this experiment. Let this experiment go on, because the future of the world depends upon inter-communal societies succeeding". Mr. Chagla said.

'About the possible intervention of the U.N. Secretary-General U. Thant, Mr. Chagla said, this would serve no purpose without consent of the parties.

"We propose to carry on negotiations in the near future, and if a stage is reached when both India and Pakistan invite him then and then only he should come".

The U.N. Secretary-General's help in that case would bring fruitful results he said.

Though he could not have his way this time (indirectly rebuffed), Mr. Bhutto hoped to come again to the Security Council in a few months to raise the Kashmir issue.

Council members met privately for more than two hours behind closed doors before going into the chamber for the open meeting, the start of which was repeatedly postponed while they deliberated.

It was understood that they had discussed the possibility of reaching a consensus

which Mr. Seydoux, President of the Security Council, might then read.

When he took the floor at the open meeting, the President said he wanted at the outset to apologise to the Ministers of India and Pakistan for having kept them waiting for so long. But they must be aware of the fact that this was for reasons outside the control of the President.

"In my mind, and I believe in the minds of my colleagues, this was a question of considering the possibility of drawing common conclusions to which all members of the Council could agree," the President said.

"I tried to carry out this task in consultation with all members and we were forced to realise that, despite the efforts made, we were unable to arrive at a complete agreement."

The U.S.A. which has been used as a likely "Cat's paw" by Pakistan and Britain over this affair seems to have slowly awakened to some of the realities of the situation—or has it?

In the 11th May issue of the *News Week* we find the following pithy comment in the "Periscope":

"President Johnson tried more of his personal diplomacy at last week's CENTO meeting in Washington. Samples: (1) he singled out for special, warm attention Turkish Foreign Minister Feridun Erkin, who in turn toned down demands for strong U.S. condemnation of Greek Cypriots; (?) on another tack, the President pointedly ignored Pakistan's foreign Chief, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of his nation's swing toward Peking!"

Despite all these set-backs Mr. Bhutto has remarked that he would try again. But the main hopes of a come back where Pakistan, Kashmir and the U.N.O. are concerned seemed to be concentrated on the coming visit of Sheikh Abdullah to Rawalpindi.

Mr. Chagla was asked about the significance of Nehru-Abdullah talks and the projected talks of the Sheikh with President Ayub of Pakistan, in the context of the Kashmir question, at a Press Conference after the Security Council meeting at the United Nations. His clarification, as sent in

a news report from the United Nations is worthy of record. It ran as follows:

Two-fifths of Kashmir now under Pakistan's illegal occupation was also part of India, he said, in reply to a question.

Negotiation between India and Pakistan, Mr. Chagla said, was separate from the Nehru-Abdullah talks. The former was between two sovereign countries while the latter was between an eminent individual of India who had a following in a part of the country, and the Prime Minister of a democratic country who was accessible to a large number of people.

Mr. Chagla also emphasised that Sheikh Abdullah was not the only voice in Kashmir; there were other voices too.

Asked how Sheikh Abdullah could then talk with President Ayub of Pakistan or negotiate, Mr. Chagla said Sheikh Abdullah was anxious that the relations between India and Pakistan should improve and he felt he might be able to bring about some solution which might improve the relations.

"We do not know the nature of his solution, but the Prime Minister has categorically stated—and other members of the Indian Government have said this also—that we will not accept any solution which does not accept Kashmir as an integral part of India. Within that context we might consider all possibilities."

Mr. Chagla said this could involve a degree of autonomy for Kashmir within the Indian Union.

Mr. Chagla further stated at the same press conference that India and Pakistan had a number of differences to discuss and settle. Kashmir was not the only dispute, he emphasised, nor was it the disease. It was only a symptom of the Indo-Pakistan differences.

Sheikh Abdullah, in the meanwhile, is on his way to Rawalpindi. He does not seem to be so very sure about his programme in Pakistan, far less about the outcome of his visit to that fermenting vat of anti-Indian propaganda and intrigue. It is as yet too early to estimate the effects of the Sheikh's activities but this visit to Pakistan may provide an indicator regarding the intentions he harbours in his mind.

The A.I.C.C. Meeting

The All-India Congress Committee held a routine meeting at Bombay. The three-day session started on May 15 and ended on May 17, without any major decision arising out of the issues raised at the Bhubaneswar Session of the Congress. The Working Committee presented the following agenda:

1. Consideration of the amendments to the Congress Constitution.
2. Discussions of the Dhebar Committee's report on implementing the Resolution on Democracy and Socialism.
3. Consideration of an official resolution on the communal situation.
4. Submission of the following reports to the A.I.C.C.

- (a) A report of the Working Committee on the non-official resolutions tabled at the Bhubaneswar session.
- (b) A report on the training and education programme for Congress workers.
- (c) Report of the Minimum Tasks Committee.
- (d) Report of the Committee on Collection of Funds by Congressmen.

5. The Working Committee will also process over 90 non-official resolutions, half a dozen of which relate to the Kamaraj Plan, including one calling for its withdrawal and another urging its speedier implementation.

It will be seen that the agenda contained no mention of the anti-corruption campaign that is supposed to be launched by the Home Ministry. Of course the campaign being an official undertaking the Congress as an "independent body" may or may not take any interest in it. But the fact remains that the main problem before the Congress as a body-politic lies in the removal of that evil, which is rotting the entire organization. Indeed the first item on the agenda relating to the amendments of the Congress was definitely aimed at the removal of a major factor leading to corrupt practices regarding elections. "Primary members" in locust-like swarms appear at election time and lend their overwhelming weight in the election of undesirables. The report submitted to

the A.I.C.C. by the Committee on collection of Funds by Congressmen (Item 4D), has also considerable bearing on the subject of corruption.

As it happened, however, there was no direct approach to the subject mooted by any Committee or member. Indeed we might borrow a phrase from Mr. M. C. Chagla and term this session of the A.I.C.C. as an exercise in futility. Pandit Nehru's speech on Sheikh Abdullah's "Mission," was a mere reiteration of what has been stated by him before and Mr. V. K. Krishna-Menon's 80 minute discourse somewhat resembled the weather-reports we are getting these days which state "thunder conditions developed but no rain"!

Dr. John Haynes Holmes

We have received the following excerpt from the speech of Mr. Prafulla C. Mukherji and followig that a resolution passed at a meeting of the Tagore Society of New York on the occasion of Buddha Purnima. As the speech and the resolution were both tributes to Dr. John Haynes Holmes, a genuine friend of India and a lifelong admirer of both Gandhiji and Rabindranath. We publish both:

We are gathered here tonight to pay homage to one of the greatest men in history, who was born in Kapilavastu, India on the Baisakhi Purnima night 2507 years ago—Gautama Buddha the Compassionate.

It is fitting that on this sacred day we also pay American and a world citizen. Dr. John Haynes Holmes was born 84 years ago in Philadelphia and died in New York City on April 3. He graduated from the Divinity School of Harvard University and became a Unitarian Minister. When he established himself in New York City he founded the Community Church which became not only a religious center but also the center of various civic, cultural, international and reform movements in the city and the country.

Dr. Holmes was instrumental in the appointment of the noted Seabury Commission for investigation of crimes and vices in New York City. This Committee forced the resignation of the then Mayor, James Walker

and inaugurated many reforms. Dr. Holmes was a founder also of American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, two of the most vital institutions in American life today. He was a dynamic crusader and an ardent worker for peace. He held Mahatma Gandhi as his ideal. "Gandhi is a saint and a seer and is my teacher" said Dr. Holmes. Every time Mahatma Gandhi was in prison or went into a long fast, Dr. Holmes led a silent demonstration, holding a black flag. He also inspired others in other cities to do the same. During Rabindranath Tagore's several visits to America, Dr. Holmes established very close relations with him and went to India to help Tagore in the work of his schools at Santiniketan. Dr. Holmes was really the fore-runner of the non-violent and peaceful demonstrations in America today, which have given such fruitful results.

It is a matter of great regret and it will leave a scar on British life that they found it necessary to put Gandhi, Nehru, Sri Aurovinda, Chittaranjan, Subhas Chandra and others in prison in their attempt to save their colonial system. But we then asserted our faith in the ultimate triumph of India and the other colonial countries. And today it is a matter of regret and it will leave a scar on American life that they find it necessary to put to prison men like Dr. Du Bois, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Rev. Dr. Donald S. Harrington, the Minister of the Community Church, my friend Bayard Rustin the Executive Director of War Resisters' League, James Farmer, President of Congress of Racial Equality and many others including hundreds of young boys and girls, in their attempt to keep from fulfilling the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln the great Emancipator—so that a great injustice may be perpetuated on our brothers and sisters. But on this sacred day of the birth of great Buddha and as we honor the memory of Dr. John Haynes Holmes and in the name of universal brotherhood, we assert our faith in the triumph of the Negro in America; of the triumph of good over evil, of justice over injustice, of the triumph of human dignity and peace. For that day of

triumph we pledge all our effort, and join with them in singing: "Deep down in our heart, we do feel. We shall Overcome today."

On this auspicious day, as we the members and friends of the Tagore Society of New York have met to commemorate the memory of Gautama the Buddha and pay him our homage, we wish to express our profound sorrow and sense of great loss at the demise of our revered friend Dr. John Haynes Holmes on April 3, 1964.

A great humanitarian and a Unitarian Minister, Dr. Holmes was a leader of the progressive forces in America for more than half a century. He was the founder of the Community Church of New York, which had been and still remains not only a Temple of worship but also a center of many humanitarian, civic and progressive movements in this city. His dynamic personality is imprinted in the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.) and the American Civil Liberties Union—two of the most vital institutions in America today, which Dr. Holmes helped to organize.

The people of India will ever remain grateful to Dr. Holmes and his colleague the late lamented Dr. J. T. Sunderland, also a great Unitarian Minister, for the genuine help and co-operation they had given in the struggle for India's freedom. It was Dr. Holmes who introduced Mahatma Gandhi to America, first by his famous sermon "Buddha to Gandhi", then by his constant interpretation of Gandhi's Satyagraha movement, which made a profound impact on the people throughout the country. It was Dr. Holmes again who gave his full co-operation to Rabindranath Tagore during his several visits to this country. He also went to India to help the poet in the work of his school at Santiniketan.

Today we pay tribute to the memory of John Haynes Holmes, with a sense of dedication, so that we may be fit to carry on the various activities he so nobly espoused. We send our sympathy to his son and daughter, his grand children and relatives and to Dr. Donald S. Harrington, Minister of the Community Church, his associates and the members of the congregation.

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

FOURTH PLAN PERSPECTIVE

Reported conclusions of the Perspective Division of the Planning Commission, recently presented, are said to have envisaged a yearly economic growth rate of 7 per cent as a tentative basis for formulation of the Fourth Plan framework, in order to yield a per capita monthly income of Rs. 20 by 1975-76. The Planning Commission, meeting under the Chairmanship of Late Prime Minister, are reported to have accepted the recommendations of the Perspective Division in this behalf, and to have reached the broad conclusion that the Fourth Plan would have to be very substantially larger in size than the Third Plan and that a great deal more emphasis than hitherto would have to be laid on agricultural development. According to the paper submitted by the Perspective Division, the estimated national income by the end of the Third Plan period would reach the mark of Rs. 18,000 crores and not Rs. 19,000 crores as the earlier target postulated and, to achieve a per capita monthly income of Rs. 20 by 1975-76, the economic growth rate must be such as to raise the level of the national income to at least Rs. 37,000 crores. At 7% annual growth rate, the national income should rise to Rs. 26,000 crores by 1970-71 (end of Fourth Plan) and on to Rs. 37,500 crores by 1975-76 (end of Fifth Plan); the population of the country, it is estimated, would rise to 555 millions in 1970-71 and to 625 millions by 1975-76. To achieve this projected economic growth rate, the paper envisages, capital formation during the Fourth Plan period must comprise 15 per cent of the national income by 1965-66 instead of 14 per cent as earlier estimated, and on to 21 per cent by 1970-71. The content of foreign aid in the Plan formulation,

it is also visualized at the same time, must progressively decline during the coming Plan periods. The present foreign aid content of Plan investments comprise 25 per cent of total resources; this, it is emphasized, must be reduced to some 7 per cent by 1970-71 and be completely eliminated in course of the following five years. The Perspective Division's recommendations include the proposal to very substantially widen the area of the public sector in industry to raise the content of public ownership in industry to substantially more than half of the total capital stock in the country under direct ownership of Government and other public authorities.

Feasibility Studies by Working Groups

Various Working Groups of the Planning Commission are reported to have been invested with the responsibility of studying the Perspective Division's proposals and conclusions and, in making their report thereon, to apply their own understanding of the situation and test the technological and financial feasibility of the former's recommendations without being, in any way, inhibited by their conclusions. In the meanwhile the Commission is scheduled to meet again shortly to consider what have been described as basic issues. But it is only at a later and third meeting of the Commission when the reports of the Working Groups would be available, that final conclusions are expected to be drawn and it is expected that a general framework of the Fourth Plan would be ready by October or November next. In the meanwhile the National Development Council, which is scheduled to meet in July, would review the basic issues, although no final decisions are expected to be taken by it.

Continuing Industry-Orientation

From the report summarized above, only certain broad general points of view—it would be too premature yet to call them conclusions—would appear to have been discussed and formulated and only preliminary lines of policy laid down. But from the general trends of the report it would seem obvious that despite the reported recognition of the vital need to lay far greater emphasis upon agricultural development than in the current Plan, the Fourth Plan also will continue to be far more heavily industry-oriented as heretofore. This would seem to basically disregard one of the fundamental postulates of economic growth in the especial context of Indian conditions whereby it is still sought to tag on to an overwhelming but visibly languishing agrarian economy, the engines of intensive technology-based industrialization.

Lack of Concern Over Price Pressures

Another important conclusion that it would seem to be quite pertinent to draw from these reports is that neither the Planning Commission nor its Perspective Division seem to be unduly concerned with the process of continually spiralling price-explosions that have been a most disturbing feature of development planning progressively throughout the last 16-17 years and which seem, from present trends, likely to be further substantially aggravated during the months and years ahead. Development planning is not, it would seem to be very necessary in the circumstances to emphatically underline, a mere exercise in abstract economic acrobatics, but must conform to certain wholesomely conceived and objectively formulated human and social ends. If those ends were not likely to be gained or, at least very closely approached, the process of planning would be bound to be regarded as a futile exercise, however rapid or large the rate of economic growth in terms of the increase in the gross national income. The objectives of development planning have been broadly laid down as being to raise the national income

so as to enable a progressively improving national living level to be attained while, at the same time, to correspondingly close down the present wide disparities of incomes and wealth of the people at the opposite ends of the economic scale. These objectives have again and again been reiterated from various official and party platforms although, curiously enough, the late Prime Minister, the foremost and the most steadfast apostle of development planning in the country, was reported to have made the rather ambiguous and obviously paradoxical statement sometime ago, that he did not mind the "rich getting still richer" so long as the poor did not get any poorer at the same time. Unfortunately, however, from evidence now available and about the indisputable veracity of which there would not seem to be any doubt, development planning, over the first two Plan periods, appears also to have accelerated, correspondingly with the growth in the economy, the process of progressively increasing concentrations of income, wealth and consequent economic power, in selected and favoured sections of the social scale epitomized in the vigorously growing private sector.

Failure of the Plans

From evidence so far available, a great deal of which have been thoroughly sifted in course of public discussions, in Parliament and elsewhere, it would appear that by far the greatest proportion of the increased net national product, emerging as a result of the process of economic growth, has been and is being seived up at higher levels and has not been percolating to the rock-bottom levels of the economy as it normally should have. With increasing burdens of taxation, especially more severely on the lower levels of the social scale than at its higher reaches, inevitably flowing from the huge spate of indirect taxation—a great deal of it in the shape of excise and other similar imposts on a long range of essential consumables entering vitally into the living requisites of the poor and the less affluent—which has been an outstanding feature of the national Budget over the years,—the proportion of

indirect to total taxation incidences have been currently estimated at over 74 per cent of the whole—and under the continually spiralling price levels, it would not be too much to assert that the process of planned development has, so far, failed to justify itself because, despite an estimated rise in the national income over the first two Plan periods of the order of a gross 42 per cent at 1950-51 prices, the country as a whole, as represented by its overwhelmingly poor citizens, has clearly failed to derive any assessable benefit therefrom.

Minor Emphasis on Agriculture

One of the prime causes of such a state of affairs must be assigned to the comparative lack of emphasis, in practicable and realisable terms, on the development of agricultural production, leaving the country heavily and vitally dependent upon imports of essential foodgrains. Official estimates of food grains production would seem to demonstrate, on the face of it, that in terms of actual population incidences, shortfalls in production have, so far, been only marginal. But the involved dealings of the concerned trade, coupled with the glaring inefficiency and unimaginative policies of the concerned departments of Government, both at the Centre and in the States, have been maintaining a continuing and substantial scarcity situation in market supplies resulting, on the one hand, in correspondingly increasing price pressures and, on the other, in also eventuating temporary and obviously artificially engineered famine conditions in selected areas of the country from time to time. The obvious remedy would seem to be a wholesale refurbishing of the entire national agricultural policies to yield, in actual terms, not merely in the shape of unrealistic targets and imaginary estimates of crop statistics, a progressively increasing and sizeable agricultural production, especially in essential foodgrains and industrial raw materials. And, until such a position has been achieved, it is equally vital that adequate, wholesome and practicable checks and balances are devised and applied with

ruthless impartiality to enable price stability to be established and maintained. The Union Finance Minister had, in course of his last Budget speech in Parliament, deprecated the use of physical controls as a possible means towards this end which, as he had so rightly pronounced, would imply the introduction of some sort rationing. Government, simply, has not the necessary administrative resources at its disposal, both in terms of the requisite efficiency and rectitude to enable such controls to be worked wholesomely and impartially for public benefit. But the Finance Minister had promised that he would devise the necessary fiscal measures and apply them with that quality of ruthlessness, that would enable a wholesome check on the price structure to be established. The measures which he appears actually to have conceived towards this end included in his last Budget proposals would, however, have the only affect, as far as we are able to visualize, of subjecting the more vulnerable middle and low income sections in the community to a great deal of unmerited harassment without the least possibility of being able, even in the remotest degree, to curb the machinations and ill-gotten gains of the anti-social profiteer. How real our apprehensions in this behalf have proved to be would be evident from the new and very substantial upward price-spurt, especially in essential edibles, that has eventuated during the very few short weeks already since Mr. Krishnamachari presented his current Budget to Parliament. Government have, at various levels, no doubt, been dilly-dallying with various, and mostly ineffectual administrative measures to cope with this new spate in price pressures, without however, the least influence on the situation. The only effective fiscal measure that might, in our view, have borne some fruit towards such an end, is by a thorough revision of the taxation structure which would have for its objective the progressive replacement of the greater proportion of present indirect taxes, especially where they affect essential consumables, by a system of wholesomely conceived direct taxation which would not merely normally not be capable of being passed on to the vulnerable

consumers, but which should equally not be capable of being evaded. This would, no doubt, call for both a great deal of courage and imagination on the part of Government, both in conceiving such measures as well as in their effective application. In the name of providing added incentives to capital formation and investment for growth, the Union Finance Minister has, on the contrary, provided very substantial and, in our view wholly unmerited reliefs from a certain measure of direct taxation to especially selected and favoured sections of the community. It is significant that the beneficiaries of these new reliefs occupy those very levels in the national economy at which, according to the findings of the Mahalanobis Committee, concentrations of wealth and economic power most particularly occur.

Conditions for Growth

It is true that in its studies the Perspective Division of the Planning Commission, has defined the objective aimed at to be the achievement of a basic minimum income level of Rs. 20 per capita per month for the poorest sections of the country's population by the end of the Fifth Plan period. The proposals contained in its reported study are seemingly oriented to this objective. Technical and financial feasibility studies would now be undertaken by Working Groups of the Planning Commission to finally confirm the proposals' final acceptance for formulating the Fourth Plan framework. But no indication, from reports so far made public, is available as to the conditions that must determine the actual achievement of the end-results visualized. True, it has been broadly laid down, first, that far greater emphasis would have to be placed on agricultural development than hitherto. Secondly it has also been stated that in order to attain this set objective the Fourth Plan will have to be far larger than originally contemplated and there must be a very substantial widening of the public sector bringing under Government and other public authorities more than one half of the total capital stock in industry. Thirdly, invest-

ments under the private sector will, also at the same time, have to be considerably enlarged to enable the rate of gross capital formation during the Fourth Plan period, under public and private sector enterprise together, to be raised to 15 per cent of the national income by 1965-66 and progressively to be raised further to the level of 21 per cent of the national income by 1970-71. These are some of the postulates that have been laid down as being essential to attain the declared objectives of planning in perspective. But, so far, no indication seem to be available, as to the modus operandi which would be likely to enable these very primary postulates to be fulfilled. One of the primary, conditions-precedent for achieving the desired growth rate during the Fourth and Fifth Plan periods, it has been laid down, is the attainment of a Rs. 18,000 crore national income level by the end of the Third Plan period, which is, roughly 5.3 per cent less than the originally targetted for national income during the Third Plan process.

Studies on Third Plan implementation, undertaken some time ago and which disclosed the actual growth rate during the initial two years of the current Plan as having been no more than 2.4 per cent annually would, however, tend to indicate that even this comparatively modest estimate of the growth rate during the entire Plan period may be far too optimistic. Reliable figures as to actual growth rate since the end of the second year of the Plan are not, so far, available, but from independent studies made by eminent economists during and after the mid-term Plan appraisal, it looked unlikely that the gross growth rate represented in terms of the increase in the national income could, even at very optimistic estimates, exceed the annual rate of 3.5 per cent during the remaining three years of the Plan. If that were to be accepted as a realistic assessment of the situation as it has actually eventuated, it would not seem likely that the rate of the annual national income, by the end of the current Third Plan, would rise substantially beyond Rs. 17,000 crores per annum. So, if the Fourth Plan were to start off at a national income level of Rs. 17,000 crores and not Rs. 18,000 crores

as now estimated, a 7 per cent annual growth rate would take it on to Rs. 24,900 crores at the end of the Plan period and on to no more than Rs. Rs. 35,000 crores at the end of the Fifth Plan. If this were to be accepted as realistic, all the perspective projections of the estimates of Fourth and Fifth Plan achievements would be likely to be completely vitiated. It is necessary that all wishful thinking in the matter should be wholly avoided and estimates were realistic and realisable in terms of actual implementation and achievements. It has, unfortunately, been a deplorable feature of Plan formulation and implementation alike so far that targets, both over-all and in respect of individual items have proved to be quite substantially wishful and unrealistic. This inevitably leads to a great deal of waste in both effort and capital deployment which the country cannot simply afford. This has also led to inadequate production incidences in terms of laid down capacity at huge capital outlay at many and diverse points of the economy leading to high costs and scarce supplies alike. The Perspective Division's proposals, we appreciate, are only broad bases indicating the lines that the formulation of the Fourth Plan framework should follow and that its actual shape would be determined by the results of the feasibility studies that the Planning Commission's Working Groups are currently said to be undertaking. It is necessary, however, that the bases and postulates upon which these studies are founded should be realistic in terms of the actual achievements gained. It is equally necessary, we feel, that the deployment of all to scarce capital in Plan investments is so conditioned that no waste is involved at any point of the economy by way of iddle or inadequately utilized capacity.

Agriculture

It has been said that the Fourth Plan framework must provide for a far greater stimulus to agricultural development than appears to have been the case during the Third Plan. This is only a recognition of one of the very basic conditions of future

economic growth in the particular context of the conditions obtaining in the country. India, despite very nearly a decade of primarily industry-oriented planned development during the Second and current Plans, still remains overwhelmingly agrarian in over-all economic organization. Reliable statistical data do not seem to be available, but various unrelated estimates place the figure of the population still directly subsisting on agricultural yields at anywhere between 68 to 80 per cent. The supreme importance of the need for rapid agricultural development would, in the circumstances, seem to be all too obvious. It is also necessary to realise at the same time that one of the very basic conditions of rapid and wholesome industrialization is the foundation of a vigorous and **surplus** agriculture. The prospects of development of the economy as a whole as visualized in perspective for the Fourth and Fifth Plans will largely depend on the extent the foundations of agricultural development are firmly laid down on sound and progressive lines at the same time.

Exercise In Futility

In agriculture, especially, it must be emphasized, planning has, so far, remained largely an exercise in futility. Targets have been laid down, prospects visualized and estimates prepared which have often proved to be largely conjectural and, in consequence, wholly incapable of realization. Difficulties, it is recognized, in the way of agricultural development have been many and various, some of them of quite an intractable and insuperable nature. Some of these are based on traditional and inherited factors like, for instance, fragmentation of holdings. Legislations have been undertaken and are in course of formulation further to deal with this aspect of the problems of agriculture. But implementation has been unconscionably slow and halting so far, preventing a possible reintegration of extremely fragmented holdings over large areas of the country. There does not seem to be any reliable estimates of fallows and of economically reclaimable waste land which could be agriculturally

exploited with little effort and organization. There does not seem to be much co-ordination between Government's Forest and Agriculture departments in most States and this, coupled with the age old habit of our people have been causing deforestation in many areas aggravating problems of erosion and soil conservation. Most multipurpose river valley projects put up in different parts of the country seem to be more primarily concerned with power development than irrigation and flood control still leaving agriculture in the country largely at the mercy of the seasons. Power development, we appreciate, is a fundamental requisite of progress, even for rationalized agricultural development, but so far as the river valley projects are concerned, their primary responsibility should be to ensure flood control, provide irrigation water and, where projected, enable navigation canals to be maintained for large and inland water traffic. In this they appear to have miserably failed so far and as former Union Food and Agriculture Minister S. K. Patil said last year, agriculture in the country remains still primarily dependent upon the mercy of the seasons. Then, again, in spite of enunciating more than four years ago in very definite terms that one of the fundamental objectives of Congress policy so far as agricultural development was concerned, was to foster and encourage the growth of agricultural co-operatives to enable the basic conditions for the growth of integrated and mechanized agriculture to be laid down, nothing seems to have been done in this regard and the process of agriculture remains largely medievalistic and wholly anachronistic in the context of the efforts at modernization that have been going on in the other fields of national activity. There has been some progress, we appreciate, in the manufacture of chemical fertilizers during the last decade, but it has nevertheless been far short of targets envisaged and the country is still very largely dependent upon imported fertilizers for its basic and, so far, somewhat rudimentary needs. No attempt worth the name appears, so far, to have been made to utilize human and farm wastes as compost manure which might have, more wholesomely, perhaps,

than mere chemical fertilizers, provided very substantial assistance to agricultural development. One could multiply instances, almost *ad nauseum*, of the innumerable ways in which assistances to agricultural development might, but have not been provided.

Unexplored Potentials

In fact, the suspicion has been growing apace of late that in spite of the extraordinary proliferation of innumerable organizations under Government, both at the Centre and in the States supposedly concerned with various aspects of agricultural development in the country, the field of agriculture remains more or less a wholly unexplored one so far as its full future potentials are concerned. Except the fragmented studies said to have been undertaken in this field from time to time, variously by Working Groups of the Planning Commission, Government departments and others, no comprehensive, co-ordinated and factual survey of the country's agricultural conditions and the future potentials of the industry, appears ever to have been undertaken at any stage in the process of planning. There does not also seem to be a great deal of co-ordination between the activities of the Central and State Governments on the one hand and between the organizations of the Planning Commission and those of Government on the other. It is not surprising, therefore, that Planning for agriculture has, so far, proved to be largely conjectural and unrealistic if for no other reason than at least for the fact that its potentials so far remain mainly unexplored and unassessed in realistic terms. In fact agriculture on a nation-wide plane has never been made the subject of any over-all factual survey ever since the days when the Royal Commission on Agriculture under the Chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow submitted its report more than three and a half decades ago. It is high time that a fresh survey were immediately undertaken by a high powered Commission to arrive at a factual picture of the present conditions of Indian agriculture in all its aspects and the results of such a survey should form the fundamental basis

upon which future plans for agricultural development should be formulated.

Human Objectives

Planning for development, we are constrained to observe, to be both rational and wholesome, must have for its primary and only objectives certain well defined human and social goals. So long as the process of planning fails to take the country along towards these set goals at progressive stages, it must be considered to have been futile. We have these goals well defined and definite before us. We must, therefore, test and evaluate every decision, every project, each individual item of achievement in terms of their contribution or otherwise towards the achievement of these set goals. Unfortunately, in the results that have so far eventuated from the first one and a half decade of planning. The process appears to have assumed an increasingly mechanical aspect divorced from the desired end-results and which seems to be more overwhelmingly concerned with the mechanics of progress rather than the achievement of its predetermined human goals. We have purposely avoided using masses of statistical data in the present discussion which might have been very telling from certain points of view. Our purpose, however, has not been to repudiate, altogether, the need for planning but to point out the lack of co-ordination and, largely the disregard of results in terms of input-output ratio at innumerable points in the process, making it eccentric in its progress and unwholesome in many of its achievements. What is needed, in our view, is a redefinition of the entire process, comprehending within its orbit all departments of national economic activity, to make its forward movement in future more concentric and well balanced.

The Price Problem in West Bengal

The *mountain*, to wit the West Bengal Price Inquiry Committee, appears to have given birth to the proverbial mouse. Headed by that much-boasted economist, Dr. Bhabatosh Datta and consisting eleven others representing both the State

Government and the trade, the Committee appear to have been sharply divided in their views, two having signed a minute of dissent. Who these two in the minority may have been is not yet known, but it would be reasonable to surmise that they must have been among those who represented the trade.

The majority are reported to have opined that while price rises have been mainly caused by the pressures of large investment plans, and was, therefore, an all-India problem, the major price problem was that of rice in West Bengal and the State Government could play "an important role" by helping to increase supply and ensure equitable distribution.

They recommend greater Government control over the rice trade at all stages, take over by Government of all rice mills, acquisition of a surplus stocks of paddy and rice, direct acquisition by Government of Orissa's surplus rice (300,000 tons), supply to the State Government 400,000 tons of rice and 1,00,000 tons of wheat by the Union Government, distribution of 800,000 tons of rice (internally procured) through modified ration shops to all urban areas and deficit rural areas on the basis of a daily adult cereal ration of 12 oz. equally divided between rice and wheat and wheat products (4 oz. extra for heavy manual workers), the cordoning off of all surplus areas and the introduction of statutory rationing in large industrial areas, at least initially. Administrative measures recommended are, licensing of producers, importers, wholesalers and retailers in all areas; regulation of markets mainly at the wholesale stage; setting up of Price Advisory Boards and Sub-committees for each major commodity; maintenance of buffer stocks; and the enforcement of decision by Government orders and not by way of so-called "gentlemen's agreements."

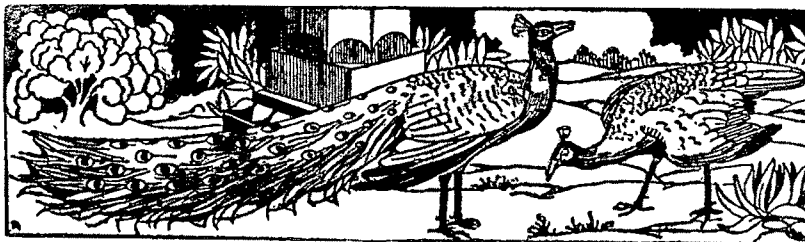
The dissenters do not agree with the majority report and hold that the "trade" cannot be accused of *undue* profiteering. They do not agree that any sustainable case has been made out for State trading in foodgrains. They hold that the price position in the State has been aggravated by Government measures to achieve certain social and ideological objectives in the context of planned development.

In sum, therefore, it would appear that the Price Inquiry Committee's recommendations are

as innocuous as they are futile. No one has ever doubted that the price problem in its broader aspects is a national problem and its solution must be found on a nation-wide context. But the especial manifestations of it which are peculiar to West Bengal alone, both as regards their physical shape and degree of intensity, must be regarded as being germane to the State alone for which it is necessary to devise and apply remedies in the particular parochial context of the situation obtaining here. The Committee have, no doubt, pinpointed rice as being at the apex of the problem but they have wholly failed to—perhaps with deliberate intent—diagnose the especial causative factor or factors occasioning this situation. It has been observed over a decade and longer and repeatedly from time to time, that impacts of price rises in this state devolve the most heavily upon essential edibles compared to anywhere else in the country. In other words, the burden has to be carried in the main by the most vulnerable and numerically the most overwhelming sectors in the community. They are invariably and cruelly victimized by deliberately engineered scarcity and artificially stimulated price-booms at every possible pretext. There is intelligent design and organization and coordination to a set pattern to which these recurrent price symptoms generally affecting all essential edibles would be found to conform even on a most cursory examination. And unless the sources of conception, direction and control of these recurring occasions can be discovered and exposed, no permanent, wholesome and effective solution can be expected.

The recommendations of the majority Committee would appear, in the circumstances to be so completely *inane* and useless (with due apologies to the *Eminent* economist!) that they might never have been made at all for all the good they are likely to produce. All that may happen is a further proliferation of an already top-heavy and correspondingly useless administration, the burdens of which have already become almost back-breaking to the community!

Indeed, the Committee's recommendations would seem to very closely conform to the twisted thinking and involved logic of the Government who appointed them. In a recent notification the Government of West Bengal have announced the threat to promulgate an ordinance to punish those who are found to be guilty of purchasing a commodity of which the price has been controlled at anything above the scheduled price. This, we are told by an eminent contemporary, is supposed to constitute the element from which what the Government call *consumer resistance*, arises! Government will not accept any responsibility for maintaining supplies at the price-schedules fixed by them! Their responsibility obviously ends with prescribing a price-schedule! But failing to obtain supplies at the prescribed price, if the consumer is goaded into offering inducements by way of a higher price (for less than which he may not obtain any supplies at all!), the minions of law will have the right lawfully to pounce on him! Obviously the consumer is expected to commit suicide by pseudo-Gandhian Praphulla Sen, so that the trade may have a "*change of heart*"!



TAGORE AS A POET AND A PAINTER

By Prof. V. V. TONPE

Painting is silent poetry, and poetry is a speaking picture.

—Simonides,

When Simonides, the Greek poet, wrote this epigram about the fifth century before Christ, did he foresee Tagore, the painter, and his **Chitralipi** or the painting-script of the twentieth century? Perhaps he did. Both of them being poets, the kindred souls must have rolled their eyes in a fine frenzy and glanced at each other in timespace from heaven to earth and earth to heaven; and as imagination bodied forth the forms of things unknown to his generation, Simonides must have turned it to shape in his epigram!

If at eight, Tagore lisped the numbers and the numbers came, at eighty he played with the pen and ink as well as with the brush and colour and designs and birds and animals of fantasy peeped out of the zigzag lines of blue and green and red; and while Tagore, the child recognized the poet-philosopher in him, Tagore, the grandfather, the child-painter.

Tagore's art had its origin in child-play and calligraphy. Whenever he wished to erase a portion of his manuscript, the beautifully carved lines of his hand perhaps protested against the atrocity of the rubber and refused to be obliterated. The compassionate poet-philosopher instead of simply putting a line through, as any common man would do, converted the portion to be struck off into some imaginary designs or fantastic rhythms of lines and colours. He did this, not so much from an artistic urge from within as in the playful mood of a child. When he was dotting the i's and crossing the t's of his poems or prose writings, his unwanted words and rejected sentences clamoured like the dumb for a local habitation and a name, and the clairvoyant genius of the poet sympathized with them, and lo! Creation widened in Tagore's view. When he was indulging in these

imaginary drawings in his leisure, sometimes at the cost of the important literary work on hand, Tagore, the Man, was never conscious of laying a new road to the temple of fame.

In the second stage of the growth of the artist, Tagore became an illuminator of his own poems. He embellished his pearl-like handwriting with human figures in decorative manner. In style they were completely diverse from the old Indian illustrations which were rich in colour combinations. They rather took after the Gothic style in form though they had their inspiration in Indian decorative style.

A cursory study of the various influences on Tagore's poetry and art will be of much help to us in understanding him as a poet and painter though, in the words of B. K. Sarkar, "the painter has commenced where perhaps the poet left off."

Tagore's poetry clothes itself in deceptive simplicity and sometimes seems to be even shallow while his paintings assume an air of the grotesque to the extent of offensively violating orthodoxy. On the surface his poetry sounds so uniform a note that it is very difficult to discern any depth of inner tranquillity in it; and his painting is so outlandish for a painter of Bengal that one is tempted to condemn it. It is, indeed, strange that the poet Tagore should be entirely different from the artist Tagore. Yet Tagore, the poet, was the inspiration for the neo-Bengal school of art. He encouraged his nephew, Abanindranath Tagore, to revive earlier traditions by turning to the Ajanta frescos for form and guidance. But there is scarcely any influence of the neo-Bengal school upon Tagore's paintings. His work stands aloof from the classical and the renaissance schools in Bengal. Moreover on

many occasions he even expresses his disapproval of the modern inclination to imitate the Ajanta or other traditional styles.

To reconcile these contradictions in Tagore's personality one has to refer to Tagore the educationist. As a teacher, he believed not so much in over-burdening the mind of the student as in helping him to develop his own character and personality. When his student took a pitcherful of water from the sea of tradition, he did not object to it for he believed that the student would know not only the weight of the pitcher but also the weight of its contents. But when the student took a dip in the sea itself, he objected to it, for he believed that the sea, a thousand pitcherfuls of water, would flow over his head and he would not feel the weight.

Tagore encouraged Abanindranath in the early days of his artistic career to turn to the gracious figures of Ajanta for inspiration because he was fully conscious of his nephew's genius which would not slavishly 'imitate' the original. The Mughal and the Rajput and Pahari miniatures provided him with other models while scenes from legends and classical literature of Hindustan, like the **Ramayana**, the **Mahabharata**, the **Gita**, and the **Puranas**, and episodes from Indian History furnished him with the necessary themes. Within this broad orientation, there was enough room for the expression of the genius of an individual. His works show a distinctly original synthesis of various traditions like Chinese calligraphy, Japanese colouring and Persian finish while the themes of his pictures reflect the synthesis of Indian culture. Abanindranath is not an imitator of traditional styles but an individualist who studies the various styles and assimilates them.

Tagore is original and individualistic though Euro-American trends are discernible in his art. Just as in his lyrics, stories, songs and dramas the influence of Western veterans from the Romantics to Browning, Whitman, Maupassant and Anatole France is traceable, so too in his art Gauguin, Van Gogh, Cezanne, Renoir, Derain, Nolde, Marc, Kandinsky, Weber, Klee, Kokoschka and other Euro-Americans seem to have influ-

enced him. The greatness of Tagore lies not in imitating these men of letters and artists but like Abanindranath, in acclimatizing them to Bengali conditions and environment. But there is a fundamental difference between the two. While Abanindranath is a conscious artist, Rabindranath is an unconscious artist.

When Tagore's paintings were exhibited in Europe in 1930, Western connoisseurs were surprised to learn that he produced an art for which they were long striving. He had no regular schooling in art; in fact he accidentally discovered the artist in him and it was really gratifying to note that the European painters acknowledged an inner kinship with his works. This is indeed true genius. In the words of Dr. Johnson, it is but a mind of large general powers accidentally determined in a particular direction.

Taking the many-sided personality of Tagore himself into consideration, we find that Tagore the poet was conscious of the various influences on him, while Tagore the painter was unconscious of the indirect schooling of his genius.

The influences on the paintings of Tagore can be classified into three broad divisions. The first is the influence of Indian decorative styles. Though it is difficult to assert the motive of his art, it is evident that his paintings and drawings are not representational. They take the decorative spirit from Indian conventional styles but invent their own design or shape according to the sheer power of creation from within the artist.

The second influence on Tagore's paintings is that of primitive art, and child art. Some of the forms and techniques of the prehistoric people like the primitive Negroes, Mayans, Tahitians, Javanese, or American-Indians, seem to have influenced his art. But this is more a shadow than a substantial moulding force. The distortions and suggestivity of child art seem to find a place in his paintings. But they are overcome by the imaginative gusto of the poet.

The third influence traceable in Tagore's art is that of the modern Euro-American impressionists and expressionists. In his pictures the liberty of subject and treatment

of impressionism is conveyed through the sensation of movement and of light. But unlike Manet's pictures which are realistic, Tagore's are the products of his fancy which was rich and virile to the end of his days. He seems to have appreciated the poetic ideas native to his genius and then tried to achieve a masterly freedom in expressing them in the manner of the impressionists.

In tracing out the tendencies of expressionism in Tagore's paintings, we have to accept the term rather loosely, for it is to be identified in his human forms and head studies which are so hideously at odds with human anatomy that first of all they seem to be loathsome. Added to this, his idealism in poetry makes his art critics search for the same in his paintings when the disappointment becomes twofold and fills them with a distaste for his art. But as in expressionism, when the initial shock is worn off, they find that the pictures exert a spell upon their imagination. They seem to be earnest in conveying something virile and ecstatic.

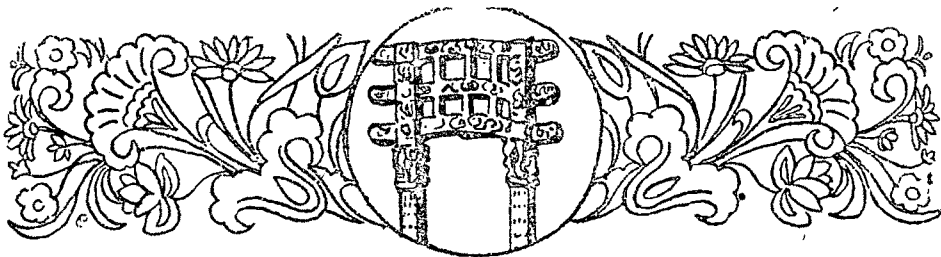
Tagore was an international figure in the realm of letters; so nobody dared to criticise and even those that found fault with his poetic works in the early days changed their opinions in the light of the poet's world-fame. But in the realm of art, though he was old, he was a novice, and art critics therefore, riddled him with questions about his qualifications and schooling. But such a curiosity of the critic, instead of censuring his "work" exposes his impertinence and reduces him into a fault-finder; because real genius cannot tolerate bullying from a

criticiser. It needs no pruning from a university; the iron discipline of a classroom and the sheep-mentality of student life have no value for it. It always seeks to examine the human spirit through its creations, literary or artistic.

Tagore gradually grew into a conscious painter. He tried to depict life and nature with his pen and brush. To him art was an experiment in line and colour, and it found expression through abstract forms which were original.

The technique of Tagore's painting was also original. In the first stage of designing he worked with an ordinary fountain pen and ink. In the second stage he replaced the pen and ink by brush and Indian ink. In the third stage he drew human figures, landscapes, flowers and other "subjects" in colour. He utilized both ends of a pen while drawing pictures: he did the lining with the pen dipped in bottles of coloured ink. At times he made use of his fingers to spread out the colours. These stages were not rigid, not the devices he made use of. As and when he felt a particular technique was necessary, he made use of it. The brush also had its conventional use for him.

Tagore in the last stages of his life unintentionally sought for himself a niche in the temple of fame in the domain of painting. He very correctly said, "My morning was full of songs. Let sunset days be full of colour." And among the four great pioneers of Modern Art Tagore became one, the other three being Abanindranath Tagore, Jamini Roy and Amrita Sher-Gil.



SWAMIJI'S LAST LETTERS

Prof. DEBIPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

In order to get a clearer understanding of the spiritual heritage of India one must turn to Swami Vivekananda's lectures and books; if one wants to know the man who delivered those historic speeches and wrote those stimulating and still wonderfully readable books, one must turn to his letters. It is in these and that remarkable memoir in Bengali by Sharat Chandra Chakravarty that one feels the full impact of his genius, of the blinding scintillations of a myriad-faceted personality; above all, it is here that one has, if, of course, one happens to possess—the rarest of all human faculties—spiritual perception, a glimpse of something of still greater importance—his spiritual power. A great deal has been said, and rightly, about the splendour of his mental endowments, which were certainly of the very highest order; about his achievements as a social and religious reformer, as the founder of a powerful world-wide organization; about his patriotism—which is too trivial and feeble a word to express what he felt and did for India—and warm humanity.

All this is true; and yet if this were all we have to say in praise of Vivekananda, we have missed his real greatness. For spirituality, in the final analysis, is the essence of this intellectual giant; his whole life is permeated through and through with spirit. Those of us—and they are the majority—who acclaim, and are still acclaiming, him loudly in the midst of the nationwide centenary celebrations as a great national leader who loved his country and preached humanitarian ideals of service to the poor and the down-trodden, had better leave him alone, because they are the last persons to understand this great man. The first step in the understanding of Swamiji is to realize that he was first and foremost a spiritual seeker, in other words, a *sadhaka*. This is a point that needs emphasising in this centenary year, because it is in danger of

being lost sight of in a predominantly political-minded modern India.

The primary object in writing this article is to trace the spiritual development of Swamiji through the remarkable series of letters that cover roughly the period 1892-1902. I have, however, concentrated on the letters of his last phase. By the last phase I have meant roughly the last three years of his life, that is, from the middle of 1899 till his death, three years later. His spiritual development, as these last letters show, was astonishingly rapid during this last phase of his life. He condensed, so to speak, in three or four years a process that would have taken a whole life-time, or several lives, in the case of others. His strange premonition of the approaching end, a feeling which he expresses repeatedly in these last years, I think, accelerated this process. In a letter addressed to his dear Mary (Hale) on August 27, 1901, he writes: "Then again, I am a dying man; I have no time to fool in."

As an example of the profound change that came over him during this last phase, I may refer the reader to a letter he wrote to the same young lady on June 17, 1900. His earlier letters to the Hale sisters, especially those addressed to Mary, who must have been a girl of remarkable charm, are full of golden good humour. These delightful letters could have been written by a young man who was in love with this world; they express, in almost every line, an intense zest for life for which we shall look in vain in his letter of June 17, 1900, for example. The tone, the very style has changed. The dominant note of this very serious letter—the teasing, chaffing, even mischievous tone is no more—is one of profound world-weariness. "I have worked for this world, Mary, all my life," he writes with deep sadness, "and it does not give you a piece of bread without taking a pound of flesh." Then comes a surprise. "Amen! I have given

up all thoughts about India or any land. I am now selfish, want to save myself."

I said this is surprising because it is the exact opposite of what he had been saying all his life, namely, that the desire to save the souls of others is infinitely nobler than the desire for one's own salvation. In his earlier letters and recorded conversations he is very severe on the latter conception of salvation and condemns it as something narrow and selfish, unworthy of a noble soul. I may here remark in passing that this contemptuous attitude towards the ideal of personal salvation, although inspired by the spontaneous generosity of a great soul and, therefore, deserving our highest respect, appears, nevertheless, to rest on a fundamental misconception of what the ancient sages of India regarded as the final end of human existence, namely, Moksha.

The very fact, however, that he outgrew, even if for a moment, his earlier contempt for the traditional view of individual salvation, is of the utmost importance, because it is a symptom, among others, of a profound change that was coming over him, a turning-point in his spiritual development—a growing dissatisfaction with himself, a vague uneasy feeling that something had gone wrong with him, that he was perhaps not following his *swadharma*. In his earlier letters he appears to be on the whole satisfied with himself; the dissatisfaction he expresses, sometimes very strongly, is about the world and his fellow human beings. We must not forget that his earlier letters to his brother disciples, although usually warm-hearted, good-humoured and pleasant, were not always so; they were often very severe and sharply critical, now ruthlessly blunt, now biting sarcasm. In his last letters to his brother disciples, whom he loved more than his own self, the asperity is softened; instead of criticism we discover self-criticism, even self-reproach, unsparing and remorseless. This great reformer now turns his attention to himself, expresses repeatedly his irritation at, and determination to get rid of, what he thinks are his glaring faults: emotionalism, "brutal outbursts" of temper, and above all, restlessness.

In his earlier letters he appears to be too

breathlessly busy, too absorbed in the immediate work in hand to be capable of introspection; he hardly had the time for it. That is why his earlier letters give one the impression of an extrovert, of an energetic, strong-willed, self-satisfied man of action. For self-analysis, dispassionate and searching, the most powerful weapon against egoism,—the most subtle and, therefore, the most difficult of all spiritual sins to conquer—we must turn to his later correspondence.

As a remarkable example of passionate self-revelation I must call the reader's attention to a letter he wrote to Miss McLeod on April 18, 1900. "After all, Joe", he writes, "I am the boy who used to listen with implacable wonderment to the wonderful words of Ramkrishna under the Banyan at Dakshineswar. That is my true nature; works and activities, doing good and so forth are all superimpositions. The old man is gone, gone for ever, never to come." He never did; the born contemplative in him, which he now rightly, if rather belatedly, recognised as his true self, was reasserting himself; all the celebrity, the blaze of publicity that might well have turned the head of the noblest of men, could not shut out from his fascinated gaze, the dark, silent, impenetrable caves of the Himalayas. This is, it must be remembered, no momentary emotional outburst; this feeling of intense home-sickness is the key-note of a series of letters; the vision of the Banyan tree and the Himalayas continued to haunt him. He would now give anything, his fame, his triumphant, unprecedented success in conveying to the West the message of India, the deep respect and love he inspired in hundreds of devoted admirers of both sexes in the West,—he would exchange all these for the obscure but peaceful days with his master, for the life of devotion, of meditation in solitude, the life he thought he was born for.

This profound dissatisfaction with himself is the result of a spiritual crisis he was passing through during the last two years of the last century. By the end of 1897 he was already a tired man; years of severe hardship, of ascetic austerities in India followed by intolerable physical and mental strain in America and the West, at last began to

tell upon his health which was never sound; his iron nerves went to pieces. "The last two years" he writes to his dear Mary in 1897 "have been specially bad. I have been living in mental hell". His experiences with the people he had to deal with were not always happy; he was, like all great men, widely misunderstood, even by men and women who were nearest to his heart, and he did not lack enemies at home and abroad, who did all they could to disgrace him. He had always had a genuine intolerance towards public opinion—a quality rarely found even among great men, and never among politicians; but he was too affectionate and kindly a man to be insensitive to failure in reciprocation on the part of those whom he trusted and loved. (His capacity for love was infinite; no wonder he, an intellectual disciple of Shankaracharya, regarded Buddha, who could sacrifice his life to save a suffering fellow creature, as a greater man).

All these,—failing health, shattered nerves, mental suffering caused by unhappy experiences with people he loved and trusted, financial worries, the premonition of the approaching end—are among the factors which must have contributed to the spiritual crisis.

This spiritual crisis which occurred at the beginning of the last phase, that is during 1897—1898, is characterised, as I have said by a profound world-weariness and listlessness; things that greatly agitated his mind formerly begin to interest him less and less. There is a new note of aloofness, in his letters of this period; he repeatedly expresses the desire of ridding himself of all responsibilities, of retiring from the world in order to devote himself to meditation. What is still more remarkable, in a man who was the most warm-hearted and least cynical of all men, is that we perceive a note of disillusionment about human nature; his letters henceforward grow somewhat colder in tone—a striking contrast with his earlier letters which are all warmth and fun and hearty laughter. Even the style reflects this change. There is something severe and austere about these letters; the fluency, exuberance and copious eloquence of the ear-

ly nineties are no more; instead, we find greater economy of words, greater concentration. The unrivalled clarity and simplicity, and the unfailing—and, for a man whose mother tongue was not English,—amazing felicity are, of course, there as ever.

I have, however, not yet mentioned what, more than anything else, constitutes the real crisis in his soul: restlessness. "I never know," he writes again to Mary (Hale), "a moment's peaceful life". There is hardly a letter of this period (1896-1899) in which he does not express an intense longing for peace. Peace, that is the one thing that seems to matter, that he must achieve at any cost; every other consideration is subordinated to this supreme need of his soul. From the spiritual point of view this restlessness and consequent craving for peace are facts of the highest importance; I would go even so far as to say that without them it is doubtful whether he would have made any further spiritual progress, because it was this restlessness that dealt the final blow to the deadliest enemy of spiritual progress—self-complacency. And the danger was in his case increased by the fact that he had experienced, on several occasions, moments of supreme self-exaltation. Not only that. In spiritual, as in all other, matters, his conception was so extraordinarily clear, he could understand even the most abstruse subject so quickly and so thoroughly, that it is quite possible he sometimes made the mistake of identifying intellectual conviction with spiritual realization. I shall try to show later, from one of his important letters, how this is what actually happened.

It was this restlessness, again, that made it perfectly clear that, in spite of occasional experiences of spiritual illumination, he was still miles away from the final goal—self-realization. The result was, as I have already said, searching self-analysis, severe, remorseless self-criticism; he wants more and more to concentrate his energies on his own *sadhana*, devote more and more of his time to meditation. In a letter addressed to Swami Brahmananda in Bengali (12th March, 1900) he writes: "Now I shall quietly do Japa and meditation for sometime—nothing

more". The man who wrote this is very different from the Vivekananda who is still represented in the popular imagination of India as first and foremost a social reformer, an apostle of the gospel of work, and in America, as the "Cyclonic Hindu". But that Vivekananda, in his own words, "is gone for ever, never to come". The mystic-contemplative in him, the real Vivekananda, has asserted himself once and for all. His mind—and a magnificent mind at that—now turns in upon itself. The result is something which we rarely notice in his earlier letters of busier days but appears in every letter he wrote during the last phase: inwardness, increasing, ever-deepening inwardness without which there can be no real spiritual life. This is only one among many other facts which testify to the astonishing progress of the last, and the most important, phase of his spiritual journey.

As this inwardness intensified he began to experience something he seldom knew for years; and yet that was the one thing he now desired more than anything else in the world-peace. A deep inner calm was descending on his troubled, restless soul; almost every letter he wrote during the last two and a half years breathes peacefulness, a certain contemplative serenity. "I am attaining peace", he writes to Mary Hale, in an inspired letter, "that passeth understanding, which is neither joy nor sorrow, but something above them both". In another, dated April 7, 1900, he writes, "I am more calm and quiet than I ever was. . . ." "My boat", he writes with serene confidence "is nearing the calm harbour from which it is never more to be driven out". The restlessness of his earlier letters is never more to be heard; he has attained at last the ultimate object of all spiritual striving—peace. Whether this was the final, imperturbable calm of the Bhagavad Geeta, or even the peace "that passeth understanding" of the Bible, is a question that will concern us presently; it is, to my mind, the great question about Vivekananda which has got to be answered in any serious study of his spiritual achievement.

Before I venture to attempt an answer to this great question, I must point out a

few significant and marked changes in the phraseology of these last letters. One of these is the increasingly frequent occurrence of the word Karma. In a touching letter addressed to E. Sturdy, (Sept. 14, 1899) he writes: "It is Karma that brings us together, and Karma that separates. . . . It is Karma again." He tends more and more to attribute his sufferings, both physical and mental, to his own Karma which he must work out fully in this birth. He feels, in consequence, less and less inclined to accuse or find fault with anybody; even his virtuous indignation, so refreshing and stimulating an element in his satirical utterances, becomes rare. "Of course", he writes in another letter, "it is my Karma and I am glad that it is so." This repeated reference to Karma, like everything else that marks a change, points to a progressive and steady diminution of the ego which must be, for ever and always, the ultimate test of a man's spiritual progress.

Along with this repeated reference to Karma I must call the reader's attention to a remarkable fact which, from our point of view, is still more significant. It is the recurrence of a memorable phrase in these letters: "Mother knows best." This is indeed something new; it is certainly not the voice of a man who is conscious and even proud, quite justifiably, of his astounding abilities. It is not the voice of a man out to change the world but of one who is content to let things go. This is something very different from the unbounded self-confidence so clearly discernible in his earlier letters; instead, we find a growing realization, more tranquil than painful, of his utter powerlessness. It is all "the will of the Mother."

All this, as I have said, points to a steady and progressive diminution of egoism. At this point, to dispel a possible misapprehension, I must hasten to add that by this I am not suggesting that he was an out and out egotist before. The tone of some of his earlier letters may, indeed, give such an impression. It is confirmed, moreover, by certain incontrovertible facts: his self-assertiveness, self-righteousness, consciousness of his intellectual superiority and con-

tempt for stupidity. Such a view of him, however, would be very superficial and entirely unjust; it is due to a regrettable failure to understand the real man behind all these. And the real man, as he reveals himself in his letters, was the kindest and most affectionate of men, and when it came to human relations, completely, incredibly, selfless. The vision of the ill-clad, down-trodden, starving millions haunted him as it haunted the mind of Gandhiji, a man so different from him in so many respects. Before we start criticizing Swamiji for his egotism, we would do well to pause to reflect what we—who have, by the way, so little to be egotistic about—would have felt had we achieved a thousandth part of what he had in his early thirties.

When I said that we notice a progressive and very marked diminution of egotism in his last letters I meant by egotism the subtler and more complex manifestations of it. Complete extinction of the ego, reducing the self to zero in the memorable phrase of Gandhiji, is the most difficult thing to achieve on earth, even for great men; it is the last stage of all spiritual striving which is followed by the final enlightenment. Swamiji, at the stage when "Mother knows best" becomes almost the refrain of his letters, I believe, was getting nearer every day to the final goal of all *sadhana*, annihilation of the ego, the first and the last enemy to be conquered on the thorny, razor's-edge path to salvation. And this brings us to the great question about Swamiji, which everything I have said so far has been inevitably leading up to, to try to find an answer to which has been the ultimate object of writing this article. Did Swamiji, before he left this world, at the incredibly premature age of thirty-nine attain, after what must have been, as I have tried to show, an extraordinarily rapid spiritual progress, the final enlightenment? In other words, did he ever become, in the language of the Upanishads, a Brahman?

Now, before I go to answer, with as much humility and respectful diffidence as the subject deserves, this important and difficult question about Swamiji, I shall call the reader's attention to a letter addressed

to Miss Mary Hale, written a little over five years before his death. What occasioned this remarkable letter was the publication, in some of the American papers, of the "strange news" that he disliked American women and that he was an outcast in his own land. The result was this sharp rejoinder; it is a shocked, indignant protest expressed in a language that betrays considerable irritation. The provocation, everybody will admit, was severe enough to justify virtuous indignation. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to feel, especially for those who, like myself, are his devoted admirers, something of a shock at the fact that so unusually strong-minded a man as Swami Vivekananda should have been stung so visibly and so much. What is perhaps still more disturbing, from the point of view of a *sadhaka* is that the letter expresses, very clearly and very strongly, a state of mind which, although entirely human, is not calculated to inspire feelings of admiration in those who regard him, rightly, as, above all, a spiritual genius. It is pride. Bertrand Russell once remarked that a certain amount of pride is something that is to be found in the best of men. Perhaps he is right. I myself, I must confess, find something very refreshing about Swamiji's healthy and manly pride; it did India, which needed it badly, incalculable service. Pride, under certain circumstances and in certain exceptional persons, is far from ignoble or unbecoming. To say this, however, is not to deny what is equally true, namely, that real, Christian humility is an infinitely more beautiful thing to contemplate; it is also, as T. S. Eliot once rightly affirmed, the most difficult of all virtues to achieve.

Now to our letter. "And dear Mary," he writes, reminding her of the fact that he is a Sannyasin, "these feet have been washed and wiped and worshipped by the descendants, of kings, and there has been a progress through the country which none ever commanded in India." Then expressing contempt, and later, pity, for those fools who tried to malign him, he writes: "What! I who have realised the Spirit and the vanity of all earthly nonsense, to be swerved from my path by babies' prattle! Do I look like that?"

This is a tremendous statement; it is also a disturbing one. It is disturbing because it raises a number of questions, and they are very important questions. The first question is: is it true? In other words, had he, when he wrote this letter, realised the Spirit? If we believe he had—which I do **not**—we must be prepared to face a further question, inescapable and extremely pertinent. It is this. Is it necessary for such a man, a man who has realised the Spirit; to establish his spiritual superiority? Is it necessary for such a man to assert, with such evident heat, that he is utterly, contemptuously indifferent to what others thought and said of him? Should a man who really thought all this mere “babies’ prattle”, take it so much to heart?

The answer to these disturbing and yet crucial questions seems obvious to me: they are unanswerable. Swami Vivekananda, in other words, could not have “realised the Spirit” as yet, that is to say, in July, 1897; five years before he died. At this point, the scandalised, and if he or she happens to be an uncritical admirer of Swamiji, indignant reader is sure to ask, “Was he then, when he said he had realised the Spirit, suffering from self-delusion? Or was it the pretension of a megalomaniac?”

It was, I am sure, neither the one nor the other. What happened, I think, was this. Intellectual conviction, let me repeat, when it is unusually strong and sincere, may sometimes pass for spiritual experience, even to exceptionally alert and critical minds. It is quite possible, even natural, as I have already suggested, for one who has attained an advanced stage of spiritual development to mistake the one for the other, especially when beliefs are fortified by sudden illuminations during moments of mystical ecstasy. It was, I believe, during such periods of supreme spiritual exaltation that Swamiji declared himself a liberated soul, one with the Brahman. That he was still miles away from the final beatific vision, from the **Brahmi sthiti** of the **Bhagavad Geeta** is made abundantly clear from the letters that precede or succeed these rare, exalted ones. The letters, we must remember, that

follow the one just referred to above, those written during the next two or three years, are, as I have already pointed out, full of an intense desire for peace, physical and mental.

Was this desire, the one great desire of his last years, fulfilled? The answer, if we are to accept what his last letters suggest, would be: it was very nearly fulfilled. I said “very nearly” because even so late as May 18, 1901, a little over a year before he left this world, he wrote to Mary, “I feel a quiet nowadays, and have done with three-fourths of my restlessness.” From this confession we are, I think, justified in our conclusion that he was, a year before he died, yet to achieve the settled calm, the imperturbable serenity of the **Bhagavad Geeta**. The very fact that he was still **developing** spiritually—the very language and tone of his letters, as I have shown, testify to a continuous change in his personality—the very fact that he was getting every day calmer, more at peace with himself and with the world, shows that he had **not** yet “realised the Spirit,” not yet, in other words, become, in the true and profound sense of the term, a Brahman. There is clear evidence, again, even in the letters of his last phase, of conscious moral and spiritual effort which shows that he was, till the last, essentially a **sadhaka**, a **sadhaka** who, although not yet fully enlightened, had attained, nevertheless, a high degree of spiritual development. For a young man who never lived to be forty, with the body and nerves all gone to pieces after years of terrible, intolerable physical and mental strain his was an astounding achievement. Had he lived longer and died in ripe old age, he would, we have every reason to believe, certainly have attained, in this very life, the last stage of spiritual perfection of which a human being is capable, the **Brahmi sthiti** of the **Bhagavad Geeta**, of which he had only had, during his life, a clear intellectual conception. His conceptions, by the way, were, as I have said, amazingly clear, no matter what the subject under discussion was—but no direct spiritual experience, except in rare, occasional glimpses during meditation or in moments of sudden, mystic-

cal illumination. Such speculations, I know, are after all, idle, and yet irresistible, especially when, as in his case, the person involved happens to be such a magnificent artist, gifted with mental endowments of the very highest order.

I have tried to show above why I think Swamiji was not, in the final analysis and in the full sense of the term, a Brahman, not because I had the slightest intention to belittle this great man, a man for whom I have more admiration than I can express in words, but because I thought it very necessary to explain, and thus make the readers realise, what it means to be a Brahman. It seems to me very unfortunate that most people in our country, the land of the Upanishads and the Geeta—let alone other countries—even among men who are genuinely religious, do not appear to have the faintest notion of the tremendous import of this little understood and therefore much abused word. This word is used, even among learned circles, incredibly loosely; it looks

as though Brahmanas nowadays are as plentiful as black-berries; in fact they are as many at present as there are "Gurus" in our country. To me, I must confess, this is worse than culpable frivolity; it is downright blasphemy. Nothing horrifies me so much as this vulgar debasement of so noble a word. I would go even so far as to say that nothing shows more clearly the utter spiritual bankruptcy of modern India as the complete and almost universal ignorance of the meaning of a word which enshrines, in all its grandeur, the amazing Indian conception of the highest attainable perfection of man that finds its supreme expression in the imperishable verse of the **Bhagavad Geeta**—a conception which remains, even according to some distinguished exponents of civilizations which are remote and very different from ours, unquestionably the most completely satisfying of all attempts, made so far in the history of man on our planet, to discover the meaning and the ultimate justification of human existence.

INDIAN INFLUENCE ON MALAY CUSTOMARY LAW

By JOSEPH MINATTUR, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law

THE purpose of this paper is a very modest one. It is intended to indicate that some rethinking in regard to the early period of Malaysian legal history is necessary. With all due respect to R. J. Wilkinson, who has done excellent work on Malay language, it is proposed that *adat perpatih*¹ was influenced by Indian customs as much as, or more than *adat temenggong*.² It is generally assumed that *adat temenggong* was gleaned from Indian fields. I would suggest that Malay *adat* in general, irrespective of whether it is *adat perpatih* or *adat temenggong*, owed a great deal, probably its very soul, to Indian influences.

In a paper published in 1944, Sir Richard Widdett stated:

"With little exaggeration it has been said of Europe that it owes its theology, its literature, its science and its art to Greece: with no greater exaggeration it may be said of

the Malayan races that till the nineteenth century they owed everything to India: religion, a political system, mediaeval astrology and medicine, literature, arts and crafts."³

After elaborating this thesis he concluded:

"Though he is unconscious of it, from the cradle to the grave the Malay is surrounded by survivals of Indian culture. Even his nursery tales are many of them derived from Bidpai's Fables, the *Jataka* tales and Somadeva's *Ocean of Story*. India found the Malay a peasant of the late stone age, a "frog under a coconut shell," and it left him a citizen of the world. It taught him the weaving of silk and embroidery and metal work, and it gave him its clothes and material comforts. It taught him to tame the elephant and improved his methods of fishing. The customary law of the tribe it broadened into the

law of the State. It introduced the Malay to Hindu and Persian classics and induced into an illiterate people a passion for knowledge. It gave him the science of the middle ages, and, converted to Islam, it gave him the ideal of democracy. But now that steamships have brought the Malay world into close relations with Arabia and Egypt, England and Holland, all these things are to its inhabitants no more than a tale that is told by Indian and European scholars."⁴

If he were to write now, he would probably make special mention of the Constitution of Malaysia which is derived, in a large measure, from the Constitution of India as adapted in part by Pakistan in its Constitution of 1956.

De Josselin de Jong thinks, the view that Malayan races owed everything to India: religion, political system, etc., is "to put it mildly, greatly exaggerated."⁵ Though one cannot vouch for this "everything" in Sir Richard's allegedly exaggerated statement, one need have no hesitation in protesting that when he said "the customary law of the tribe it broadened into the law of the State" he was probably indulging in an understatement. For India not only broadened the customary law of the tribe, but also strengthened that law by adding to it sizable chunks of India's own customary law with the result that in a few spheres at least, the Malay customary law has been able to withstand the onslaughts of Islamic law and English law. I may cite, for instance, the survival of the formalities of the installation ceremony observed in Negri Sembilan and elsewhere which were undoubtedly borrowed from Indian practices. Whether the *Yang di-Pertuan Besar*,⁶ if elected and installed without these ceremonies⁷ will be entitled to exercise the powers granted to him under the Constitution may be a nice point for discussion in Constitutional Law, but one may venture the suggestion that Malay society in Negri Sembilan will have to pass through many more vicissitudes before it is likely to have a *Yamtuani* accepted as its ruler without these ceremonies.

The instance from Negri Sembilan has been cited with a view to pointing out that Indian influence in *adat perpatih* society was no less potent than *adat temenggong* society. One would probably find much clearer indication of indebtedness to India on the part of the former than of the latter; for most of the institutions

of the latter are found all over the world, while those of the former are not so widespread and when one looks at the details, similarities are so striking as not to be easily dismissed as accidental.

Ever since Wilkinson wrote his "Law: Introductory Sketch" published in the series *Papers on Malay Subjects*, it has been an article of faith among students of Malaysian legal history that *adat perpatih* is the indigenous customary law of the Malays, or to use Wilkinson's own words, "the pure Malay law of Minangkabau."⁸ Following Wilkinson, they believe that *adat temenggong* represents the old Minangkabau jurisprudence in a state of disintegration after many centuries of exposure to the influence of Hindu despotism and Muslim law,⁹ and that the Minangkabau immigrants who brought with them *adat temenggong* to the Malay Peninsula came by way of Palembang. The "ancient Malay kingdom of Palembang had come under the influence of the old Hindu civilisation of Java and had entirely abandoned its Minangkabau customs."¹⁰

With respect, it is submitted that both these views appear to be erroneous. Apart from the many undisputed facts of history with which we are familiar, there is ample evidence to be derived from social anthropology and etymology which would induce, if not compel, acceptance of contrary views.

The view that *adat temenggong* is *adat perpatih* in decay under Hindu and Muslim influences may be easily disposed of. As both *adat perpatih* and *adat temenggong* existed (and still exist) in Minangkabau, there is no good reason to assume that certain groups of Minangkabau people who temporarily settled in Palembang permitted a state of disintegration in their own *adat* and when they later on migrated to the peninsula, brought along with them what was left of this *adat* which had by now assumed substance as *adat temenggong*. The kampongs in Minangkabau are traditionally grouped into four *suku* (=quarter). They are called *Bodi*, *Chaniago*, *Koto* and *Piliang*. They are further grouped into two, *Bodi-Chaniago* and *Koto-Piliang*, and these two groups are considered to have their own *adat*. Each *nagari* in Minangkabau considers itself as belonging to one of these two groups, either to *Bodi-Chaniago* group with its *adat perpatih* or *Koto-Piliang* group

with its *adat temenggong*. This division into two groups does not mean that there are no kampongs belonging to *adat temenggong* in the *Bodi-Chaniago* area or vice versa; it only indicates that kampongs belonging to the *adat temenggong* traditionally occupy a prominent position in a *nagari* of the *Koto-Piliang* group and those of *adat perpateh* occupy a similar position in the *Bodi-Chaniago nagaris*, which may have among them kampongs following *adat temenggong*. After all, the two groups are described as forming *lareh*,¹¹ which means harmonious or belonging together.¹² According to legend,¹³ the two law-givers, Kei Tamanggungan¹⁴ and Parapatih nan Sabatang, after whom the *adat* are called, were half-brothers.¹⁵ It is true that according to the version of the *terombo* (the song of origin) of the *adat* familiar to the people of Naning and the neighbourhood, the two law-givers chose two separate spheres of influence: *Tamanggungan* chose the coastal area

Where the water comes in rolling billows,
Where the waves break white in foam,
Where the beaches glare in the sun,
Where the sand-banks stretch seaward,
Where the long islands lie on the tide,
Where the merchandise goes out and in,
Where the traders sell and buy.¹⁶

Parapatih chose for himself the inland region
Where squirrels race and frisk on the trees,
Where monkeys leap from branch to branch,
Where long-armed apes dangle and swing,
Where mouse-deer nightly come to bathe,
... A place of snakes sleeping and coiled,
A place of wild cats sleeping curled...
A place of high hills and open glades.¹⁶

Though the *terombo* speaks of two different spheres of influence for the two law givers,¹⁷ we know as a matter of fact that in Minangkabau from olden times to this day, *nagaris* following *adat perpateh* and those following *adat temenggong* exist together and in harmony, in conformity with the concept of *lareh*. *Adat temenggong* could therefore have been brought by certain sections of the Minangkabau people to the Malay Peninsula direct from the country of its origin. It was certainly unnecessary for them to have gone and sojourned in Palembang to adopt *adat temenggong* and then to import it to the Peninsula.

The other Wilkinsonian myth that *adat*

perpateh,¹⁸ an institution utterly indigenous to the Malays, flourished in its pristine purity in Minangkabau, uncontaminated by Indian influences, probably requires more detailed discussion. It is known from inscriptions found in Kedah, Province Wellesley and East Borneo, that there were Indian settlements in Malaysia as early as the 4th century A.D., if not earlier.¹⁹ Coedes has proved beyond reasonable doubt that most of the settlements were of South Indians.²⁰ He says that the Indian adventurers on their arrival found a people who were fairly advanced in civilisation. According to him one of the characteristics of their civilisation—the Austro-Asiatic civilisation—was the recognition of descent by the female line.²¹ It is found among the Khasis of Assam in N.E. India, an Austro-Asiatic community.^{21a} The Garos of Assam as well as the Jaintias who are closely related to the Khasis also follow matriliney. Considering that matriliney was not unknown to the Austro-asiatics, it is not suggested that this social system was introduced into Minangkabau from South India, where it was prevalent in the area now comprised in the state of Kerala; but the probabilities of such introduction cannot be ruled out when one recollects that in various parts of Sumatra, Malayalis settled down along with other South Indian immigrants. This may be seen from the old clan names in Sumatra. Thus one comes across in the subdivision of Marga Simbiring of the Karo Batak names like Colija, Pandija, Malijala, Pelavi and Tekang.²² In this company, it is not difficult to recognise Malijala for Malayalam,²³ corresponding to the present day Kerala, Pelavi for Pallava and Tekang for Dekhan.

From 500 A.D. there were Indianised states in Sumatra; the oldest of them was probably Melayu with its capital at Jambi, near Minangkabau. It would appear that the Srivijaya empire brought this State under its power and influence.²⁴ When the empire declined the ancient kingdom of Melayu seemed to have come to life again²⁵ under the name of Dharmasraya. In 1275 King Kirtanagara, the ruler of a Javanese kingdom called Singasari entered into relations with Melayu. As may be gathered from an inscription of 1286, these relations led to a successful expedition against Melayu. Tribhuvanaraja Maulivarmadeva, the King of Dharmasraya, became an ally of the King of Singasari.²⁶ These historical facts

deserve notice because of the geographical proximity of Melayu and Minangkabau and because of the significant circumstance that the kingdom in Melayu had an Indian name and the King an Indian name as well as an Indian title.

In the next century a prince who was educated in the Indianised kingdom of Java set up a kingdom for himself in Minangkabau and ruled over it for about thirty-five years, from 1340 to 1375. He was called by an Indian name, Adityavarman.²⁷ It may therefore be safely assumed that Minangkabau during these days was not without some impact of Indian culture. According to the tradition current in Negri Sembilan it was in 1388,²⁸ that is thirteen years after the reign of Adityavarman, that some sections of the Minangkabau people migrated to Negri Sembilan. A Minangkabau prince who was elected *Yang di-Pertuan* in Negri Sembilan in 1773 is referred to as Raja Melewar, which appears to be a title rather than a name, for Melewar (or Melavar) in Tamil and Malayalam would mean a superior or overlord.

The first Minangkabau king mentioned in *Sejarah Melayu* also appeared to have had an India name, Sang Sapurba,²⁹ which Winstedt reconstructs as Prabhu.³⁰ His queen's name³¹ was undoubtedly Indian, Wan Sundari,³² which means sylvan beauty. It may be that the Indian settlers gave their beautiful queen from the wilderness a complimentary appellation. According to the Minangkabau legends, the first ruler had the name Maharajadhiraja, which is actually an Indian title and may be translated as 'supreme ruler.'

In Negri Sembilan, *di-Pertuan* in the designation *Yang di-Pertuan Besar* appears to be Malay transliteration for the Sanskrit compound *atipradhan*. The hereditary titles of the four *Undangs* of Negri Sembilan have in them a number of Indian words: *Putera Indera Pallawa* (Sungei Ujong), *Lela Perkasa Setiawan* (Johol); *Maharaja Lela Sedia Raja* (Rembau) and *Mendika Mentri Paduka* (Jelebu). The hill above the old Istana in Negri Sembilan is called Bukit Sri Indera, after a Hindu deity. One of the *orang empat istana* (four men of the palace) has the title *Raja diwangsa*, that is. Rajadhivamsa, in Sanskrit, meaning ruler of the chief tribe. The *Yamtuan's* throne is referred to as *singahasana* which is the Sanskrit word for throne. The tiered bathing-pavilion meant for the ceremonial

illustration of the *Yang di-Pertuan Besar* and his consort has a Sanskrit compound word for its name, *pancha persada*. The musical competition held on the occasion is referred to as *sepat raga* which probably stands for the Sanskrit *sapta raga*, seven tunetypes.

To refer to a number of institutions connected with their matrilineal system, Minangkabaus and Negri Sembilan people use Indian words, some of which are the very words used by the people of Kerala to denote their own institutions. For instance, Minangkabau *bako* denoting patrilineal relationship, is heard in Negri Sembilan as *baka* and in Kerala as *vaka*. *Harto pusako* of Minangkabau and *harta pesaka*³³ of Negri Sembilan have in them two Sanskrit loan words: *artha* meaning wealth and *sakha* meaning branch, used in relation to the branch of a matrilineal family group in all the three areas. The same *sakha* appears in Minangkabau in the phrase *kata saka* or *kata persaka* in the sense of *perbilangan*, sayings. *Kata* also is a Sanskrit word. What one observes occasionally in the vocabulary of Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan is that some names denoting certain institutions and territorial units are exact translations either into Malay or into Sanskrit of Dravidian names used in Kerala. For instance one comes across the strange word *ebu bapa* which means father-mother (not mother-father, as is sometimes seen translated) and which appears to be a translation of Malayalam *amman* meaning 'he-mother.' Negri³⁴ is given a specialised meaning in Negri Sembilan and Minangkabau and stands for Malayalam *'nadu'*.³⁵ In Kerala one becomes familiar with such phrases as *nadum nagariyum*, literally country and town, but used indiscriminately in the sense of territorial units. *Taluk*, an arabic loan-word, denoting a territorial unit in Kerala, seems to be evident in the Minangkabau *luhak* and Negri Sembilan *luak*. *Kotta*, fortress, a Dravidian word, appears in both Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan, though in the specialised sense of village in Minangkabau and that of a small town in Negri Sembilan. As used in these areas, it probably meant, in the beginning, a fortified area.

Peru is another interesting word. It means name in Kerala and may include the name of the family by which a person is identified as the member of that family in the same way as a surname in the west helps to identify a person.

Perai (wonb) in Minangkabau and *perut*³⁵ in Negri Sembilan, stand for the matrilineal clan to which one belongs.

Again, the Negri Sembilan expression *o-ang senenda* may be a derivative from Malayalam *śaṅḍandhakaran*,³⁷ the expression used to denote a man who has entered into a marriage relationship in the Kerala matrilineal society. *Harta decetan* or *harta pendapatan* would appear to be derived from *dattam*³⁸ (given) in Sanskrit. These Sanskrit words were commonly used by the higher classes in Kerala.³⁹ *Pramanika*⁴⁰ who, in medieval Kerala, assisted the chief of a *desa* (district) in police and judicial matters and decided disputes in his court, seems to correspond to *penghulu* in Malay.

Perhaps the most important institution in a matrilineal society is woman. This may be so in other societies as well, but it is assumed this is especially so in matrilineal societies. The commonest word used in Malaysia as well as Indonesia to denote a woman is *perempuan*, a Dravidian derivative, from the Dravidian *penpirannavar*.⁴¹ If one applied the usual rules of Malay syntax to the Dravidian compound and also dropped the last two syllables in the compound, it would not be hard to come by the Malay word, *perempuan*.

Almost all the Sanskrit words one comes across in Malay are those which an educated Malayali would have used and which are still current in modern Malayalam. There are a large number of Dravidian loan words and derivatives in Malay, a few of which can be easily traced to the exclusive vocabulary of the speech current among Mapillas and Tiyas in North Kerala. To cite one instance, the word *peterus* which Wilkinson explains as arrogance and says is an Indian word, without giving any further indication about its etymology, is heard only in North Kerala.

In Kerala matriliney was practised by Nayars from time immemorial. In North Kerala, Tiyas and Mapillas too had the same system of social organisation. In *Kunhi Pathuamma and others v. Sundara Aiyar and another*,⁴² Chief Justice Leach of the Madras High Court held that a Mapilla family is "governed by *Marumakkattayam lau* (that is, matrilineal descent) in all matters relating to property unless there happens to be private property undisposed of by will.⁴³ Mapillas are Muslims belonging to the Sunni sect. Most of

them were originally converts from Hinduism, and, in spite of embracing a new faith which prescribed a different rule of inheritance, cherished their own materilineal system, until inroads were made into it by legislation.⁴⁴

Assuming that matriliney was indigenous to Minangkabau, it is not unlikely that this local institution was influenced by South Indian settlers who were familiar with a similar system and who, when they were in Minangkabau and took wives from there and adopted certain local customs, were interested in creating a synthesis of the local institution with their own. Even if no conscious attempt at synthesis was made either by the settlers or by the local community, the Minangkabau and the Kerala institutions had many points of similarity which may not be due to chance coincidence. The fact that the same words or related words are used in both the countries to connote some of the characteristics of this social structure, points to a relationship that cannot be dismissed as purely accidental. In Negri Sembilan, Sanskrit names are heard in relation to a greater number of such characteristics, covering a wider field. It is not likely that old indigenous institutions would fall for foreign names at first sight. To adopt foreign names for an institution, the institution must have been introduced or had been thoroughly subject to the impact of the foreigners or at least so often mentioned by the local people while speaking to the foreigners that the former found it easy to refer to it by its foreign name. When one knows from one's understanding of South East Asian history, that South Indians settled in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, and that some sections of the South Indians followed materiliney and some of the matrilineal institutions in Minangkabau in Sumatra and Negri Sembilan in the Malay Peninsula are called by Indian names, it is difficult to rule out South Indian influence on such institutions, just as one may not feel convinced if one is told that the name Raffles Institution was coined by a Malay poet at the court of the Sang Aji of Tumasek for its euphony, when one knows that Raffles was the founder of Singapore, that the English ruled over Singapore when the institution was founded and the word 'institution' is an English word, as we know it, though of Latin origin and borrowed from Old French.

One may in passing refer to an observation made by M. Zaborowski who said,

"I have seen in India, on the Malabar Coast,⁴⁵ and especially at Beypur, Calicut, and the surrounding country, various natives of *Malaisoid* type, whose features struck me owing to their close resemblance to those of the Nias.⁴⁶ Among the Tiyans . . . this resemblance is great . . . ; but those in whom the resemblance struck me most, were a . . . Kurumba man and woman, mendicants met in the vicinity of Calicut. It was on my return from Nias, and the impression they produced was a lively one . . . I do not wish to affirm that the Nias are descended from the Tiyans, or from the description of their physical characters, their customs and their legends, results the possibility of a common origin between Nias and Kurubas."⁴⁷

We shall now consider a few institutional similarities between *adat perpatih* and the law of the *Dharmasastra*. Wilkinson seems to think that *adat perpatih* awards compensation for offences while Indian law of the olden days inflicted severe punishment on offenders.⁴⁸ as was done under *adat temenggong*. While not disputing that the *Dharmasastra*⁴⁹ made provision for severe punishment for heinous crimes which were called *sahasa*, it may be mentioned that atonement for murder and slaughter by way of payment of blood money was not uncommon in India. Jolly, in *Hindu Law and Custom* writes,

Roth . . . has proved that in the Vedic age a blood money of 100 cows was paid to the relations of a murdered person. Baudhayana (1.19.1) prescribes fines of 1,000, 100, and 10 cows and a bull to be paid to the king, for the murder of a Kshatriya, a Vaisya and a Sudra respectively . . . As Buhler ingeniously suggests, probably the king did not keep these fines for himself, but gave them to the family of the murdered person. The blood money of 100 cows reminds us of the 100 cows which have to be given as price of an adoptive son or as the price of a bride.⁵⁰

Jolly proceeds to say that even in modern days payment of blood money consisting of pieces of land or village was in vogue in Rajputana. It ended with the tribe agreeing to

pay "the usual blood-money" for a Brahmin shot down in the fight.⁵¹

Writing early in the 5th century A.D. Fahsien, the Chinese traveller, observed that the administration of criminal law in India in his time was mild, that most crimes were punished by fines only and that capital punishment was practically unknown.⁵²

It may further be mentioned that under *adat perpatih* compensation was not invariably the method of punishment to which an offender was subjected. There was provision for death and exile. Parr and Mackray state that in Rembau incest of near relations was nominally a capital offence, but actually punished with outlawry and confiscation of property, a penalty which the *Undang* had no power to commute.⁵³ They also add that in Naning the death penalty was exacted and refer to a legend current in Pulau Sebang, Naning, according to which a man and a woman found guilty of incest were placed in baskets and drowned in a stream.⁵⁴

The saying

Keris menyalang draipada Undang

Pedang pemanchong draipada raja.

(The execution-kris is the Chief's;

The sword of execution is the King's.) also indicates that execution as a mode of punishment was not unknown to *adat perpatih*. It may not be seriously contended that the Raja and the Undang were invested with these powers for their own personal entertainment.

The principle of substitution in *adat perpatih* may be an adaptation of a similar principle, namely, *pratinidhi*, in Hindu Law. The concept of *pratinidhi* was evolved to meet cases in which the original could not be produced. A familiar substitute was a fixed monetary payment in place of penances prescribed for expiation.

The rules of evidence in *adat perpatih* may also have been taken from Hindu law. The *adat*, it is said, relied too much on circumstantial evidence.⁵⁵ The most conclusive sign of guilt, as Wilkinson observes, is expressed in the saying,

Enggang lalu, ranting patah.

(The twig breaks as the hornbill flies past it.)⁵⁶

It is said that . . .

When customary law meets circumstances obscure It throws wide its net . . .

Crime leaves its trail like a water-beetle ;
 Like a snail, it leave its slime ;
 Like a horse-mango, it leaves its reek ;
 A stream that knows not its source or its mouth,
 Like that is a man who cannot account for his

deings ;

Where a dog barks is where the iguana climbs.⁵⁷

In connexion with the undue reliance placed on circumstantial evidence, one hears :

Pass through flames and you are scorched,
 Rub against a bamboo stem and you itch,
 Shake it and you will be sprayed with moisture.⁵⁸

With these may be compared what Narada says about the criminal cases in which a person may be convicted merely on suspicion even where there is no witness to prove the guilt. "He who is seen with a firebrand will be known as an incendiary; he who is seen with a weapon, as a murderer; he who is seen with the wife of another, as the adulterer; he who is seen with an axe in his hand will be known as the destroyer of forests."⁵⁹

It is not proposed to deal in detail with *adat temenggong*, for it is generally accepted that there was considerable Indian influence on this *adat*. But this conclusion has been reached partly on the basis of doubtful reasoning. It is assumed, that because it was autocratic and cruel, it must have been influenced by the Indian concept of autocratic, arbitrary rule and severe punishments.⁶⁰ The Hindu rulers of India were subject to the *Dharmasastra*. The sanction behind the *Dharmasastra* may be only a continuing cycle of births and deaths; but there were certain other practical considerations which kept the Indian kings within the limits set by public opinion as voiced in the king's council of advisors. The classical instance of a king yielding to public opinion, even against the dictates of his own conscience, may be seen in the *Ramayana* where Lord Rama abandons his faithful queen in the forest because the public gossiped about her life as a captive in the palace of King Ravana. It is again doubtful whether *adat temenggong* as observed in Malaya was as autocratic as is made out. Wilkinson, who speaks of the autocratic nature of *adat temenggong*, has the following anecdote to give from Malacca, a region governed by this *adat*. In the old city of Malacca, he writes,

a certain chief asked the sultan to surrender an offender. The sultan demurred.

When the matter was pressed, the sultan procrastinated in order to allow time for the chief's wrath to pass away, but at last handed over the criminal with a request that the chief might be merciful to his captive. The chief replied by taking up his elephant-goad and splitting open the prisoner's skull in the sultan's very presence.⁶¹

One wonders whether the sultan or the law he administered was autocratic. Wilkinson does not say anything at all about what happened to the chief; he merely remarks : "A criminal was a prize to be fought for; he was not a man to be tried."⁶²

One may in passing refer to the etiquette in relation to the royalty in Malaysia which is called *adat istiadat* and which in the main is derived from India. For instance the language traditionally used for persons of royal blood and chiefs consists largely of Sanskrit words or derivatives. When a chief speaks, he (makes) *sabda*,⁶³ a Sanskrit word which means sound, while a commoner *chakap*, probably an onomatopoeic Malay word. When a member of the royal family is angry, he is said to be *murka*, again a Sanskrit word, while a commoner is content with being *marah*. The royalty gives *anugerah*, from Sanskrit *anugraha*, when making a gift, while a commoner only *beri* or *bagi*. These instances are given only to suggest the influence of Indian ways and manners on the etiquette accepted in Malaysia.

In our study of Malaysian law and its history, what we usually notice is an Anglo-centric approach. In this approach the early part of Malaysian legal history is treated as if it were a prelude to the history of the introduction of English common law into Malaysia. It may be alleged that the paper is Indo-centric. It is true that as the subject of the paper is Indian influence, much is said about India; but the attempt has been to view the Malaysian institutions in their historical, and to that extent, their proper, perspective. It is not attempted to point out, because it would not be true to history, that there was a legal chaos in Malaysia and the only salvation lay in adopting Indian laws which the Indian settlers were willing and ready to help the indigenous people to adopt. Neither the Indian rulers nor the Indian settlers seem to have endeavoured to change the local customs by imposing their own; but, in their own sphere of

activities they tended to follow practices familiar to them in India and some of these were adopted by the local people. In some spheres as in the case of royal ceremonies, and the details of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence, the influence seems to have been great.

Finally, it may be mentioned that the study of Malaysian legal history should be Malaysia-oriented and not Anglo-centric, as it has so far been. Now that Malaysia is regarded as having been weaned from England it is time she revised her laws retaining only as much of the English law as is considered essential and reviving as many of the old local laws as are found suitable to the genius and circumstances of the people who are to be governed by them.

1. The custom (*adat*) followed mainly by the Malays of Negri Sembilan and Naning. It is characterised by exogamy and matriliney.

2. The custom followed by Malay communities in other parts of Malaysia.

3. Winstedt, *Indian Influence in the Malay World*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1944, p. 186.

4. *ibid.*, p. 195.

5. P.E. de Josselin de Jong: *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan*, Leyden, 1951, p. 29.

6. The Head of State in Negri Sembilan.

7. Under the Constitution of Negri Sembilan, he is to be elected in accordance with the custom of the State. Article VII(2).

8. *Papers on Malay Subjects: Law: Introductory Sketch* by Wilkinson, p. 2.

9. *ibid.*, p. 36.

10. *ibid.*, p. 2.

11. *Lareh* is Minangkabau for Malay *laras*. Note the saying: *adapun mandirikan pajueng Koto-Piliang hanjo Bodi-Tjaniago* (Bodi-Chaniago sets up the umbrella of Koto-Piliang).

12. For details, see de Josselin de Jong, *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan*, p. 12.

13. The legend is narrated by G. D. Willinck, *Het rechtsleven bij de Minangkabausche Maleiers*, p. 121.

14. William Marsden gives the name as Kei Tamanggungan (*History of Sumatra*, 3rd. edition, 1811, p. 332). According to de Josselin de Jong, the full name is (presumably in Dutch spelling) *Kjai Katumanggungan*. As in the case of Parapatih, this name also appears to be a title, which may mean the Chief of the (King's) Companions, if it is not a corruption of Sanskrit *dharmanatha* (lawful protector) with *agung* added to it. The final *an* in the name probably serves the purpose of indicating masculine gender. Considering the duties traditionally attributed to

a *temenggong*, one would incline to think that this title or official designation had something to do with *dharmā* (justice, law). It is not improbable that the title has been adapted from Sanskrit *dharmagna*, *dharmānatha*, *dharmavid* or *dharmadhikarin*.

15. Haji Mohd. Din bin Ali, "Two Forces in Malay Society," *Intisari*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 16. As a Minangkabau saying has it, Dato Katumanggungan possesses the kingship, Dato Parapatih possesses the (royal) umbrella (the symbol of sovereignty). (*Datue Katumanggungan punjo karadjoan, Datue Parapatih punjo pajueng*). Quoted in de Josselin de Jong, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

16. These lines are quoted from J. L. Humphreys's *Translation of the Terombo: JSBRAS*, No. 83, p. 13. It may be recollected that the *terombo* was composed in the Peninsula as may be seen from the following lines:

Our sires, our origins,
Forget not our origins!
Minangkabau our overlord,
Johor our Raja,
Siak our ally,
Malacca our landing place,
Naning our mother,
The land of Jelebu our offshoot!

17. The *terombo* lines:

*Di-situ lah pembahagian Dato Temenggong
dengan Dato Perpatih nan Sabatang
Menghilir ka-Kampar Kiri dan menghubu
ka Kampar Kanan.*

• There was the place of division
Of Dato' Temenggong and Dato Perpatih
Down stream to Kampar Kiri,
Upstream to Kampar Kanan.

18. *Adat perpatih* is believed to be named after Dato Parapatih nan Sa-batang. The Dato's name appears to be variously given: thus, Wilkinson would have Perpatih pinang Sa-batang while Hyde has it as Merpatch pinang Sa-batang. (JMBRAS, vi, iv, p. 51) *Parapati* is a Sanskrit compound meaning 'overlord' and 'nan' appears to be a corruption of the Sanskrit suffix 'nam.' Wilkinson's innovation to 'pinang' and Hyde's alteration to 'pisang' may be due to the presence of the word Sa-batang which means a single stem. Probably sa-batang was used, in contrast to *suku* (quarter) or *saka* (branch), as connoting the whole tribe and hence the title indicated the headship of a tribe.

19. B.H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara*, p. 21. P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 273. Winstedt, *A History of Malaya*, 1962, p. 31.

20. George Coedes, *Les Etats hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, p. 25 et seq.

21. *ibid.*, p. 21. See also P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 193.

21a. J. Minattur, The Khasis, *The Modern Review*, May, 1955.

22. N. J. Krom, *Hindu-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, translated by H. B. Sarkar, *Journal of Greater India Society*, Vol. XVI, p. 26. Dr. Krom's Dutch spelling for these names is retained here. See also H. Kern, *Verspreide Geschieder* (Collected Writings), Vol. III, pp. 57-72.

23. Malayalam usually denotes the language of Kerala, but with the addition of *nadu*, and the resultant dropping of the final *m* in the first word (i.e. Malayalanadu, but more often Maayanadu, land of hills) it may stand for the State of Kerala.

24. B. H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantrara*, p. 28.

25. *ibid.*, p. 64.

26. de Josselin de Jong, *op. cit.*, pp. 8. 95-96.

27. B. H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara*, p. 70.

28. Parr and Mackray, *Rembau, JSBRAS*, Vol. 56, p. 2.

29. His full title was Sang Sapurba Tripartita Tribhuvana; the last two words are undoubtedly Sanskrit. His original name Nila Pallavan also consists of Indian words.

30. Winstedt, *History of Malaya*, p. 41. If *prabhu* was the title of the Minangkabau ruler, *Mecur* may be regarded as an exact translation of his title into Tamil or Malayalam.

31. Shellabear's edition of *Sejarah Melayu*, chapter II.

32. The use of *wan* for grandmother in Negri Sembilan can probably be traced to this royal ancestress.

33. These words denote ancestral property in patrilineal society.

34. *Nagara* in Sanskrit means a city. In Malay *negri* would usually connote a country or settlement. Negri Sembilan seems to denote nine settlements.

35. Usually used in the sense of principality or province, but sometimes used to specify a district; also used to connote the country as opposed to town.

36. *Per* in Malayalam would mean giving birth. See note (41) below.

37. *Sambandham* is from Sanskrit and means bond or tie and hence marriage. *Karan* is a Dravidian suffix indicating a person who belongs to or possesses what is connoted by the preceding part of the word. Hence *sambandhakaran* is one who is bound or wedded. Applying the usual rules of Malay syntax, one would have *karan sambandha* or *aran sambandhak*. It is not unlikely that instead of accepting *karan sambandha*, the Malay adopted a semi-articulated 'k' at the end of *sambandha* and assumed that

'aran' was the substantive. He may have been right in this assumption as probably 'k' in 'sambandhakaran' stood for euphony only. Later 'k' may have been dropped and *aran* altered into *orang*. It may be observed that 'g' in *orang* is seldom distinctly heard. In a phrase like *orang di-tarek* (the adopted person) the 'k' seems to be retained, if the expression is derived from Malayalam *tara karan*, one who has, or is given, a foundation on which a house is to be built, that is, one who is accepted into the lineage group. It is interesting to note that Wilkinson commenting on the word 'orang' in his Dictionary writes: "It is also used in national, descriptive or tribal names like 'man' in Englishman." (*A Malay-English Dictionary*, p. 821). *Karan* in Malayalam serves the same purpose.

38. *Manu* (ix, 194) where he speaks of *dattam pritikarmani* (what was given in token of love) as forming part of the property of a woman.

39. Dr. Gundert in his Dictionary (1872) quotes *artam dattam ceitu* (gave wealth) from *Hora Vyakhyanam* to illustrate the meaning of *dattam*.

40. *Pramanikal* is plural, and *pramani* singular: but the plural form is generally used as an honorific and may denote one person.

41. One who is born a woman as different from *anpirannavan*, one born as a man. Compare the colloquial *orang jantan* which may mean a person born as *tan*. *Tan*, in the sense of 'you' was a polite form of speech, used as late as the twenties of the present century in Kerala, while addressing a respectable male person. It is still used, but not often. One wonders whether the Malay 'tuan' has been derived from Malayalam 'tan.' *Tan* is sometimes used as a titular honorific in Malay, as in *tan dawa sakti* in Perak. Puan, in the same way, may have been adapted from *pen*, (*pon* in Tulu, another Dravidian language) a Dravidian word meaning woman or maiden, on the analogy of *tuan*, though the vowel sounds in the original words are different.

42. A.I.R. 1941 Madras 32.

43. *ibid.*, p. 33.

44. The (Madras) *Mapilla Marumakkathayam Act*, 1939.

45. In the State of Kerala.

46. The Nias occupy the island of Nias, off the west coast of Sumatra, and not far from Jambi and Mainangkabau.

47. Zaborowski, *Malgaches—Nias-Dravidians*, *Bull. Soc. d'Anthropol.* Fasc. 2, 1897, quoted by Edgar Thurston, *Malagasy-Nias-Dravidians*, *Madras Museum Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 2, 119.

After referring to the resemblance between the clothing of the Irulas of Malabar and the

- Malagasy of Madagascar, M. Zaborowski proceeded to observe: "In studying the customs of our Indo-Chinese wild tribes, I have naturally been struck with the similarity of their taste for interminable rolls of copper which they wear on the fore-arm, the profusion of bracelets, and especially with the habit of dilating the lobes of the ears, and suspending therein rings of copper, with the tastes and practices of the Dayaks of Borneo. Now I find the same tastes, and almost the same practices among the Dravidian tribes of Southern India. Irulas, Paniyans and doubtless the Kurumbas cover themselves with bracelets and rings of copper and insert in the lobes of the ears light discs, rolls of cajan, doubtless to suspend therein ear-rings, and even strings of copper, which stretch them. This last custom is very widespread at Nias, and it is met with in Madagascar. *Its point of departure, its origin, is then not in Borneo, but in Southern India*" (*ibid.*, p. 120, emphasis added).
48. Wilkinson, *Law : Introductory Sketch*, p. 33. He, however, mentions eight offences as "potentially capital crimes" *ibid.*, p. 34.
49. Code of laws.
50. Julius Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, 1928, p. 284.
51. *ibid.*, p. 285.
52. Cited by R. K. Chowdhury, *Studies in Indian Law and Justice*, p. 33.
53. *Parr and Mackray*, Rembau, 56 JSBRAS. (1910) p. 78.
54. *ibid.*, footnote (2).
55. P.P. Buss-Tien, *Malay Law, American Journal of Comparative Law*. Vol. 7 No. 2 p. 261.
56. Wilkinson, *Law : An Introductory Sketch*, p. 33.
57. R. Winstedt, *The Malays, A Cultural History*, 4th Edition, p. 93.
58. A Caldecott *Jelebu Customary Songs and Sayings*, JSBRAS. Vol. 78, p. 29.
59. Cited by J. Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 299.
60. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* pp. 39-40, 45.
61. Wilkinson, *Law : Introductory Sketch*, p. 43.
62. *ibid.*
63. *Sabda* is used in relation to a *penghulu andeka* in Minangkabau and an *undang* in Negri Sembilan. The saying is *Rajah berdaulat. penghulu berandeka*, *Rajah bertitah, penghulu bersabda*.

"INDIAN STOCK EXCHANGES AND INDUSTRIAL FINANCE"

By PROF. K. P. AGARWAL,
Department of Commerce, B.H.U.

IN a developing country, like ours, stock exchanges have played, in the past and are playing at present, a dynamic role in helping the rapid industrialisation by acquiring necessary capital from the investing public at large. This they do by imparting liquidity to funds; assuring soundness and genuineness of listed companies; facilitating the distribution and providing marketability to new as well as old shares in addition to rendering other significant services to investors and companies. Indian stock exchanges have, especially in the last decade, shown their special interest and rendered an useful service in the direction of finance towards the industrial development of the country.

A study of the 'object clause' and the elaborate listing requirements of stock exchanges; requirements of Section 19 of the Securities Contracts (Regulations) Rules, 1957; provisions of the Companies Act, 1956; etc., clearly shows that the Indian stock exchanges have not been very liberal in the matter of listing. During a period of nearly 15 years (from 1946 to 1961),

though the number of listed companies has shown a very minor increase, yet from the point of view of finance, a considerable increase of nearly 40 per cent in stock issues of listed companies clearly suggests that the finance of companies must have increased substantially during this period.

The official lists of stock exchanges pointedly reveal that almost all the leading companies under different industries have got their shares listed. These companies, quoted on these stock exchanges, account for a major portion of India's national income from the corporate industrial sector of the economy.

As regards capital raised through stock exchanges, it is sufficient to say that Indian stock exchanges have imparted sufficient liquidity and marketability to our industrial securities. During the period 1946 to 1961 (up to Feb.) tremendous increase has taken place in the paid-up capital of all companies, whether they are private or public—listed or unlisted.

TABLE I
Paid-up Capital Pattern of Listed Companies

	1946	1960 (II Qrt.)	1961 (Feb.)	(Rs. crores)	
				% increase in '60 over 1946	% increase in '61 over 1946
1. Paid-up Cap. all Cos. (exc. G.C.)	417.0	1125.0	1725.0 ¹	169.8	313.7
2. Paid-up Cap. of public Cos.	306.0	786.0	876.0 ¹	156.9	186.3
3. Paid-up Cap. of Listed Companies	270.4	611.0	674.8	127.0	149.5
4. (3) as % of (1)	64.8	54.3	39.1	-16.2	-39.6
5. (3) as % of (2)	88.4	77.7	77.1	-12.1	-12.8
6. Market Value of paid-up Cap. of listed Cos.	971.0	N.A.	1215.4	N.A.	25.2
7. Paid-up Cap. per unit of listed Cos. (Lakh Rs.)	24.0	53.0	56.0	120.8	133.3
8. Market Value of paid-up Cap. per unit of listed Companies	86.0	N.A.	101.0	N.A.	17.5

1. Figures relate to the financial year 1960-61.

[SOURCES : (i) Thomas Committee Report on Regulation of Stock Markets in India, 1948, Pp. 26-35; (ii) Dr. Raj K. Nigam, 'Commerce,' 1960 Annual, Pp. 106-8; (iii) K. R. P. Shroff, 'Madras Stock Exchange—Silver Jub. Souv.' p. 255.]

The table reveals that in the year 1961 (financial year 1960-61), the paid-up capital of all companies was Rs. 1725.0 crores, while those of public companies and listed companies were of the order of Rs. 876.0 and 674.8 crores respectively. This means, nearly 39 per cent of the total paid-up capital of all companies or more than 77 per cent of the total paid-up capital of public companies were raised through stock exchanges. These percentages are quite significant. If we take the year 1946 as the base, we notice, that in the year 1961, the total paid-up capital of all companies, of all public companies and of listed companies increased by 313.7 per cent, 186.3 per cent and 149.5 per cent respectively. But if we take the paid-up capital of listed companies as percentages to paid-up capital of all companies and of public companies, we find a considerable decline which may be due to the relatively stronger financial position of listed companies and consequently less demand for paid-up capital on their part; smaller paid-up capital of the newly listed companies, and finally, due to their stronger financial position, greater use of their internal finances than in 1946. It may also be true that, as the banks' loans and advances to industries have consider-

ably increased in recent years and new financial institutions have sprung up, these public companies are relying on such loans and advances rather than on raising new capital alone. Whatever may be the causes, it is evident from the above discussion that though the paid-up capital of listed companies has increased, it has not increased in the same proportion as increase in paid-up capital of all companies or even of all public companies. It seems that these listed companies have not fully utilised the services of stock exchanges. In other words, the purpose of listing has not been served fully.

In order to show the extent of capital raised by different industries and also their attractiveness, the table below may be of some use. It clearly indicates that the total paid-up capital of all industries amounted to Rs. 674.76 crores in Feb. '61 the market value of which increased by nearly 91.8 per cent. Increase in the market value from Rs. 270.4 crores to Rs. 971.0 crores in 1946 and Rs. 674.76 crores to Rs. 1215.4 crores in Feb., '61 (vide table I) suggests as to what extent shares have been in demand. Though the increase in the market value in 1961 is not comparable to that of 1946

yet it is quite appreciable. This lesser degree of increase in 1961 may partly be ascribed to the capitalisation of reserves because such practices increase the paid-up capital without affecting the market value much. On this very criterion of market value, the two industries viz.,

TABLE II
Paid-up Capital and the Market Value
(Industry-wise as in Feb. 1961)

Industry 1	Paid-up Capital 2	Deb. Outstg. 3	Total 4	Market Value 5	(5) as % of (4)	% of (4) to Total	% of (4) to Total
	(Rupees in Crores)						
Plantation	23.13	0.50	23.63	39.10	127.3	3.1	3.0
Cotton	107.77	3.82	111.59	222.80	199.6	14.8	17.2
Coal & Mining	14.87	1.37	16.24	23.08	141.1	2.1	2.0
Sugar	22.69	1.79	24.48	47.45	193.8	3.2	3.0
Jute	26.72	3.54	30.26	40.11	132.5	4.1	3.7
Banking & Ins.	35.98	16.32	52.30	80.31	153.5	6.9	6.2
Engg. & Metals	133.94	5.80	139.74	277.98	198.8	18.6	21.5
Cement	37.85	2.05	39.90	51.76	129.7	5.3	4.9
Paper	19.30	1.00	20.30	36.60	180.3	2.7	2.3
Chemicals	25.99	0.33	26.32	48.70	185.3	3.5	3.3
Railways	3.32	0.22	3.54	2.11	59.6	0.5	0.2
Shipping	17.06	3.55	20.61	16.97	82.3	2.8	1.3
Electricity	31.41	10.24	41.65	39.46	94.7	5.5	3.9
Miscellaneous	174.73	28.22	202.95	365.91	131.0	26.9	23.3
Total :	674.76	78.75	753.51	1292.24	172.9	100.0	100.0

SOURCE : (i) Madras Stock Exchange : Silver Jubilee Souvenir, 1937-62, Pp. 260-61.

Note : Some adjustments have been made as per requirements:

'cotton' and 'Eng. and Metals' seem to be very attractive and favourites to all as they show increase of nearly 199.8 per cent and 198.8 per cent respectively in their paid-up capital. The two have been followed by 'sugar,' 'chemicals' and 'papers.' On taking into consideration the percentage market value of each industry to total market value of all industries, we again find that 'Engg. & Metal' and 'Cotton' ranked on the top by showing 21.5 per cent and 17.2 per cent respectively of the total market value of all industries. Percentage of paid-up capital to total also depicts the same picture. Thus, from all angles, this considerable appreciation in their market value seems, to some extent, the outcome of the efforts of stock exchanges.

Considering the individual industry and finance raised with the help of stock exchanges, it can easily be said that again 'Engg. & Metals' and 'Cotton' were the two promising industries which raised about 18.6 per cent and 14.8 per cent respectively of the total capital raised by all industries.

As we learnt, industries sometimes use debentures for raising their medium-term finance. Upto Feb. '61, Indian industries were able to raise debentures for the amount of Rs. 78.75 crores, nearly 10.5 per cent of the total capital employed by them. 'Banks and Insurance' and 'Electricity' industries were amongst the foremost industries who raised debenture finance of the order of Rs. 16.32 crores and Rs. 10.21 crores respectively.

Though the question of 'marketing new issues through stock exchanges' is a disputable one, yet there does not seem two opinions that the stock exchange is the ultimate shelter for new as well as old securities, and new issue cannot be successful if stock exchanges do not exist. In practice, members of stock exchanges (and in some cases the stock exchanges too) assume responsibilities right from the invitation for subscription to the final disbursement of and afterwards of all new issues. The success of such issues depends entirely upon the success of the stock market. They may

not boost industrial finance directly through new issues, but indirectly it is of great help in bringing them in greater prominence. If we examine the trend in new capital issues in India (vide Table III) over a decade, we observe that consents for new capital issues have considerably increased from Rs. 59.6 crores in 1951 to Rs. 248.03 crores in 1961, while in the years 1958 and 1960 they were even higher being of the order Rs. 423.0 and Rs. 289.6 crores respectively.

TABLE III
Trends in Capital Issues in India (1951-61)

Year	Consents given to (Rupees in Crores)			Total	% of total capital issues to industrials.
	Ag. & allied Activities.	Industrials.	Non-Inds.		
1951	—	44.0	15.6	59.6	73.8
1952	—	32.7	7.1	39.8	82.1
1953	—	71.4	10.0	81.4	87.7
1954	—	93.9	16.7	110.6	84.9
1955	3.2	97.5	24.7	125.4	77.8
1956	1.8	192.6	35.8	230.2	83.7
1957	2.4	113.4	37.5	153.3	73.9
1958	2.8	401.0	19.2	423.0	94.8
1959	1.3	174.3	27.9	203.5	85.6
1960	0.9	263.1	25.6	289.6	90.9
1961	1.03	220.57	26.43	248.03	88.9

SOURCE : (i) Company News and Notes, 1st March 1962, No. 5, Vol. VIII, Pp. 119-20.
(ii) Madras Stock Exchange: Silver Jubilee Souvenir, 1937-62., p. 289.

Consents were given for agriculture and allied activities, and for industrial and non-industrial purposes. From the point of view of industrial finance, it is quite significant to note that consents for industrial purposes always dominated over the other two. During these two periods, it ranged between 73.8 per cent in 1951 to 94.8 per cent in 1958.

"As regards Right Issues, in addition to initial issues of capital by newly floated companies, there were Right issues of capital by existing companies, which formed two-thirds to three-fourths of the total amount of new capital issued during the period of First and Second Plans."* The Right issues succeeded largely because of the facilities, direct and indirect, offered by an active stock market and the investment support if mobilised from all over the country. If we take the Second Five Year Plan periods, we find, that the boom in right issues corresponded to the stock market boom which made it possible for existing companies to undertake the scheme of expansion, renovation and modernisation.

Finally, so far as other functions, viz., fair price maintenance, 'discounting' the market and adjustments of capital flow, are concerned,

Indian stock exchanges have to some extent been active in these respects too. But the data relating to the working of stock exchanges in India are rare and even if some are available they are not in any way helpful in these respects.

To conclude, an organised stock exchange does make a real contribution in the financing of industry, although it is an indirect and secondary one. The listed companies are better placed to sell their securities direct to shareholders through stock brokers in comparison to non-listed companies. This facilitates new financing. The mere information about the listing of new issues increases the initial sale. Further, as the market price of a particular share is a good indicator of the growth and earnings of that company, successful companies find it quite convenient in raising additional new capital through stock exchanges, if they decide to do so. The listed shares have always a wider market than the unlisted ones, and in this regard the question of listing of all public limited companies may be a matter of deep thinking.

* Shroff, K.R.P., 'Madras Stock Exchange: Silver Jubilee Souvenir. 1937-62,' Pp. 245-46.

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

By ASHOKE MOHAN RAY, M.A., W.B.C.S.

This paper is confined to a discussion of the recent trends in the executive branch of the administration. Administration is defined here as the organisation, personnel, practices and procedure essential to effective performance of the civilian functions entrusted to the executive branch of the Government. The forces which have played their part to influence these trends may be analysed first. For, the behaviour of the administrator is influenced or conditioned by the pattern of society in which he lives. His role is altered continuously with the changing role of Government in the life of the people. With the release of democratic forces in India, feudalism and paternal authority have gradually given way to modern representative systems of government. Since Independence, in particular, Government activity has rapidly crept into spheres which under *laissez faire* ideologies, had previously been treated as of no primary concern to the ruling power of the administrative machine. According to Shree M. P. Pai, Chief Secretary, Government of Andhra Pradesh (Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. VIII, No. 4, p 480), the role of Government in the life of the people has altered over the years as a consequence of four distinct factors—firstly, the influence of modernisation of society due to scientific and technological advance and of growing money-economy on the countryside; secondly, the increasing complexity of political and administrative organisation; thirdly, during the last fifteen years, of greater governmental interference in all spheres of life due to the war; and our present concepts of a welfare state and planning for prosperity. Lastly, the natural extension of democratic institutions from the national and state level to the district and the village has brought about changes in the forms of administrative organisation, and the orientation of the officers of the state, which are still in the mak-

ing. With all these changes, the role of the permanent civil servant has continuously changed.

Coming now to these changes, one can notice the challenge to the concept of neutrality of civil service as the first significant trend. The permanent civil servant in India—All India and State Services—were recruited and trained prior to Independence on the British concept of freedom of the Civil Services from all political bias. The traditional concept of neutrality has, however, been challenged on many grounds. In the first place, the concept is based on a belief in politics and administration dichotomy. It was Woodrow Wilson who told us in 1887 that administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics, that the field of administration is the field of business which is removed from the hurry and strife of politics. Opinion has veered round to the views of Gulick and Appleby that administration cannot be completely divorced from policy and vice versa. The role of the Civil Service in India has been changing from a mere agent of the political executive to that of collaboration with it. Policy formulation today, is an all pervasive and a co-operative endeavour. As the First Plan has stated, "The security of tenure, expertise and knowledge and appreciation of the implications of different problems and programmes being derived from experience of dealing with them over many years, tend to give the higher grades of public servants a considerable share in the shaping of policy". Secondly, the concept is based on a confusion between party politics and policy politics. Party politics is being eschewed at all costs by the public official but not policy politics. As Appleby has pointed out in his 'Policy and Administration', all administration today is political since it must be responsive to the public interest. Public officials in India are engaged both in policy formulation

and policy execution and Government is a mixture of the administrative and the political all the way up and down the line. Thirdly, the role of the Civil Servant has changed with a shift in the nature and purpose of the state from negative to positive. The state in India is engaged, today, in creating a welfare society by economic and social planning. It is now increasingly being felt that an emotionally indifferent or 'neutral' civil service will fail to deliver the goods. A new kind of positive minded, action-oriented and humanely inclined public official is emerging. It is now recognised that planning and experiments in a decentralised democracy will succeed if our officials have developed a positive and constructive bias towards them. For, as Dr. A. Avasthi has said (Public Administration p. 253), the civil servant can no longer command the people: he has to persuade them to win their consent.

The next important trend is the controversy of generalists vs. specialists in India. In Government administration the term generalist is commonly used to indicate the personnel of the Indian Civil/Administrative services and of the State Civil/Administrative services. A generalist administrator is one who has ability and workable knowledge for a job or enterprise requiring supervision, control, co-ordination, decision-making and execution. His task is to knit together all loose ends in the organisation to make its working smooth and efficient and to always view the administrative matters and problems in their proper perspective. By 'specialist' or 'expert' we mean a person who has special knowledge or skill in a specific subject which makes him an authority in that particular field. Lack of knowledge about the work or department or enterprise that one administers or manages does not make a Generalist. A Generalist is like a general practitioner in the medical profession as opposed to a specialist.

After Independence, India embarked on the programme of economic development of the Country with a socialist pattern of society as the national objective. Along with the general administrator, large numbers of technicians and experts are engaged in

achieving this objective. With the setting up of the Planning Commission, the launching of the Community Development programme, the growing activities in industries under the Public Sector, the Atomic Energy Commission etc., new forces have been created in the administration which do not want to remain as passive observers in this race but are heading along to get at the top. The rapidly increasing importance of the experts in administration is being felt. The experts are not content with their advisory functions. They do not like to be placed in line hierarchy. The result is tension between generalists and specialists within the organisation at different levels.

Let us now discuss the scope of this tension in three spheres of administration: (a) at the district level, (b) at the secretariat level, (c) at the public enterprise level. The claims of the generalist to his present somewhat predominant role are not seriously questioned so far as district administration is concerned. The District as an unit of Indian administration has all along been one of the fundamental aspects of our administration and the District Magistrate and Collector has always been the key Government functionary. The existing system is that the District Officer is a generalist administrator and there is no great challenge against this system. It has been well established by experience that the generalist administrator at the district level is suited to the task of supervision and co-ordination in development and welfare activities in an integrated way. By virtue of his influence as Magistrate and Collector, the District Officer is best equipped to enlist the active support of the people in the successful implementation of any major programme of development and welfare activities of different departments. In the context of C.D. and N.E.S. movements, the Collector is invested with co-ordinating and supervisory powers over the district heads of technical departments, besides being made solely responsible for the execution of development plans in the district. While the organisational and professional or technical control over development officers of district rank will be that of the departmental supervisors, the

functional control in non-technical matters is exercised within certain limits by the District Officer.

This method of control is based on the theory of dual hierarchy which, according to Dimock and Dimock (*Public Administration* p. 331), is so far the best method of solving the problem of co-ordination. The crux of the problem is that certain officers must be administratively responsible to one superior (say District Officer) and technically responsible to another (Technical Head of the Office). The need for dual supervision arises out of the peculiar circumstances in the area of the district which requires the District Officer to be a generalist one. Prof. A. W. Macmohan (*Delegation and Autonomy* p. 42) has given a few illustrations to corroborate this point. He states that if a bridge is being considered, the design and estimates of cost as well as the proposed location are technical decisions, but it is properly an administrative judgment to take account of public protest about the inconvenience of the proposed location and to approve a different though practicable site even at an increased cost. To this day, therefore, the District Officer in India continues to be the principal official contact, on the spot and from day to day, between the Government and the people. The growing range and complexity of state's responsibilities and the proliferation of public departments, has not made any change in this position; if anything, it has brought the District Officer even more closely in touch with the people, symbolising in him the essential unity of administration. These functions are clearly not the domain of any public servant, however able, whose training and experience has been confined to much less diverse fields of work and much less involved with wide public relations.

Now the spheres to which the controversy of the 'generalist' vs. the 'specialist' mostly relate are two: one of the policy making posts in the Secretariat and the other of management of industrial, commercial or other business enterprises of the public sector.

So far as the Secretariat is concerned, the controversy is an old one as to whether

in the final formulation of public policy, the political executive should be advised by a permanent civil servant of the generalist field or directly by the expert or the specialist in charge of the department or agency.

The bias in favour of the generalist civil service for this purpose is an inheritance from the British regime. The need for administrative experience was felt at policy making level in the law and order state of British times. The need is still greater today with the state having assumed much wider responsibilities in the field not only of welfare but social and economic planning. As Shri S. Banerjee, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Home, Government of India, has pointed out (*Indian Journal of Public Administration* Vol. IX No. 2, p-202), the adoption of the federal constitution in India, coupled with the present centralisation of planning, made it imperative that the central Government should have the benefit of a pool of diverse, practical experience of field administration brought to it by the 'deputationist' from the state, so that it can be clearly advised as to the manner in which its development policies infringe upon the lives of the people it serves. On the political plane, the task of advising the Ministers is performed by party organisations and elected legislators and parliamentarians; on the administrative plane the function can be usefully discharged by the permanent civil servant who has the advantage of bringing to the counsels of policy making diverse field experience continuously refreshed and renewed. Moreover, he can tone down the sharpness and onesided view of the specialists. In effect, the Generalist—Secretary can put forward the total view of the picture in a moderate form so that it can be easily understood by the Minister, who is a non-expert. Equally strong arguments are advanced on the opposite side. The closer involvement of the modern state with economic and social development, the wider has been the proliferation of the specialist classes in the public services. In this age of growing specialisation due to rigid technological change, the expert can tender well-informed advice to the political executive.

One finds, however, cogent and convincing

ing reasons advanced by Shri A. K. Chanda, Shri Rajagopalachari, Shri N. V. Gadgil, why, as a general rule, an expert is less well-equipped than the general administrator in the task of the synthesis and co-ordination which public policy requires. The lay scrutiny of the generalist administrator covers a whole gamut of larger considerations and not merely the technical ones. The 'worth-whileness' and viability in the social, political and economic sense, is his focus of attention. Unlike the modern expert, he is more appreciative of social necessity. He specialises in co-ordination. One important judgment which he has to apply and can do better than the expert is to see if he proposed action is such as can be easily turned into account for the benefit of society. In this connection the recommendation of the second Pay Commission (1957-59) for Central Government employees are worth remembering, "where the work of a department at the H.Q. of the Government of India is mainly technical, it is desirable, in our view, that the Secretary should be a person who, while possessing administrative ability and capable of taking a broad Government-wide view of matters, has a technical background in the particular field. In a department which has a considerable amount of technical as well as administrative work, the Secretary may be either a technical officer with proved administrative capacity or a generalist administrator. Technical officers should not be excluded from the field of choice but should be considered on merits. Further, the top technical advisers or heads of departments should have full opportunity to have their views considered by the Ministers, along with any views which the Secretary of the Department may have, for which a suitable arrangement may be a joint discussion with the Minister whenever there is unresolved difference of opinion between the technical head and the Secretary". The Generalist versus the Specialist debate has tended to put the two into mutually exclusive and antithetical positions so that one frequently comes by suggestions to the effect that with increasing specialisation the simple change required is the substitution of the Gene-

ralist by the expert. Their complimentary roles are often not fully appreciated. Sir James Dunett urged this point in a lecture at the Royal Inst. of Public Administration, London, in April 1961: "The higher the expert rises in his profession, the more he in turn becomes an administrator. Thus the relationship say, between the permanent Secretary of the Ministry and his Chief Engineer, is essentially a partnership". The Rowland Report (1944-45) of Bengal, The Karve Report (1948) of Bombay and the Nambudripad Report (1958) of Kerala, also are of the view that the above quarrel is irrelevant, in that both the Secretary and the Head of the Department are meant to play a complimentary role. The above reports agree that the Secretary should not tamper with the advice tendered by the Head of the Department and that it should reach the Minister as it is given. The Secretary, if he disagrees with the Specialist's advice, could record his observations in a separate note. Regarding public enterprise undertakings, most of the Chairmen, Managing Directors and other full-time top managers have been drawn, upto now, from Government Services. Moreover, quite a significant proportion of them belong to the top generalist services—the I.C.S./I.A.S. In recent years an increasing number of persons with technical or financial experience in Government organisations have also been appointed to such positions. As there is no significant example as yet of a person from within an enterprise rising upto the topmost positions outside of the older organisations like Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs, the All India Radio and Reserve Bank, there is the suggestion that a deliberate policy of developing personnel from within the undertaking for taking over top positions in the public sector should be pursued. Then, again, very few persons with experience of industrial and business management in the private sector have been appointed to top positions in the public sector. This has been the result partly of the scarcity of such personnel and partly of the disparity in remuneration between efficient and successful private concerns and public undertakings. That there is need for the general administrator to be given,

necessary background training and experience in industrial or business management has been voiced by competent authorities on the subject like Dr. H. K. Paranjape, Prof. of Economic Policy and Administration, of the Indian School of Public Administration, New Delhi (I.J.P.A. Vol. IX, No. 3 p 413).

The third important trend is the impact of Panchayati Raj on administration. Democratic decentralisation, with its three-tier pattern of popular administration, was the result of the recommendations made in 1959 by a study team of the Committee on Plan Projects headed by Shree Balvantrai Mehta. It was soon to be called Panchayati Raj to show that its base went back to the democratic village communities of earlier eras. But its objectives had started to take shape on 2nd October, 1952 when the Community Development programmes were initiated. These were a natural consequence

of the Five Year Plans of national development and of a 'realisation' that for vitality and success they had to be based in the life and thought of the villages and recognised to be primarily their responsibility. As the Programme developed, purely official effort with a sprinkling of non-official advisers was felt not sufficient to enthuse the people that this was their Programme. It was decided to bring in elected representatives at various levels of the programmes to create the necessary psychological atmosphere. Generally we may say that it has been decided to have both policy decision and implementation at the Panchayat level with the elected Chairman of the Panchayat. At the other two levels of Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad, policy making is left to the elected representatives and the implementation is left to the official hierarchy.

(To be Continued)

THE TRAINING OF ART STUDENTS*

By Sri DEVI PRASAD ROY CHOWDHURY M.B.E.

Art students, given the passport to enter into the domain of adventure and proceed with new experiments have to be sufficiently equipped with such knowledge as would lend a sense of security and fairly correct judgment of relative values. They are necessary as a measure of protection against falling into the grip of depression and suffer agonies in the struggle for existence. One cannot lightly dismiss such an apprehension about the artist who is usually susceptible to the reaction of his moods. To start with a depressed mind is not a desirable initiative for an ambitious artist who intends to contribute his share to the cause of culture, the wealth of which is expected to be the heritage of the future generation. I have reason to be hopeful of the prospect because I have been assured of such promise by

coming in contact with some original works by the students which were displayed in the last Annual Exhibition of the Government College of Arts and Crafts. I was happy to notice that some of the works bore distinct evidence of well planned composition which required a good deal of thinking and sanguine execution.

Referring to the life of an artist I should say it is not confined to physical existence only but intellectual and spiritual approaches are inseparably linked up for a progressive out-look. The two other aspects of existence constitute a vital concern to the artist, if he were to be loyal to his mission. The skill acquired in the course of training may provide an easy means of livelihood. But technical skill though indispensable, is only a means and not the end of the objective of art. Technique is only a vehicle, a medium which stands in obedience to serve a purpose and the purpose is intelligible communication.

* Inaugural address at the Convocation of the Government School of Arts and Crafts on March 13, 1964.

tion of emotional expressions, no matter by what pattern it is released. In the circumstance even superb technical excellence may turn to be a liability if the skill failed to offer anything better than a prospect to purchase material comfort.

Giving due consideration to stern matter-of-fact reality, one has to admit that queer circumstances may compel the artist to sell to live but, if he lived only to sell then it must be concluded that the artist has departed from his mission and is heading towards an act which is nothing short of self betrayal. Wrong assessment of values is often responsible for such disappointing results, the most deplorable of which is over-estimation of one's own worth. It is particularly so when the idea of being original gets into the head of one, who has to depend on blind following of imitation.

There is a mad race to capture fame overnight by producing unintelligible patterns and they are readily applauded by some critics who are experts in the gentle art of camouflaging ignorance behind abstruseness of language. Originality as such is not achieved by merely asking for it. The distinction is the outcome of a creative urge which is released by an irresistible force from within. It is the concern of the genius who cannot but go in his own way and is ever ready to take any amount of pains to exercise patience for achieving the goal. His formidable assets in such perilous adventure are his confidence and vast experience of crushing failures which made him wiser to search for a path which would lead him to his goal. It is a never-ending quest. Nevertheless he wanders and wanders, as the quest itself is a source of joy to him. His feverish passion in the pursuit is inexhaustible. The energy thus harnessed is utilised to re-create the existing forms of beauty which never could have revealed its inherent quality if the artist with his penetrating vision and aesthetic hunger were not out in quest of a thing of beauty which provides the most vitalising food to his mind.

The vision of the creative artist is crystallized in dream, which tells the story of emotional reaction to the reality physically ex-

perienced. There may be different patterns and interpretations in the methods of various expressions, yet the source that provokes inspiration to the artist is always rooted in the form of nature. Even the very title of a picture in an abstract theme seeks an identification with a known form existing in nature. The resemblance may be far fetched, yet it is there. Therefore, whatever cry there may be for originality, one cannot get away from the influence of representational expression, no matter what school, style or pattern is followed.

Further, originality is an exclusive concern of a genius who is not made-to-order as a product of round the clock work in a factory, nor by a system of training as is generally imparted in the fashionable art institutions simply for the reason that the main principle of training is set on a rigid routine and formalized syllabus, probably drawn ages ago by some disinterested but very distinguished administrative officer, who was accustomed to respect jail discipline, or by anybody considered to be important in any station of life whatsoever. On the top of this there are the cultural invasions by exchange of professors who come with new ideas, each one differing from the other and each one trying desperately to impress the fact that following his point of view is the only Royal Road that leads to salvation. The students under such alarming pressures of instruction hardly get a chance to anchor on a faith of their own choice or assimilate the ideas aggressively thrown upon them in quick succession, with the result that chaos has come to stay to declare the triumph of new cultural impacts. It might be a gracious act for the missionaries of learning but the result is identical with the sport of children who rejoice by throwing stones on innocent frogs. Permit me to say here, that what is sport to one is death to others. In the circumstances the teacher also gets lost in confusion and is obliged to surrender to any idea of the dictator, since the poor man has to fill his own stomach, and to look towards the employer and his agents for pity. It is a tragedy and a grim instance of the struggle for physical existence. Therefore, one has to admit that

such a system of mechanical training, though well suited to mass education and for commercial ends is completely divorced from the desirable relationship between the teacher and the taught.

"Gurukul" system is the only answer for the problem as the latter method of training gives ample scope to establish a cordial relationship between the teacher and the taught. This is where the teacher climbs down from his exalted position to create an atmosphere of give and take. Emphasis laid on its need is intended to save the broth from being spoiled by too many cooks in the kitchen. I acquired some idea of what happens in the melting pot while I was in-charge of a similar institution.

To stand in attendance for being guided by diverse ideas and adjust controversial opinions, is not a task that is easy of performance by the head of the institution. I, however, managed to escape the plight due to the sympathetic consideration given by the higher authorities. In the circumstances I have no hesitation to record my feeling

that the Heads of such institutions should be given the fullest facilities and a free hand to exercise their considered opinion on the methods of training, and, if necessary, change the syllabus which does not fit in with their respective ideals.

When I said modern trends and the new cultural impacts in contrast to the principles underlying the training by a "Gurukul" system, I think I ought to explain in brief why the latter is given preference to the blind following of the new schools of "isms" under almost hypnotic influence. The conventional method followed by the "Gurukul" system is an adaptation of traditional ideal, technique and style of the Guru and abiding by the laws of discipline which control a well planned arrangement of composition that display the effects of sincere study of form and colour ultimately used for an expression. The idea of adaptation is not forced upon the students but it is accepted of its own accord and the process of development is not followed by curbing the individuality of respective artists.

PANCHAYATI RAJ—THEORY AND PRACTICE

Shri S. M. SHETTY

The acceptance in 1958 of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee recommendations in regard to the democratic decentralisation plan or the Panchayati Raj and the consequent introduction of the scheme by Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan followed by all other States except Kerala and West Bengal where legislation is expected, has opened an important chapter in India's economic and political scene. It marks the beginning of our effort to rejuvenate the village life by infusing in them the democratic ideals and a spirit of self-reliance—politically, socially and economically. Though the innovation does not promise to bring forth in its wake a land of plenty and affluence, it has at least

the merit of progressively identifying more intimately the people in their own upliftment.

The Conception of the Scheme

The Panchayati Raj scheme as conceived in the Third Five-Year Plan, denotes "a set of interconnected democratic and popular institutions at the village, block and district levels in which the representatives of the people in the Village Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads and co-operative organisations function with the support and assistance of the various development agencies of Government working together as a team."¹

Three-Tier System

The scheme envisages a three-tier system by which the devolution of power and decentralisation of responsibility will be effectively carried out. At the village level, the Village Panchayat is entrusted with the day-to-day administration of the village, empowered to collect taxes from the villagers and entrusted primarily with the task of providing village amenities, drawing up and implementing village production plans, execution of Community Development programmes and other allied activities and enthusing the people towards greater work and harnessing their energies for the upliftment of the village. The deliberations of the Village Panchayat are conducted under the leadership of the village and who in turn is assisted, on the administrative side, by the 'Vikas Adhikari' or an appointed official who acts as the secretary and on the legislative side by the various Standing Committees constituted with members from amongst the elected representatives. Immediately above the Village Panchayat, is the Panchayat Samiti at the block level under the control of a 'Pradhan' elected by the representatives of the Village Panchayats, vested with the power of general supervision and control of the member Samitis and to issue directions to them.

The Zila Parishads are at the district level under the guidance of a 'Mukhya Pradhan' entrusted largely with the responsibility of co-ordination of the working of the different Samitis and placing at the disposal of the member Samitis the expert technical guidance which it commands. Besides it has to see the implementation of the broad national objectives to be defined by the government and thus establishing a rapport between these institutions and the government. There is a statutory obligation for periodical meetings of the representatives of the different Samitis where problems of particular and mutual interest are to be discussed and the implementation of the resolutions would be reviewed.

The Role of Government

The devolution of power and decentralisation of responsibility does not, however,

mean that the government has ceased to play an effective role in the village upliftment schemes. The government also, it is encouraging to note, has not displayed the careless gesture of abandoning the boy in the bath tub. Besides providing financial grants and defining national and state objectives to be implemented by these institutions and the consequent powers of general control and supervision, it has the greater responsibility of developing the institutions themselves in a tradition which is worthy of their names, because in the Directive Principles of State Policy it is laid down that "The State shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government."²

The Scope

These self-governing and autonomous units comprehending as they do both the democratic institutions and the extension services through which development programmes are executed, are expected to play an effective role in the future political set-up and economic planning in India because they make possible greater participation by the masses in the gigantic task of nation-building, politically or otherwise, and endow them with an expression which is distinctly local in character and intimate in relationship.

The Need

The need for developing such institutions in a democratic government is too obvious to be stated. The political philosophers have come to view society not as a centralised Nation-state within whose layers everything is merged but as distinctly federal in character. "But because society is federal" remarks Prof. H. J. Laski, "authority must be federal also" which involves "the making of decisions out by the interests which will be affected by them."³ He further observes that "We cannot realise the full benefit of democratic government unless we begin by the admission that all

problems are not central problems and that results of problems not central in their incidence require decision at the place, and by the persons, where and by whom the incidence is most deeply felt."⁴ Viewed from this angle, the Panchayati Raj scheme, based as it is on the village as the unit of administration and development, conforms to the above principles of local government.

In India, after independence, with a stable unitary government "an insufficient development of pluralistic institutions", remarks Prof. Ram Joshi, "have made participation in political processes an experience of very limited scope for the people. Democracy in such circumstances, becomes a soulless formalism and people turn apathetic and largely apolitical. The sorry spectacle of gigantic schemes of social welfare which leave people unmoved is the direct result of the unworkability of the usual political levers which operate in modern democratic community."⁵ The scheme of Panchayati Raj thus fills an important gap by providing new centres of active loyalty for the people and acting as a training ground in the art of self-government. This is a plan which allows the people to make their own decisions which affect them most.

Historical Background

Historically speaking, the scheme is not very new to our people. The existence of such democratic institutions, though not in the present form, dates as far back as recorded history itself though they gained prominence during the Mauryan domination of northern India. However, "the problem" as Prof. Joshi sees, "is not one of reviving the traditional village but of creating vigorous and pulsating new units which will function as the organic links of a developing democratic country."⁶

Economic Foundations of the Scheme

In India, the introduction of the Panchayati Raj scheme appears to have been prompted not so much due to its clear political advantages or in response to popular demand but because of the awareness that

in the absence of active participation by the people, the various development measures are in danger of yielding much unsavoury results. It has been now increasingly recognised that the human factor plays a prominent role in the dynamics of economic growth. Accordingly our Five-Year Plans are also based on the belief that adequate and active participation by the people will be forthcoming so as to yield the desired results. This assumption, in turn, requires appropriate institutional arrangements for channelling the people's energies into developmental lines and this task is rendered difficult by the political necessity of fitting them to a democratic framework. This was, in the earlier years of the Plan period, sought to be provided for by the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Schemes. Robbed of any representative character and devoid of any administrative control and effective leadership etc., these schemes have failed to evoke sufficient enthusiasm among the people. As the Seventh Evaluation Report observed, "one gathers the impression of an inadequately co-ordinated endeavour, governmental rather than popular in character and sustained more by hope rather than achievement."⁷ This state of affairs was further confirmed by the Study Team appointed by the Committee on Plan Projects and was painfully noted by the Third Five-Year Plan itself which claims that "programmes which require large-scale participation on the part of the people, such as soil conservation, made only a limited progress."⁸

Panchayati Raj, therefore, represents a revolutionary change in the operational pattern of the community development work as the scheme is designed to enable each area to realise its maximum developmental potential on the basis of local production plans to be formulated by the villagers themselves taking into consideration the local man-power and other available resources. It has to provide for other locally felt needs such as education, including women's and adult education, health facilities and water supply etc.

The Panchayati Raj scheme is, therefore, at once an ideal and a method. As an ideal,

it seeks to bring home more directly the fruit of self-government to a democratic country and as a method it attempts to improve the living conditions of the people by making possible greater economic development by harnessing the locally available resources towards that end.

Working of the Panchayati Raj: Progress

There are, so far, 12 States which have introduced the scheme and in Kerala and West Bengal which have not yet done so, legislations to this effect are expected soon. As on 31st March 1962, as many as 5,33,000 villages covering about 95% of the rural population, have been covered by the Scheme. A financial outlay of Rs. 28 crores has been provided for the exclusive development of these institutions during the Third Plan period.

It will, however, be impossible to draw a general conclusion in regard to the working of the scheme at the all-India level because, in no two States where it has been introduced, the working of the system is exactly similar. Even in regard to the State, the working of no two Panchayat Samitis is identical which renders the task of drawing a general conclusion difficult. It is, therefore, proposed to restrict the review to its working in the states of Rajasthan, Madras and Mysore and will be judged on the basis of its accomplishments in the field of agricultural production, irrigation, provision of educational and health facilities, mobilisation of man-power resources and qualities of leadership in promoting social cohesion etc.

In Rajasthan⁹ within two years of the introduction of the scheme, the number of Village Panchayats has been more than doubled. The election for the Samitis appears to have aroused a great deal of interest. Though the posts of 'Sarpanch' and 'Pradhans' were keenly contested, the elections were generally peaceful, characterised by a trend towards unanimity as 80% of the 'Sarpanches' were elected unopposed. No undue importance could be attached to this as the policy of unanimous election appears

to have received official encouragement and hence was not free from manoeuvres. It is, however, heartening to note that a large number of young people were elected for these posts. In regard to the people's participation in the development programmes, Shri Maheshwari observes that the "institutions have made good progress."¹⁰ Some of the Samitis had prepared their own Third Plans. But the old habits of dependence does not appear to have died down completely and there is also the villagers' traditional suspicion of official authority which has still retained its attitude of superiority. The Congress M.P.'s Study Team also observed that some of these Samitis are not meeting regularly.

In Madras State,¹¹ because of this system there was recognisable improvement in the granting of loans to the farmers. In the sphere of education there have been rapid strides and the percentage of children of school-going age has increased from 48% to 98% and the midday meals scheme is better supervised. They have also intensified the agricultural programmes and Panchayats were being initiated to the techniques of urban compost. They have also made considerable progress in the provision of drinking water and the construction of roads. The villagers also felt that the union and its activities are their own and there were instances of local initiative. In most cases the election contests were along political or personal lines and only a few cases on the basis of caste.

In Mysore State,¹² however, the working of the institution was less than satisfactory compared to the previous two States and it also provides an instance of government's failure to initiate the right type of institution in this behalf. On the whole they have achieved no commendable results either in regard to the developmental programmes or in respect of welfare measures. There was a fundamental flaw in the set-up of the institutions and there was not intimate relationship between the Village Samitis and the Taluka Boards. According to the Special Correspondent of 'The Times of India', "the Mysore Government did not seem to be

purposeful in making a success of the experiment.”¹³

The Panchayati Raj system thus appears to have been more or less able to rouse local interest and has certainly created enthusiasm among the people. There were no doubt some petty corruptions and other shortcomings but they are reported to be certainly on the decline. It is, however, necessary that the Samitis should work in a co-ordinated manner and strive to root out inefficiency in their working. There have also been instances of the Village Panchayats being instrumental in dividing the local population on political and caste lines and leaving bitterness amongst themselves. This is a trend which ought to be checked well in time. The financial position, generally of all the Samitis, has not been very sound so as to enable them to undertake the various development programmes because they were unwilling to impose local taxes. The Study Team on Panchayati Raj finances under the chairmanship of Mr. K. Santhanam had, therefore, recommended that these Samitis should be given some specific items of local taxation such as house taxes etc., and the Government should give them liberal grants.

In conclusion it may be noted that the Panchayati Raj, as a means of social and economic change, has a great role to play in the future set-up of the country. But it has

a future only in a democratic society inspired by democratic ideals and dedicated to the task of upliftment of the people in a democratic way. In a totalitarian government it may undergo a pathological change from Gram Panchayats to Communes—and may thus lose its essential attribute. It is, therefore, necessary that while cherishing this ideal, the society should preserve its democratic way of life.

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MINERAL RESOURCES OF JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE

By Prof. R. L. MEHTA M.A., M.Sc. (Geog. & Geol.)

Government G. M. Science College, Jammu (Kashmir).

The geological studies of the State of Jammu and Kashmir have revealed that in the mountainous terrain there are sizeable deposits of mineral resources awaiting development. Researches have been carried on by the State Mineral Survey Department (now Directorate of Geology and Mining), Geological Survey of India and Indian Bureau of Mines. It has been established that coal, lignite, gypsum, sulphur, copper, zinc, sapphire and abrasives are available in modest quantities. They are spread all over the state in an area of about 7,000 square miles. Some of them being easily accessible, have economic potentialities. The various minerals found in the state can be grouped as, (i) water, (ii) fuels, (iii) metallic minerals, (iv) non-metallic mineral, (v) building materials, and (vi) precious and semi-precious stones.

Water

Water is required not only for drinking and household purposes but also for irrigation, agriculture and manufacturing industries. It is the concern of the geologist to locate water bearing strata and help promise water supply to urban population. For this the knowledge of the underground terrain holding the distribution of water is essential.

A large proportion of precipitation both in the form of snow and rain flows as surface, —or delayed run-off and ultimately joins the numerous streams and rivulets in the mountain areas. A very small proportion of it soaks into the ground.

In the mountainous countryside, on account of seasonal precipitation, the rainfall occasionally results in floods but the small percentage that soaks down flows underground, and, after circulation, appears as delayed run-off, in the form of springs. Springs are commonly met with in hilly areas where pervious and impervious beds come in juxtaposition with one another with

gentle inclinations, folds and faults, fissures or joints. The aquifer promises the supply of water which again depends on the extent of its catchment area, rainfall and climate.

Artesian conditions exist at certain places in the Piedmont regions of the Pir Panjal where water-bearing beds are enclosed by two impervious beds and the whole gently dipping in the form of a trough as at Verinag, Nilnag etc.

Sometimes the water-tight beds are enclosed by tongues of gravel and sand under impervious clays, at higher altitudes.



The "Chenab Loop", about 7 miles from Riasi, site of Projected waterfall

In the drier regions of the State, such as **Kandi** areas of Jammu, the shortage of water supply in underground channels is a national problem. Here the water table is at a sufficient depth and in periods of draught the wells become parched up or dry. The Cen-

tral Government has embarked upon ambitious schemes of damming up river courses in the Siwalik countryside by constructing dams of suitable sizes. Besides, these will provide avenues for irrigating the dry lands. The State Government has set up a system of mobile tanks, the function of which is to combat scarcity of water in seasons of poor rainfall, in these regions. Old tanks and wells are being renovated and new ones being built at suitable places. Stream water at various places of the state is being harnessed by engineers for irrigation and the development of dynamic power. For this, hydro-electric irrigation and reservoir projects are being constructed throughout the state.

Fuels

Coal: Coal seams of Eocene age have cropped out around the Permian limestone (Great Limestone) at roughly 35 miles from Jammu city near Muttal, in the Udhampur District. The coal belt outcrops in a 36 mile long belt from Jungalgali in the East, to Kalakot in the extreme west including Ladda, Dhansal, Chakar, Mahogala and Metka. The reserves are estimated to be 100 million tons to a depth of about 1000'. The total reserves as estimated by C.S. Middlemiss in 1929 are approximately 100 million tons within a depth of 1000'. Occurrence of two distinct horizons with more than two coal seams has been noted. The thickness of seams varies from 2 to 23 feet. Due to rock deformations on account of tectonic disturbances, the rock strata are folded and faulted thus posing special problems to the miner.

A survey of Jangalgali coalfield, the most easterly of the group, was undertaken by the Geological Survey of India in 1956.

Surface examination showed that there are two or three seams of coal 2 to 5 feet thick in the upper horizon. There is much overlapping in the beds thus concealing the coal seams in this area.

The western extremity of Ladder Valley inlier is connected with the coalfield across the Chenab Valley and appears as Sangarmarg coalfield, on the opposite side of the valley.

At Mahogala two coal horizons are separated by about 20 of shales. The upper seam is 2 feet thick. In Siro Valley there is a small elliptical inlier with a seam 2 feet thick.

Kalakot coal mines are located at a height of 2,900 to 3,250 feet above sea level. They are divided into six different blocks by J and K Minerals limited whose Headquarters are at Patlari. Metka, the biggest block is 16 miles from it and has three coal seams. The Mahogala block has three seams.

Quality of Coal: The coal is of good quality, semi-anthracitic, with a low volatile and moderate ash contents. It has high calorific value to the order of 12000 to 13000 B.T.U./S. At certain places sulphur in the form of pyrites is also noticeable in an appreciable percentage.

The future of the coal is bright. The Jammu and Kashmir Minerals Ltd., which have been made solely responsible for mining operations in the State are setting up two thermal power stations—one at Kalakot and the other at Jangalgali to utilise coal for the generation of power. Since it is a good quality coal, effective methods of its transport to the rest of the country are under study. If an efficient method of transport is developed it can compete favourably with that of Bihar-Bengal fields. It is, therefore, likely to capture adjoining markets in the future.

Lignite: The lignite deposits of the state are chiefly confined to the Kashmir Valley which was covered by a mantle of ice during the Pleistocene; by karewas, gravel and alluvium, recently. Reserves exist in the middle karewas, in Shali Ganga Ferozepur Nallah area, Nagbal, Tongmarg, Baramula, Handwara and Nichhama and Nichhama chowkibal areas. Investigations undertaken by the G.S.I. in 1955 and 57-58 have revealed 84 million tons of reserves.

Quality: The lignite contains ash from about 25 to over 50 per cent, moisture from about 20 to 35 per cent, volatiles from 15 to over 25 per cent and calorific values from 2200 to 4500 B.T.U/LB in the samples so far studied.

Petroleum and Natural Gas

A bituminous horizon with thin veins of asphalt at various places in Jammu has been discovered. This has given the hope that possibly liquid fuel in the form of petroleum may be lying hidden in one or more suitable structures. Kotli/Nawshera, Sarinsar, Mansar are supposed to be the continuations of a tectonic trend which flanks Khaur and Dhulion domes (West Pakistan) in the West and Jawala Mukhi in the East.

Presence of an oil seepage in Maradpur near Rajauri in Rajauri-Nawshera Sector and inflammable gas seepages in the Mansar area of Jammu province are hopeful signs.

Metallic Minerals

Non-ferrous minerals are lead ores, copper, zinc, nickel, bauxite and iron ores.



Copper ore from Ramban; Photo shows 1/8th of natural size

Lead: Galena is the chief ore of lead. It has been explored in Uri Tehsil at Bunya, in Riyasi, at Kherikot, Nigot, in Ramban Tehsil, at Ramsu, in Doda District, at Knelni and Ghaha areas. Nigot, four miles north of lower Drabi was an important mining centre in the past when lead

silver ore was extracted there. The mining extended to an area about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile long. Specimens of pure Galena have yielded about 1% of silver. At places lead ore occurs with zinc ore.

Zinc: It occurs in lower Drabi. The veins vary in length from a few inches to as much as 150 feet and in width from a few inches to 10 feet. They occur along the Permian Limestone with Calcite as the Gangue material. The ore contains more than 76.52 per cent of zinc with traces of Cadmium.

Copper: Number of copper occurrences are known to exist as loads with Quartz Gangue ore as veins in plains of Brecciation in Permian limestone. Important localities are Gainta, Red Nala in Riyasi, Sukhwali Galli, Banihal and Dul in Kishtwar in Jammu Province, Sumbhal in Lolab Valley, Kel, Buniyar, Kangan in Sind Valley; and Lashtial in Kashmir Valley and in Kargil and Zaskar in Ladakh. The deposits at Gainta are quite rich and are believed to contain even upto 5.8% copper. The vicinity of Sumbhal contains thin bedded poorly cleaved, mainly argillaceous, sometimes sandy phyllite slates with occasional calcareous partings. Copper occurs in multiple small veins, stocks and lenticular loads appearing and disappearing among slates. A quartz vein impregnated with copper ore is also there. The deposits of Ladakh are believed to be richer in content; at places large nuggets of native copper have not yet been estimated.

Bauxite: Deposits of bauxite occur along the Tertiary coal belt of Riyasi at Chakar, Sangarmarg, Salal, Panhassa, Jangalgali, Sukhwalgali. The thickness varies from 4 to 24 feet.

Quality: Alumina and Silica content varies from 70 to 80% and 1 to 5% respectively. Iron and water contents are low. The ores are very rich and can be exploited economically. The estimates are:—1st grade ore, 70-80% alumina, 1-5% silica, reserves 1.8 million tons.

2nd grade ore has 60-75% alumina, 6-15% silica=10 million tons.

Economic Possibilities: Reserves are many million tons. C.S. Middlemiss has estimated that there are 1.8 million tons of

1st grade ore and ten million tons of 2nd and lower grade ores. Within three miles of this important deposit is a power site projected; Salat hydro-electric project with capacity of 100,000 K.W. Availability of cheap power and coal will make these deposits ideal for development of aluminium and ceramic industries.

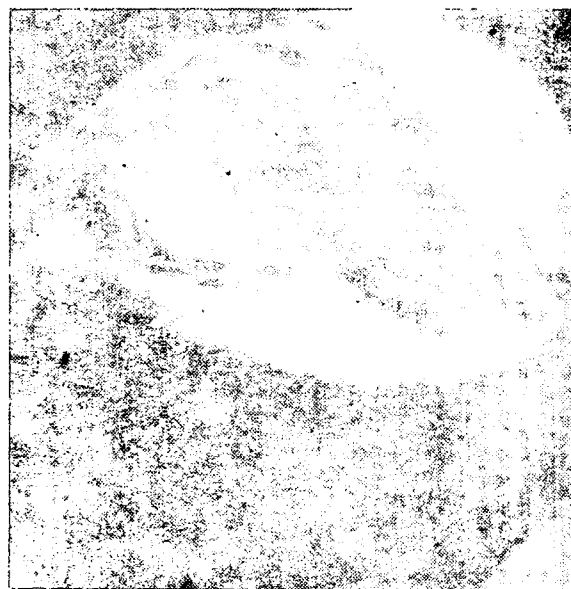
Nickel: The deposits occur at Khaleri near Sapphire mines at Paddar and the copper bearing areas of Riyasi in Jammu province and Buniyar in Kashmir. The small veins of Ramsu are economically unimportant.

Iron Ores: Large deposits of clay iron-stones and green Silicate of iron ore are known to occur all along the coal belt in the Jammu Province. The devastated pine forests along the coal belt blew the small hand-fired furnaces in the past to prepare munitions of war. The slag heaps nearby are also an index. Innumerable pits on the brecciated slopes of the Permian limestone exist. The author has observed huge deposits of iron ore (Lunonite) between Dudu and Basantgarh areas of Ramnagar Tehsil. Ramban suspension bridge was built from the locally manufactured iron. The limestone nearby can be used as flux.



Pig Iron from Riyasi Ironstone: Photo shows 1/10th of natural size.

A 15 ft. wide bed high grade iron ore hematite was discovered by C.S. Middlemiss in Kandli Pauni area. Iron ore deposits have also been reported from Basoli.



Iron Ore Nodules from Riyasi: Photo shows 1/16th of natural size.

Reserves are estimated to be over a million tons. 60% of the iron ore can be developed if a smelter is planted at Kandli coalfield where thermal electricity becomes available. In Kashmir, between the villages of Sop and Kothiar there used to be an industry in the past.

Chromite: Olivine-Chromite rock has been detected in Thasgam, Dras. It is a chromite.

Manganese: Manganese ore has been detected in Paddar.

Gold: Alluvial gold occurs in Ladakh District, Dras and Skardu. It is found in gravelly terraces of the Indus River. Auriferous gravels occur in rocks ranging from hard cemented conglomerates to loose crumbly materials in a 100-500 feet thick deposit. Gold washings have been carried on in Ladakh since very early times. Akbari remarks, "since the advent of Muslim Rule Mohammedans of Kargil were encouraged to conduct gold washings and to keep the people busy; revenue was collected in the form of alluvial gold."

Some of the important alluvial areas have been Auriel, Sher Ali Thang, Ali Bar, Blango, Singkurno, and Kharmurg. Working season is middle of June to the middle of October. The rocks are agglomeratic, sandstones and limestones, quartz porphyries, serpentine rocks of upper cretaceous and pleistocene gravel deposits.

Non-Metallic Minerals

Gypsum: Deposits occur in Ramkan, Batote, Assar, south of Chenab in Jammu and Uri in Kashmir. In the first three places reserves of the order of about 22 million tons of good quality have been reported. At certain places the deposits are easily accessible. These can be used in the manufacture of cement, fertilisers and plaster of paris. Kashmir Valley reserves in Uri and Bunivar areas are estimated to be about 15 million tons upto 100 feet depth with 95% of gypsum.

Sulphur: Associated with numerous springs, sulphur occurs as encrustations in the plains of Pugga Valley about 200 miles from Leh and in Nubra Plains. It indicates the former presence of a volcanic crater where large deposits may be lying hidden. Annual yield has sometimes been reported to be 20 to 25 tons per annum which is dependent on suitable weather.

Borax: Borax is a deposit found in a number of hot springs at Rupshu in Pugga Valley, Ladakh where it occurs as a double salt of sodium and borax in the form of white encrustations spreading over an area of about 2.56 million square feet. A layer about 2.5 feet associated with efflorescence of common salt and sulphur had been detected by Cunningham in a deposit extending to 2 or 3 miles along the banks of Pulangchu draining Pugga Valley. Annual production during the time of Dogra rulers was about 4,000 maunds which seems to be reported much too less. Borax also occurs in Nubra Plains.

Graphite: Deposits of amorphous variety of a poor quality graphite occurs in Baramulla District. The reserves are estimated to be 34 million tons. Flaky variety occurs in the Paddar and Khaleni areas.

Clay: A reserve of approximately 29 million tons has been estimated in the Wuyan area where a cement factory has recently been raised by Jammu and Kashmir Minerals Ltd. Reserves at other places have not yet been established.

Fullers Earth: is known to occur at Budhal Rajauri.

Bentonite: A bed about 1 to 1.5 feet thick has been located at Bhimber (Pak held) and Sambha.

Barytes; Soapstone and China Clay: These have been found at several places along with the Permian limestone and other places.

Kaolin, Ochres and Marble have also been found at different places.

Abrasives: Deposits of quality abrasives occur at Khunmoh and Sherkhas in Kashmir Valley. The pounded rocks can be used as an abrasive. But the reserves are very limited.

Building Materials

The State of Jammu and Kashmir has various formations of different types as well as geological age scattered over wide areas. Among these the Punjab Volcanics and Triassic Limestones of Kashmir Valley have been used in architecture since ancient times. The Triassic limestone can have fine polish and has been used in the construction of the famous Martand Temple as well as the inner designs of the Moghul Gardens. The quartzites of the Jammu Siwaliks are being rarely used in the buildings. The ancient temples of Krimchi and Babor are built of the quartzites of the locality. The old temples of Udhampur and Ramnagar are constructed of Siwalik sand stones.

Precious and semi-precious stones

Sapphire and Ruby: The sapphire mines of Paddar in Kishtwar Tehsil of Jammu Province are well known. These occur in an altitude of 14,000 feet above sea level in pegmatite rocks of Actinolite tremoliteschists. The colour of sapphire ranges in tints between pale blue to rich sky blue. Several veins of corundum crystals have revealed the presence of ruby.

Aquamarine and Beryls: Dasu mines of Skardu have been worked for aquamarine sporadically, since 1917. The colour of crystals is light blue. Dangel, Chishote and Kaohan in Paddar and Karnah are other places where aquamarine has been found. Beryl crystals can be extracted from the Pegmatites of Paddar.

Rubellite, Serpentine, Quartz, and Garnet: These are other precious and semi-precious stones which have been found at various places in the state.

The mineralized area of Riyasi district is a great national asset. With the construction of a road to Muttal in the east and its counterpart in the west upto Kalakot, has dawned a new epoch in the industrial history of Jammu and Kashmir State when employment to hundreds of men and women of this backward and mountainous part of India, will be provided. The projected opening up of the Salal Power Project at the bed of the Chenab at Riyasi will supply cheap electro-motive power to industries.

The Future: The future of industry in Jammu and Kashmir State is reasonably

bright. Without being over-optimistic the following features suggest themselves easily.

A substantial mining industry comprising aluminium, cement, iron, zinc, copper, lead, and ceramics is possible and easy to develop. Coal and coke of Jangalgali and Kalakot, will feed most of these metallurgical concerns. But the copper deposits of Sind Valley, Lushtial and Banihal are to be worked with electromotive force.

Another possibility is the distillation of lignite at Nichama and the manufacture of sulphuric acid from pyrite deposits of Dulai and Lushtial which can also be reasonably taken up.

With the advent of the above noted small industries, still smaller ones such as glass, mica, lead, etc., will crop up, automatically.

The Permian limestone can play a great part in the manufacture of magnesia.

Moreover, a large scale iron foundry can also be visualized. This is because not only coal and iron occur nearby, but limestone which can act as flux is in a near range of proximity.



ACHARYA KAKASAHEB. KALELKAR— LITERATEUR, EDUCATIONIST, PARLIAMENTARIAN

Fifty-five Years of Public Service

By SAVYASACHI

A year before he graduated from Bombay University, with Philosophy as his special subject, young Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar, who was to be known later as 'Kakasaheb', took a solemn vow that he would not rest, nor allow the British rulers to rest, until India had shaken off her shackles of foreign domination. Since that day fifty-five years ago, Acharya Kakasaheb Kalelkar has devoted himself exclusively to the service of the nation in diverse fields of activity. Educationist of all-India repute, he was, for eight years, Vice-Chancellor of Gujarat Vidyapith, the national university founded by Mahatma Gandhi. As a journalist, he has edited periodicals in Marathi, Gujarati, English and Hindi. As a literateur, he has written extensively in all these languages and been a Member of the Academy of Letters. He presided over the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad in 1959. As a politician, he has played an active role in the Indian National Congress, suffering five long imprisonments. He has also been a member of the All India Congress Committee. A champion for the uplift of Harijans and other backward communities, he was the Chairman of the Backward Classes Commission. A writer of wide repute, he has written over 50 books in Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, and English. He has worked indefatigably, for the last thirty years, for the spread and recognition of Hindi as the national language of India. He believes neither in the highly Sanskritised nor in the highly Persianised form of Hindi, both of which he considers equally beyond the comprehension of the average educated Indian; he advocates a form of Hindi that would be the 'Sab ki boli' or common man's language. In 1959, he was awarded the Mahatma Gandhi Prize for his distinguished services to the cause of Hindi to whose literature he has made valuable contributions.

School and College Education

Born at Satara (Maharashtra) on 1st. December, 1885, to a respectable Brahmin family, Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar had his early education at whatever places his father, a trusted and respected Treasury Officer of the British Government, happened to be posted.

About the time he passed his Matriculation, he was married, at the age of 17, to Laxmibai Shirodkar, the eldest daughter of a landlord. She died in 1929, leaving behind two young sons. Kakasaheb never married again. (The elder son, Satish, who had his higher education at Oxford, was professor for eight years in two Universities and is now in the diplomatic service of India. The younger, Dr. Bal, is a product of M.I.T. and Cornell and is the Senior Industrial Adviser (Heavy Engineering) to the Government of India.)

As a student in Fergusson College at Poona, he came in close touch with secret political societies which believed in methods of violence for the overthrow of the British Government. His clandestine revolutionary work began in 1906, a year before he obtained his B.A. from Bombay University. The greatest influences during his college days that moulded his philosophy of life and determined his future career, were the writings of Swami Vivekananda and Lokamanya Tilak. Wishing to join the ranks of lawyers who provided active political leadership in those days, Kalelkar joined the Law College at Bombay and passed the 1st. LL.B. in 1908, but gave up further studies in order to enter public life as a full-time worker straightaway; here was a young revolutionary in a hurry!

Apprenticeship in National Service

In 1909, he became the Head Master of Ganesh Vidyalaya, a national school at Belgaum which soon incurred the wrath of the British Government and had to be closed down. By now young Kalelkar had made a mark as a writer of articles in the Marathi journal 'Chikitsak' (Critique) and it was not surprising that he should have been invited to join the editorial staff of 'Rashtra-Mat' (Nation's Voice), a nationalist Marathi daily started under the leadership of Lokamanya Tilak, at Bombay. Under the savage governmental repression that followed the political murder of Jackson, the British administrator of Nasik district, publication of 'Rashtra-Mat' had to be stopped. Tiring of police harassment in British India, young Kalelkar then proceeded to the princely state of Baroda and became Principal of Ganganath Bharatiya Sarva Vidyalaya organised by the late Barrister Keshavrao Deshpande, an ardent nationalist and close friend of the late Sri Aurobindo. The aim of this institution was to create an army of selfless political and social workers by applying ancient as well as modern methods of education. To create an atmosphere of family life, all teachers were given affectionate names like 'Kaka', 'Mama', 'Anna', 'Appa' and so on and it was here that Kalelkar came to acquire the sobriquet, 'Kaka' (Uncle). The hopes of the organisers that a national institute would be comparatively safer in an Indian princely state were, however, shattered when the late Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda himself came under a cloud of suspicion because of his refusal to walk backwards before the British royalty at the celebrated Delhi Darbar of 1911. The Maharaja was ordered to close down the 'revolutionary' Ganganath Vidyalaya.

Wanderings and Soul-Searching

By now Kaka Kalelkar's dossier in the 'Black Book' of the British Government was fairly voluminous and the constant surveillance under which he was living was beginning to be intolerable. There was also an

inner conflict going on in his heart between political aspirations that urged him to employ any means for India's liberation and the spiritual values which were urging him towards renunciation. One fine morning, a month or so before his second son was born, Kakasaheb, much to the discomfiture of the secret service which was keeping a close watch, vanished from the scene and emerged, a few months later, as a bearded Sadhu in the Himalayas, where he trudged on foot as many as 2,500 miles, seeking spiritual salvation that would lead not to the doctrine of inaction, but to Karma-yoga. These wanderings took him to all the holy places in the Himalayas including Gangotri, Jannothi, Badrinath, Kedarnath and Amarnath; and of course to that haven of all Indian revolutionaries in those days—Nepal. Even today, whenever he happens to be in Haradwar, he makes it a point to go over to Rishikesh, cross the Ganges, and pay a visit to the region known as Swargashram where, in a little hut, he performed **tapascharya** (asceticism and meditation) over 50 years ago! During this period he was known as 'Sadhu Dattatreya', but neither his beard nor the flowing robes of the sadhu stopped him from seeking the field of education to produce social and political revolutionaries. At Haradwar he became the head of the Rishikul Vidyalaya, but severed his connections with that institute when he learnt that the organisers did not recognise the right of the untouchables to study scriptures. His wanderings then took him to another teaching post, this time to head the Sindhu Brahmacharyashram at Hyderabad (Sind). A little later, his restless spirit took him to Belur Math and then to Shantiniketan.

Shantiniketan and Meeting the Master

In the middle of 1914, he joined the teaching staff of Shantiniketan, the internationally-known institute founded by the late Rabindranath Tagore, where Gurudev affectionately gave him the name of 'Dattu Babu'. Within a few months, Mahatma Gandhi who had just returned to India after his early career as a lawyer and fighter for the rights of Indians in South Africa, came

with his associates from there, to spend sometime at Shantiniketan and it was here that Kakasaheb met him for the first time—on 17th February 1915, he remembers distinctly. It was love at first sight on both sides, but Kakasaheb was not prepared to cast his lot with the Mahatma without unburdening his innermost conflicts and making a clean breast of all the contradictions in his own philosophy which were tormenting him throughout his three years of wanderings as a sadhu. While the political philosophy of terrorism had disillusioned him and he was prepared to accept non-violence only as an expedient method, he was not yet ripe for the acceptance of non-violence as the sheet anchor of life's philosophy. Days of long discussions with the Mahatma made Kakasaheb realise that at last he had met his guru, his Master. When Gandhiji returned to Shantiniketan a month later, Kakasaheb informed him that he was ready to join him. With his characteristic courtesy, Gandhiji requested Tagore to 'lend' Kakasaheb's services to him. In later years, Tagore used to twit Gandhiji that Dattu Babu was a loan that Gandhiji had quietly forgotten to repay!

One of "Four Gandhian Philosophers"

From that memorable year in his life, Kakasaheb became an inseparable lieutenant of Gandhiji, the association lasting for 33 years, until Gandhiji's martyrdom in 1948.

On 25th. May 1915, Gandhiji founded his Satyagraha Ashram at Kochrab on the outskirts of Ahmedabad where Kakasaheb soon joined as an inmate, bringing his 5-year old elder son Satish with him. Soon, the Ashram was shifted farther away to Sabarmati where Kakasaheb's wife and their younger son Bal also joined. The late Mahadev Desai and his wife, the late Kishorelal Mashruwala and his wife, and Acharya Vinoba Bhave, also formed part of the menage that was soon to provide guidance to every social, economic and political movement in India. All four were to be known later as the "Four Gandhian Philosophers" who could interpret Gandhian philosophy authoritatively. Like Jawaharlal Nehru who

came to be recognised as the greatest political disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, these four came to be recognised as the philosophical disciples of the Mahatma. Of the four, only Acharya Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Acharya Vinoba Bhave are with us today. Students of Gandhism always look to these two for correct interpretations.

Educationist, Journalist, Literateur

In the Ashram at Sabarmati, Gandhiji installed Kakasaheb as the head of the Ashram school which was to evolve, fifteen years later, the well-known Gandhian scheme of Basic Education. When as a part of the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1920, Gandhiji founded the Gujarat Vidyapith, the National University of Gujarat, Kakasaheb was associated with it, first as a professor and later as Vice-Chancellor for eight years.

During Gandhiji's incarceration between 1922-24, it fell to Kakasaheb to supervise and edit his two weeklies, 'Young India' (in English) and 'Navajivan' (in Gujarati). One of his articles in these weeklies brought him 'the baptism of imprisonment' as he called it, for seditious writings and for "bringing His Majesty's lawful government into contempt"! It was during this period of editorship that Kakasaheb blossomed forth as a writer of Gujarati, surprising the established writers by his mastery over a language that was not his mother-tongue. His vast output in Gujarati has become so popular that no Gujarati home with cultural and literary tastes is without his works. His works are prescribed as text-books, from Matriculation to M.A., in every university in Gujarat and other Indian Universities where Gujarati is taught. His philosophical writings showing his vast erudition, his commentary on the Gita, his essays on culture, his travel-gues and especially his light and playful essays on nature and its grandeur, are extremely popular. "Oatarati Diwalo", the most widely read of his popular books, is supposed to be about his imprisonment, but it deals more with nature than with prison life! In 1960, the Government of Bombay awarded him a prize of Rs. 1000/- for his "Letters to Chandan". (Chandan

was one of his most brilliant pupils who later married his elder son, Satish. After 23 years of happy married life, she died in Washington in 1963.) A linguist of all-India repute, Kakasaheb has carved out for himself a niche in Gujarati, Hindi and Marathi literatures. In these three languages, as also in English, he has written over 50 books. He knows Bengali too and as if this was not enough, studied Kannada during his fifth and longest imprisonment (1942-46) at the time of the Quit India Movement. And of course, he is a Sanskrit scholar of deep learning.

Interpretation of Tagore

Although he has done no writing in Bengali, his knowledge of the language is so intimate that his work, "Ravindra Pratibha" which translates and interprets Tagore's poems has become equally popular in Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi. This book gives the translation of some 39 pieces from Tagore's prose-poetry contained in "Lipika", each translation followed by an extensive "niroopana" (interpretation) twice or three times the length of the original, making the heart of the piece crystal clear. The "niroopana's" themselves often show shades of Tagore inherent in the style of the interpreter. He has also elucidated Tagore's "Gitanjali" in Marathi, in three volumes, and has translated his Bengali novelette, "Malanch" into Marathi. His articles on Tagore in Gujarati were given an award by the Gujarat State Government.

Champion of Hindi

When Mahatma Gandhi shifted his headquarters from Sabarmati to Wardha, Kakasaheb went with him and was entrusted with the task of reforming the Nagari script and popularising Hindi as the national language of India. Since then Kakasaheb has done most of his writing and public-speaking in that language and has been editing the Hindi journal "Mangal Prabhat". As an advocate of the Gandhian idea of giving equal devotion to the study of Hindi and Urdu and evolving a simple style that

would weave a beautiful pattern by employing both, Kakasaheb soon came into disfavour with the stalwart purists of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan who would have no truck with Urdu—except as Urdu—just to propitiate the Muslims; they would not tolerate "a hotch-potch of Hindi and Urdu" even if advocated by such a great personality as Mahatma Gandhi. But for this conflict, Kakasaheb, who is an eminent writer in Hindi, would have graced the President's chair of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, long ago. Indeed, the chaste and classical prose in Hindi that Kakasaheb writes is so totally acceptable and admired by the purists of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan that they often twit him and say: "Kakasaheb, if the style you write is Hindustani (mixture of Hindi and Urdu), we are in complete agreement with you!" No wonder, therefore, that the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti of Wardha, which belongs to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan school of thought, had no hesitation in honouring Kakasaheb by awarding him their Mahatma Gandhi Prize for 1959. Acharya Vinoba Bhave was awarded it the previous year.

"Mint Master"

As a philologist, an expert linguist who knows seven languages, Kakasaheb has given thousands of Indian equivalents for English words. In fact, the critics in Gujarat affectionately call him the 'Mint Master' who has coined thousands of words without bringing in the jaw-breaking etymological acrobatics of some of the fanatics of later years. His 'Vasari' (Vasar-Day) for 'diary' and his 'Abhayaranya' for 'Game Sanctuary' are instances in point.

Passion for Travel

A never-tiring passion for travel has led him to move extensively to all parts of India, several times. Besides this, he has travelled extensively all over the world, giving us on each occasion, an analytical picture of the country visited. His "Impressions of Japan" have already won him a literary prize and his "Our Next Shore

Neighbours" (in English), a book about his visit to East Africa, is about to go into third edition.

Since Independence

As one extremely averse to the hurly-burly of electioneering, Kakasaheb has never sought any elective political office. He came to be an M.P. only when the President, on the advice of the Prime Minister, nominated him to the Rajya Sabha in 1952, as a distinguished man of letters, for a period of six years. At the end of that period the President was pleased to re-nominate him for a further period of six years. He retired from Parliament in April 1964.

The Report of the Backward Classes Commission, of which he was appointed the Chairman, has not found favour with the Government, but Kakasaheb was shackled from the start when, after being appointed the Chairman, he was given no say in the selection of members to serve on the Commission. It would have been a strange spectacle indeed if the Chairman of the Commission had written a Minute of Dissent! Kakasaheb had to remain content with the writing of a Foreward to make his own position clear.

Award of Padma Vibhushan

In the Republic Day Honours List of 1964 the President conferred on Kakasaheb the honour of Padma Vibhushan (which is next only to Bharat Ratna), in recognition of his distinguished services to education and literature for over half a century.

Among the awards of 1964, Kakasaheb's was the highest award. His only comment on the occasion was, "That it was given to me to follow Gandhiji and see India free within my life time, was reward enough; I did not need any other reward, really."

Folding the Wings

In the 79th. year of his life, Kakasaheb still works for 14 hours a day, but is gradually withdrawing from all organizations and institutions "to make room for the younger workers". Over a phased programme that has gone on for the last five years, he has relinquished the presidentship of the All India Basic Education Board, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, the Gandhi Vichar Parishad, and the directorship of the Gandhi Memorial Museum. He wants to devote the closing years of life to the establishment of the 'familyhood' of all religions and emotional integration of all sections of the Indian community.

In the evening of his life, when he looks back at his chequered career, he feels a certain degree of satisfaction that, born and brought up as a Hindu, he has realised the essential unity of all religions and developed respect and reverence for all of them. He is happy that starting from intense nationalism, he has grown into a humanist with equally deep love for all nations, with special concern for the under-developed countries and races. He is fully convinced that inter-communal, inter-racial and international understanding and goodwill can best result from an implicit belief in non-violence and peaceful co-existence.



RAJA BIRBAL

By S. N. QANUNGO

The Age of Akbar makes an attractive gallery of portraits from the life. An illiterate villager may not be familiar with all the 'Nine Jewels' of Akbar's court; but the memory of Raja Birbal is delightfully and warmly alive in his mind. It should occasion no surprise as Birbal is considered the joyous epitome of wit and laughter. Birbal's stories we hear many times and even now they provide much robust enjoyment to their hearers. But Birbal was not merely a light-hearted jester. He was an intellectual with a progressive outlook, a poet of merit, an expert musician, a consummate diplomat, an officer with a sense of responsibility and executive ability, a brave commander and a man with a rare combination of idealism and realism. Above all Birbal was the 'spiritual companion' of Akbar (Akbar-namah, III, p. 732).

Prof. Hodivala traces the name of 'Birba' to 'Birbara' of Vetal Panch-vimsati who offered to sacrifice his life in service of King Vikramaditya. Birbal's real name was different. Prof. Hodivala suggests that Akbar might have conferred this title on him for his faithful services (Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 555). Grierson holds that in his earlier days Birbal was known as Mahesh Das (Literature of Hindustan, p. 34). Badayuni, a contemporary of Birbal, writes his name as Brahma Das (Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II, p. 161). There is also some controversy about the place where Birbal was born. According to Smith he was born at Kalpi in 1528 A.D. It is significant to note that Shivraj Bhushan mentions Trivakrampur in the district of Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh, as the ancestral place of Birbal.

On authentic sources we know little about Birbal's early life. His father Ganga Das was a poor Brahmana of the Bhat or minstrel class. Not having been born in the purple, Birbal had to make his way in life

through adversity. The struggles of his early years compelled him to come into contact with people of various walks of life and made him an acute observer of men and things. Birbal began his career as an ordinary versifier. Raja Ramchandra of Bhatha near Allahabad granted him an audience and received him with favour. He must have attained some frame as we find him after sometime in the court of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber. But it was in the court of Akbar that Birbal came into limelight. Akbar conferred on him the title of Kaviraj and granted him the Jagir of Nagarkot in Punjab. Subsequently he was also given the title of Raja Birbal and the Jagir of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. Chhitsuwami, one of the five notorious Chaube 'Gundas' of Mathura, was the 'Guru' of Birbal (Hari Awadh, 296). Birbal was a poet of no ordinary merit. He was, however, a writer of isolated pads and his poems do not embody any philosophic concept or delicacy of distinction. He wrote on the usual theme of love between Krishna and Radha. His poems were written in Braj dialect under the pen name of Brahman (Hari Awadh, p. 300). The language is characterised by simplicity, colour and romantic sweetness. Birbal was fabulously charitable to poets. Once he rewarded Keshav Das with a present of six lakhs of rupees.

Birbal made a profound mark on Akbar's life. The Emperor was fond of his company as he was an accomplished conversationalist full of ready wit and humour. Though immediately entertaining, Akbar liked Birbal for his essential goodness, generosity, goodwill towards all, devotion to duty, love of justice and uncommon power of observation. According to Badayuni, Birbal was instrumental in initiating the Emperor to the tenets and practices of Hinduism. He persuaded Akbar to adopt the Brahmanical thread and worship the

sun, fire and stars (Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, pp. 203-205; p. 312). Though Badayuni's assertion is unconvincing there is no doubt that Birbal exercised much influence on Akbar.

The note of rancour against Birbal becomes tiresome in Badayuni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh. He refers to Birbal as 'hellish cog' (Vol. II, p. 335) and casts the most disgraceful aspersion on him that he had incest with his own daughter (Ibid., p. 312). We should not lose sight of the important fact that Badayuni was a 'sun-dried Mulla' (Ain, Blochmann, p. 104, N. 2). Birbal was jovial, frank and buoyant in spirit. But if tradition is to be believed he was not a polygamous husband and was never known for his excesses. His private life was marked by a standard of morality that was rare in that age.

Akbar had Birbal constantly near him. According to Abul Fazl, Akbar built a two-domed palace for Birbal standing in the north-west corner of the royal edifices of Fatehpur Sikri (Akarnamah, Vol. III, 397). In January, 1583, Akbar honoured Birbal with a visit to his residence and the latter gave a grand feast to commemorate the event (Ibid., p. 438). On October 8, 1583, the Emperor celebrated **Id-ul-Fitr** by holding a splendid banquet and a polo match. At this match Birbal fell down from his horse and became senseless. Akbar himself went to Birbal and graciously relieved him by his breathings (Akbarnamah, III, 414). Once Akbar saved Birbal from the attack of a ferocious elephant.

Birbal was a consummate diplomat and he could well appreciate the significance of political events. Raja Ramchandra of Elhatha recognised the suzerainty of Akbar as early as in 1563 A.D., but he had not personally attended the court. His son represented that his father would surely attend Akbar's court if a friendly noble were sent to bring him. Accordingly, Birbal and Zain Khan Koka were sent. Birbal's diplomatic mission was successful. Ramchandra personally presented the Emperor many valuable articles and 120 elephants. Akbar confirmed the restoration of Ramchandra's fort and 101 horses (Munt-

akhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, 335; Akbarnamah, III, 426-427; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, 391). It is also said that Akbar imposed a fine of a crore of **dams** on Raja Bir Singh Bundela for the reluctance of the latter's unwedded wife Pravin Rai to appear in his court. According to the tradition the fine was written off at the intercession of Birbal (Sukhdev Bihari Misra, Hindi Sahitya aur Itihasa, p. 182). There is no doubt that Birbal played a significant part in Akbar's diplomatic relations with the Hindu **Rajas**.

Birbal never lacked sense of responsibility and he acquired experience of administration, war and diplomacy. He always acted honestly and diligently. Birbal held the mansabdari of 2000 (Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, p. 446). In 1582 he worked in the Finance department and was put in charge of purchase and sale of certain commodities (Akbarnamah, III, 390). In 1583 he was placed in charge of the administration of justice at the royal court. Later on Birbal was appointed the head of the department of civil justice and Abul Fazl was attached to his office. He was sympathetic to the common people and his justice was tempered with mercy. Once he proposed to Akbar that able and impartial officers be posted at all important places to report the cases of the oppressed (Akbarnamah, III, 380-381). He wanted an understanding between the ruler and the ruled.

In an age immersed in dark superstition, Birbal was surprisingly progressive in his outlook. It is significant that he was the only Hindu member of Din-i-Ilahi. His breadth of vision increased with his association with Akbar. Birbal showed a remarkable intellectual maturity whereas Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and others opposed Akbar's scheme of Din-i-Ilahi.

Birbal was not entirely devoid of military genius. Though he lacked that sort of ability which makes a good commander, Birbal displayed qualities of courage and an adventurous spirit. In 1585, he was sent along with Zain Khan Koka and Hakim Abul Fateh against the turbulent Yusufzais in the hilly tract of Swat and Bajaur. On February 12, 1586, they inflicted a defeat near the Karkar Pass and made thousands

of the enemy prisoners. Zain Khan urged Birbal to stay there as the route was full of hills and defiles. But Birbal did not listen to him. His ambition to create a spectacular effect made him indifferent to prudence. At the top of a narrow pass in a dark night the Afghan tribesmen made a surprise attack and killed 8000 of the Mughal army. Birbal was killed in action and Zain Khan and Abul Fateh managed to escape.

Akbar was disconsolate at the death of Birbal. He did not touch food for two days and nights (Akbarnamah, III, p. 732). According to Badayuni, Akbar never experienced such grief at the death of any *amir* as he did at that of Birbal (Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, 350). Rumours got currency

that Birbal was alive in the guise of a barber. Akbar sent an *Ahadi* (gentleman trooper) to bring him. The Ahadi did not find him at Nagarkot or Kalpi and had an innocent man killed on his way. The officer was punished and Akbar went into a second mourning.

Akbar cherished the loving memory of Birbal and gave vent to the agony of his soul in verse thus :

दीन देखि सब दीन, एक न दिन्हीं दुसह दुख ।

सो अब हम कहँ दीन, कछुक न राख्यो वीरवर ॥

[Having found me always humble, he never inflicted a single unbearable pain. So, now I say as a distressed one, nothing has been left for me by Birbal].

A NOTE ON THE TECHNIQUE OF EVALUATION

BY PROF. T. V. SETHURAMAN,
Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay.

1. TECHNIQUE OF EVALUATION

THE community development programme in India was started in October 1952 and it serves over 3100 development blocks with a coverage of 3,70,000 villages. The total outlay under the first two Plans has been of the order of Rs. 240 crores and the Third Plan provides for a total outlay of Rs. 294 crores. It is fully recognised now that the basic problem of rebuilding rural India rests mainly in the proper organisation of agricultural effort at the village level. It is in this context that the evaluation work of our rural development projects assumes importance since they serve as a guide for future action. Evaluation therefore may be understood as an aid to policy. It may be considered as a branch of research oriented primarily to the needs of an action programme, and is necessary if one wants to feel the pulse of a programme. It may be defined as a process of analysis which throws light on the relative merits and deficiencies of persons, programmes, situations, methods and processes. The apparatus of evaluation to be an aid to policy, should be mounted with a spectrum of techniques.

An attempt is made in this paper to bring to limelight some salient features of the technique and the problems, therefore.

The term itself has been derived from the Latin term "Valeo" which means value. There are various considerations which a good technique of evaluation may be expected to take note of, viz. customs, religious beliefs, authority, personal experience, scientific enquiry etc. Evaluation is only one of the five essential processes which a rural development programme is expected to go through. The other phases are as follows :

- (a) Analysis of the situation, problems and needs.
- (b) Preparation of a programme of plan for action for attaining the set objectives.
- (c) Programme execution and
- (d) Reconsideration of the phases in the light of evaluation. Evaluation as a stage here precedes reconsideration.

The evaluation of a programme has to be taken only in terms of the objectives of the programme and such a process can be undertaken at three different stages. It may be undertaken (a) before the programme is implemented to

establish, a "bench mark," (b) while the programme is in actual operation (may be several times) and (c) after the completion of the programme. The ultimate aim of a rural survey being the evaluation of a rural plan, it is essential that evaluation should be free from personal or policy prejudices. Sometimes evaluation work may be undertaken directly by persons connected with the project. The demerit of such an assessment is that it may be bias ridden. To safeguard against this it becomes necessary that evaluation work should be undertaken by an agency independent of the programme itself.

2. METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA

In general there are two methods of collection of data: (a) The census method and (b) the sample method. The former denotes surveying of all the units in an area as for instance, collection of population statistics every ten years, collection of live-stock statistics every five years etc. It is quite possible that in such cases the cost involved will be greater than that of a sample method; in spite of the higher cost involved in the use of this method, complete enumeration may be recommended in certain cases. In contrast to this the sampling method consists of surveying some selected units only. The success of conducting such experiments has led to the increased use of this method of collecting data. Selection of the sample is a crucial stage under this method and it may be either random sampling method or purposive selection method. Under the former method all the units of the population are enumerated out of which a portion is selected by random methods giving equal chance to each unit. The great advantage under such a method is that one can always be sure of the degree of accuracy with which one is working and this can be obtained by a suitable variation of the number of units selected for study.

The purposive method on the other hand is known as the representative method. The underlying idea in this method is that some particular units are taken on the basis that they will be typical or representative of the whole. The main advantage of this method is that it can be applied practically to every field of research. It is not possible here to draw a comparison between these two methods to find out the relative superiority of one over the other.

Such a thing depends wholly upon the nature of the study undertaken and the object of the survey.

3. MEASURING INTANGIBLE EVIDENCES

Community Development programme and National Extension Service are expected to bring about a silent revolution. How are we to ascertain whether the expected change is taking place or not? How are we to measure such evidences of change? Evidences like increase in population, increase in employment, output on farms and rural industries etc. and (b) intangible evidences like improvement in skill, knowledge, attitude of the people etc. So far, evaluators were giving major consideration to the measurement of tangible evidences only. But it is essential that the importance of intangible benefits also should be properly assessed. But the intangible items cannot be estimated in terms of cost benefit ratios or input output relationships. They should be clearly expressed and if possible related to such quantitative factors as the number of people trained, extent of people's contribution in terms of money, labour etc. Some of the devices which are used to measure intangible benefits are as follows:

(i) Value scale: to determine the value people place on things; as to what people think important etc.,

(ii) Attitude scale: to find out people's feelings towards certain things,—whether they are for or against certain problems,

(iii) Knowledge and comprehension test; to understand whether a person is able to apply the acquired skill or knowledge in a given situation,

(iv) Interest checks: to find out in what problems people are interested—the level of interest being checked by what are termed as paired lists of activities or topics, (v) Skills or performance ratings: to determine the amount of skill attained, (vi) The adoption test: to find out whether a certain recommended practice is being followed or not,* (vii) Case history: undertaken to study the problem of an individual family.

* It may be recalled here that the Programme Evaluation Organisation in India, adopted An Acceptance of Practice Enquiry in 1957 to analyse the following three aspects:

(i) Adoption, reversion, and non adoption of agricultural practices

(ii) The people's participation in community work and

(iii) Membership of village institutions.

These are only some examples and similar techniques can be thought of to suit individual requirements. Since almost all the above mentioned methods are based on personal judgments, it is quite likely that errors in evaluation may creep in. A more practical and reliable method will be to make an assessment by means of surveys, interviews, questionnaires etc.

4. TESTS OF APPLICABILITY

Whatever be the method of technique followed, it is necessary that it should satisfy certain fundamental principles. The following may be listed as the most important among such principles or tests.

(i) *The Principle of Validity*: The data collected should be valid in the sense that it should provide ample evidence to the problem an evaluator has undertaken. The evaluator should pose himself the question "Is it the truth?"

(ii) *The Principle of Reliability*: The tools and techniques used should be such that when the test is applied several times, the results obtained should be the same, without much variation. One specific example is in regard to the selection of the sample. The sample taken should be such that it should be representative and warrant conclusions regarding the universe.

(iii) This principle relates to the fact that the device used should be free from bias. Ultimately this boils down to the fact that the results obtained should not vary much when adopted by different persons.

(iv) *The Principle of Practicability*: This principle for use should be within the realm of possibilities in terms of resources of time and money.

(v) *The Principle of Simplicity*: Simplicity here does not denote brevity. It only means that the technique adopted should be easy to use, readily understood by the respondents and easily capable of tabulation.

5. ERROR IN EVALUATION

Sometimes error or errors may creep in and the magnitude or the degree of error in the assessment of a programme depends upon a number of factors, such as the nature of results measured, quality and type of tools used etc. Also it may depend upon the training given to the evaluator, his experience and judgment. It is impossible to rule out or eliminate altogether the chances of error. Though it may be remarked that a certain degree of error is pardonable, hence justifiable, nevertheless it is not possible to name any figure as "tolerable error" in the evaluation or assessment of a programme.

STUDIES IN MOTHER MONTESSORI'S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

By LEENA NANDI, M.A., B.T.

The purpose of this paper is to consider the nature of exercises of practical life, which Mother Montessori considered irresistible to the children of the age group of two and two years and a half.

The child develops. It is a long-drawn process and a favourable environment has got to be created for the child. Mother Montessori thinks that the exercises of practical life, in course of development of the child, when introduced in the house of

children make the child self-conscious. The practical exercises, as she sees them being done in the household, inspires in the child an impelling force to make some adjustment with the environment and that too in the line of the adults. Naturally the child likes to work and respond to the environmental stimulus in a way akin to the adults. Hence the necessity for the introduction of the exercises of practical life in the house of children arose. When they are so introduced the

child becomes conscious of its environment which is a step towards the consciousness of objects as such. This, in turn, helps the growth and development of self-consciousness in the child. When it becomes aware of itself, naturally it distinguishes itself from the 'other' and this leads to social-consciousness.

This self-consciousness of the child gives it a sense of independence and all exercises of practical life point to this independence. The child does not like to depend on anybody and that is why it takes up all forms of practical exercises on itself. If prevented or deterred in the execution of these exercises the sense of independence in the child suffers awfully. This spells a stop to the development of human life. The need of the environment is a challenge thrown to the child and the child, while accepting such challenges devotes to the exercises of practical life, which in turn, help them to develop into adults. This may be considered to be the direct end to which the exercises of practical life are committed.

The exercises of practical life indirectly help the child to place confidence in its environment. While it could so trust its environment, naturally a sense of security grows and there is a growing belief in the child that there is no conflict between the child and its environment. These practical exercises help the child to develop its muscles and brawns and thus a well-built adult is seen in the offing as a consequence. The exercises of practical life provide scope for the development of the child's intelligence, power of movement and will. These powers were latent in the child when he was born. The 'second environment' as thought of by Mother Montessori, gave ample opportunity for the development of these faculties latent in the child. The child growing psychologically and biologically needs a second environment of its own. It is dissatisfied with its environment in which it is born. It wants to recreate its environment. This inspires creative activity in the child undeterred. So, if exercises of practical life are allowed the child could be master of the situation and thus its intelligence, will and mobility are co-ordinated. This co-ordination in due course helps the child grow and

develop an integrated personality. The foundation stone of a 'future person' is laid there in the child and one is tempted to observe that Metaphysician Bradley's famous ethical exhortation 'Be a person' finds sustenance in Mother Montessori's Philosophy of education.

The independent development of these three powers in the child if allowed, and if there be no co-ordination between them, the resultant effect is the lack of co-ordinated personality. But the introduction of the exercises of practical life in the 'second environment' helps the child to co-ordinate these three faculties. Intelligence, will and movement converge into one and thus co-ordinated, they give better results and in consequence we have the integrated personality of the child. As soon as the child intelligently grasps or understands the nature of the exercises of practical life, its will works. It immediately chooses the activity it intelligently understands and the movement concurrently starts. In short, intelligence urges the will and the will in its turn directs the muscles to act in a particular way. These three powers as explained above are characteristic of man and their co-ordination would lead to the making of a better adult.

The environment of the child becomes pleasant when the child could effect its desired changes in it through intelligent understanding and work. When the child is free and works there to its entire satisfaction, undeterred and unchallenged, naturally it loves its environment. The co-ordinated working of intelligence, will and movement on the part of the child creates a better environment for it. It brushes the shoes and dusts the doorsteps and scrubs the floor. The joy of work is there to enliven the whole situation. We have found children bringing in buckets of sand and pouring them on the well-polished floor in order to find new work for them. This it does being prompted by inner needs. The exercises of practical life moreover make the child conscious of the dignity of labour. When it works from the very childhood, i.e., from 2 to 2½ years, it can never develop any apathy to manual labour in future life. Thus exercises of practical life make the

children conscious of the dignity of labour and help them develop a flair for making their environment clean and pleasant. In future life they could perform the work with pleasant association.

If the child is denied these opportunities for the exercises of practical life, its development suffers. It will get bored and will be a source of constant irritation to others. There will be faculties viz., intelligence, will and power. Suppose will works and intelligence lies dormant, the child would grow obstinate. And if will refuses to work, intelligence will be absolutely helpless. Suppose, the child works without intelligence; in that case we get nothing better than a ship without anybody at the helm. All these states are undesirable. As such the child needs a co-ordination of its faculties through the exercises of practical life.

In this context of the 'house of children' we must define and determine our responsibility. We must remember that the children have their own imagination, will and movement and as such we the adults must respect them. We should not ignore or undermine the value of their needs. It is the adult's sacred duty to help create the proper environment. The adult's responsibility is four-fold:

First, we will have to provide for materials or tools with which the children could do the exercises of practical life i.e., work. The child should be shown as to how it should handle the materials. The adult should wisely select the exercises of practical life to be introduced in the house of children, keeping in view the social environment of respective children. Thus the adult should wisely prepare the environment wherein the child would find materials suitable for its second environment.

The second duty of the adult, as already hinted at above, is to help the child handle the tools and materials provided for by the adult in the house of children. The materials so selected by the adult have both an inner and an outer purpose, the outer purpose being to effect some change in the environment and the inner purpose being the co-ordination of movement. The child should

be helped to have a proper appraisal of both these purposes. The adult must make the child conscious of this inner purpose as well as the outer. The adult, further, should help the child to make right use of the materials so chosen by the adult.

Let us now consider how the adult would prepare the materials for the child to use in the house of children. Size of the material would be proportionate to the physical proportion of the child. Naturally all the materials would be sized in proportion to the children of the prescribed age-group. The child's exercises of practical life would naturally demand the right type of materials to perform a specific piece of work. We are not so much concerned with the result. We care for the performance only for, such performances on the part of the child would help it grow and develop. For example, let the child dust the table although there is no dust on it. The child's development needs this dusting and so let it dust. Another important point to be borne in mind by the adult is to find familiar materials for the child; local conditions, availability of materials in the local market, all these are to be taken into consideration at the time the adult chooses the materials for the child. Moreover, each activity of the child should have independent material to be used; no single material should be used for more than one purpose. We will have to make the child understand the different purposes for which the different materials would be used. These materials would be very simple as simple as possible but it must fulfil the purpose for which it is designed. No material would be introduced whose purpose could not be easily ascertained and the use of mechanical gadgets is discouraged in the house of children. These materials should be attractive in shape and colour as to invite the child to use them. Materials, moreover, must be kept clean. They should be infect, decorative and reflect their real value. They should also have a proper display so that the child could pick and choose. The child must have easy access to the materials. The materials should have a fixed place and rather a permanent sort of place.

The adult's duty is to present the differ-

ent types of activities to the child. The aim of presentation is to make the child derive benefit from the activity by its own performances. Presentation is not demonstration; it is meant to help the child to do the activity all by itself. By presentation the adult makes the child understand the whole performance. We will have to show the child the different parts of the activity by analysing different movements. Thus the child understands what movements it required to undertake for a particular activity. So, analysis of movement is considered to be the most important part of presentation. The child's attention should be drawn to a particular movement by the adult and as such the presentation should be brief. After presentation by the adult, the child would naturally do the work and the child should be encouraged to judge its own work. It should be its own critic.

The adult must give the child freedom to choose the activities and to repeat them until the child is satisfied. Freedom for children means a free choice of materials and a suitable activity. Once the child chooses the activity and the appropriate materials, the adult must see that it is performed. The child must perform the desired activity at least once. Herein we have an element of determination imposed by the adult in the 'house of children' where freedom for the child reigns supreme. This element as introduced by Mother Montessori reminds us of Swami Vivekananda's idea regarding the role of teachers as moral guides who at times introduce an element of compulsion in the child's realm of education. Thus she came very close to Swami Vivekananda in the formulation of this part of her celebrated theory. But one feels constrained to observe that Mother Montes-

sori's concept of the activities of practical life as applied to the house of children smacks of anachronism. She might be accused of committing naturalistic fallacy as well. Mother Montessori gave a new name to the age-old play theory. The child ignorant of the special significance of the exercises of practical life, may be taken as merely toying with the activities of the adults. The child's imagination gets into the old rut of imitation when it works on the observed behaviour patterns of the elders. We know that imitation is initially handicapping in matters of character-building and initiating healthy tendencies in children. So introduction of the exercises of practical life in Mother Montessori's 'house of children' should not be taken very seriously. Her over-emphasis on the trimming of these activities by the 'adult' will not be very helpful for the taught as we all know that children resent interference. If interference is introduced even while they play (in the words of Mother Montessori, when they do the exercises of practical life), that will not help the growth of a rounded personality in the child. We will do well to remember what Avanindranath Tagore observed although in a different context. He distinguished between 'Lila' and 'Khela' and said that 'Lila' had to be preferred, for it suggested no element of purposiveness and compulsion. Mother Montessori's scheme of helping the children in the performance of the exercises of practical life certainly entails an element of determination, which on all accounts is repugnant to the concept of a free and liberal education for children.*

* Read at the Chandigarh session of the Indian Philosophical Congress in December, 1963.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE RADHANAGARI

By Prof. PRAFULLA C. SARKAR

I have never seen any specimen of muslin, that all-silencing marvel which flourished in Bengal during the pre-British era. But if any one asks me which single work of our ancestors in India fascinates me most I shall forget all the finest works of our poets and painters, of our saints and philosophers and shall unhesitatingly name muslin. Yet economists or historians of this century have remained poles apart while interpreting the coming and the going of the finest ever-known cotton fabric. The main reason why this is so is that our ancestors cared little to write history or contemporary records or wrote few novels in the matter-of-fact contemporary setting. But the still more regrettable reason is that the few economic historians whom we found in our midst during this century, have not all given adequate care to the selection of the right kind of method in establishing the truth. Added to this was the unrestricted temptation of the scholar to explain any phenomenon anywhere in the vast country in terms of the situation that prevailed in the scholar's own district or province. If, over and above, the scholar works for a research degree in a university where authorities might not relish the bare truth, any undertaking to undress the same is likely to remain uninspired.

Thus writing about the state of muslin during the first half of the nineteenth century one eminent Indian economist arrived at a startling conclusion. Muslin, he says, "was an industry which depended entirely on the existence of a court, rich and luxurious." This discovery of the eminent Indian scholar explained why he felt it not necessary even to make a passing reference to the well-known exposition of Ramesh Chandra Dutt.

Even a casual reading of the economic history of a few European countries will impress the most unhistorically-minded that if two commodities were imported in the remotest village muslin come next to salt.

This was so because the ladies of the houses of noble men or their like could not afford to do without the muslin. Numerous English, French and Russian novels can be cited to show how all fashionable ladies of the west yearned for the Indian muslin which as a veil of the face completed the most discreet dress of the European woman during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

If the Englishman in India remained even indifferent to the muslin, mankind would not have been denied this invaluable gift which was perfected in India through centuries and we in Bengal a pride while travelling abroad of hailing from a land that manufactured muslin. In his anxiety to instal Manchester he pursued savage policies to push the muslin out of existence. Little did he realise that muslin and Manchester could ultimately co-exist.

The case of the muslin is lost for ever and can not be re-opened. In what follows some attention is focussed on a very ordinary craft now heading towards extinction. Yet this extinction can be prevented.

Another conclusion of the learned Indian economist whose view on muslin I criticize above is: "Indeed, except in the artistic wares—which were produced in the towns—there was no localization of industry in India" during the first half of the nineteenth century. In a foot-note, however, he provided for "a slight exception" in case of weaving for some centres which were famous in surrounding tracts for their specialized products. This over-simplification of the state of rural industry in India does not apply to riverine Bengal. Craftsmen sold their merchandise far beyond the surrounding areas even in case of weaving.

This fact came to my notice when I was travelling on my own in a group of villages near the birth-place of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar to watch the impact of development plans on the village economies. Weaving was firmly localised during the early

nineteenth century in a cluster of villages under the leadership of Radhanagar and the output of the weavers sold far and away. This was made possible because these villages are located on the bank of the Shilai which is connected with the Ganga through the Rupanarayana.

Radhanagar as it stands now is nearly destitute of weavers. But a history of more than a hundred years ago verbally handed down from one generation to the next is fondly preserved by the existing generation of the village population. There was not a single family which did not take to weaving. Weavers worked round the clock and even at the dead of night shuttles sounded and resounded in every house without rest rendering the sleep of the visitors impossible. This industrial noise must have been the reason why the mahajans who financed weaving in this group of villages made sure that weavers lived separately and away from them. There were, therefore, three plausible causes of localisation of weaving in Radhanagar namely, the presence of a band of efficient weavers, mahajans' anxiety to keep them all together and a very good river transport facility to market all the output produced.

The extent of the market Radhanagar served and its sources of raw materials in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries cannot be precisely determined without a thorough scrutiny. What can be said with certainty is that products of Radhanagar reached far beyond the boundaries of the Midnapore district during the first half of the nineteenth century. The famines of the sixties and seventies of the last century forced the weavers to leave the village in search of food. The new factory industry in India gradually restricted Radhanagar's market and the capitalists refused to reduce their extractions. The remaining weavers

were impoverished. The last band of weavers could not even marry and thus Radhanagar was cleared of its weavers.

After the weavers' evacuation of Radhanagar, weaving continued in other villages of the Radhanagar group. It is not clear when the Sari made in the Radhanagar group of villages made its incursion into the Gujarat market. It is probable that the establishment of railways between Bengal and Gujarat facilitated the process. But for many decades the weavers of these villages of the Ghatal Sub-Division of the Midnapore district produced solely to cater to the needs of Gujarati women. The available evidence suggests that the Radhanagar Sari sold in Gujarat even in the early part of the railway era. If, therefore, the Radhanagari did not reach the hands of Gujarati customers before the coming of the railways it is difficult to rule out the possibility that it went at least half the way using any water-route.

The Radhanagari Sari is still produced, and still sold in Gujarat. But its importance has declined. If the Bengali customer outside Radhanagar has remained unaware of the Radhanagari the reason is that it has been throughout made to suit the local costume style of Gujarati women and could not be sold to Bengalis.

There are principally two reasons for the recent decline of the Radhanagari. In the first place, some other states have developed a fine system of hand-loom products and now offer strong competition to the Radhanagari. Secondly, the mahajana system of, or influence on, financing, purchasing and marketing has proved outmoded. The muslin in India was destroyed by the British. The Radhanagari is approaching a similar fate because of our inability to evolve a right kind of policy towards it.

ART AND ARTIST IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY PROF. C. V. RAMACHANDRA RAO, M.A.
Lecturer in History, V. R. College, Nellore.

THE gods, the ancient gods, I mean, are dead everywhere else on the face of this earth, except in the land of the Hindus. They died in Greece; they died in Egypt; they died in Sumer, Babylon, Mesopotamia, Assyria and Persia; and recently they died behind the Bamboo Curtain in China. In all these places, they fell from their Olympian heights, or were driven out of their magnificent temple-palaces, to become finally museum-pieces. They no more strike awe, or engender love or devotion in the hearts of men. Nowhere else except in India, the land of the Hindus, are they loved, revered and worshipped at this date. For the past five thousand years, since the days of the Indus Valley Civilisation, they have inspired and still continue to inspire, the mythology, the philosophy, the religion, the poetry, the songs and the very ideals and aspirations of life in this vast subcontinent of India. Above everything else, they inspired a great art, one of the greatest in the world. As Munshi puts it, 'viewed in continuous time and in concrete terms, Indian sculpture is the saga of Shiva and Shakti (Saga of Indian Sculpture by K. M. Munshi—P. 41; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan; Bombay, 1957). Of all the ancient civilisations, the civilisation of the Hindus only is seen today in flesh and blood, with an unbroken life of nearly five thousand years behind it.

2

We, the moderns, have learned to assess the greatness of a civilisation by the measure of its artistic products; certainly, no other aspect of civilisation than its arts, is capable of revealing so certainly, so profoundly, so intimately and so immediately the soul of a race. A Saranath Buddha or a Phidian Zeus will more immediately convey to us the meaning of Buddhism or the spirit of the Greeks than the three Baskets of Buddhist literature (The Buddhist Pali Canon consists of

three sections called 'Pitakas' or baskets), or a thousand pages of Homer. The Kailas temple at Ellora or the Parthenon on the Acropolis will more intimately inform us the magnificence of the Hindus or the greatness of the Greeks, than the erudite mouthings of a thousand scholars. Art is the surest feeler to know the heart-beats of a race.

3

As with all ancient peoples, so with the Indians, art was intimately connected with religion. In India, art was the handmaiden of religion. It was religious; but not other-worldly, as the European art of the middle ages was. That it was not other-worldly can be seen from the fact that all Indian sculpture, Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina alike, had made full use of the nude or scantily dressed female form as a decorative motif. At the same time it was not secular in the sense that its aim was not mere aesthetic pleasure. The idea, 'Art for art's sake' was something which the ancient Indian artist did not conceive of; for, art in India always served some social or religious purpose, and was not meant to reflect the personal idiosyncrasies of the artist. The genius of the artist was measured by the extent to which he could successfully convert these socio-religious experiences of the people as a whole into artistic terms. Such innovations as occur in Indian art from time to time in the course of its history, reflect the changes brought in the socio-religious experience of the race and not the genius of the artist. And, innovations constantly occur in Indian art, without the conscious effort of the artist. For, in India tradition is a living thing. The artist could project his personality only in the way of rendering a theme; the theme belonged to the whole race; even then, he remained anonymous for he conveyed a message which transcended him and where

personal identity was a matter of little importance. Thus Indian art for the most part is anonymous. We are familiar with the names of famous Greek artists like, 'Mīran,' 'Phidias,' and 'Praxiteles,' but the names of the creators of the Saranath Buddha, the Elephanta Mahesa or the Kailasanath temple are not known to us. As Coomaraswamy has very aptly put it, "The names and peculiarities of individual artists, even if we could recover them would not enlighten us: nothing depends upon genius or requires the knowledge of an individual psychology for its interpretation. To understand at all, we must understand experiences common to all men of the time and in which a given work was produced." (Introduction to Indian Art; P. vi; Theosophical Publishing House, Madras, 1923). Here we are afforded a parallel in the art of Europe. We do not know the names of the architects of St. Sophia at Constantinople, and of the lovely Byzantine Churches of the sixth century. We do not know the names of the builders of the churches and the cathedrals of the middle ages, and of those artists who set the mosaics at Ravenna.

At the same time, the themes of Indian art were so all embracing of world and life, that they gave scope for the artist to express himself in a thousand and one ways. Only he should have the ability to render, and he need not feel stifled for want of choice of a subject, an idea or an emotion or a feeling. There is hardly any emotion, feeling, idea or subject in the realms of the mind, matter or spirit that Indian art had not portrayed. It has portrayed the highest philosophical realisations of God and Truth as efficiently as the commonest joys and sorrows of man. No other art of the world has succeeded so well in rendering into plastic expression the highest philosophical concepts—of Truth, of God or Realisation,—as the art of India. But this did not prevent the Indian artists from depicting such scenes of life, which the modern censors of morals would assign for nothing less than a holocaust—scenes of graceful men and women 'in coitu,' and that in all conceivable poses. In India, either in life, literature or art, nothing was taboo.

4

In India art was never conceived apart from life. It was never something to be viewed in museum galleries on week-end days. It was a part

of the daily life of the people, supposed to inspire and guide them in their day to day activities of life. Even to-day one cannot fully know of Indian art, by a visit to the museums. The museums preserve only that part of it, which became the victim of the ravages of time and iconoclasm. To know Indian art in all its living glory, one has to go to the temple, where men and women gather for their daily worship. In India, temples are the treasure-houses of the arts. They are the abodes of living gods. A temple is not the fortress of a priest or the monastery of an ascetic. It is the physical core as well as the soul of the community. It is meant to be visited by every man and woman, every boy and girl, as often as possible, or at least once in a day. It is meant to instruct man in the greatness of his race and elevate his soul in the pursuit of Good. Every temple in India is a definite architectural piece. It is full of exquisite sculptures or paintings that depict scenes from the story of the race. They are meant to instruct man in the duties of this world, just as in the presence of the image of God in the sanctum sanctorum, he is to forget everything in the contemplation of the Supreme. Thus art in India is, "the statement of a racial experience, and serves the purposes of life, like daily bread." (ibid., p. v.).

Thus in India, the artist was constantly under the public gaze, and his creations always subject to its criticism. Not that the people were trained to be connoisseurs of art; but, in so far as they expected the artist to satisfy their cravings for beauty and their spiritual yearnings, latent in all men, they became the best judges of art, and put the artist under exacting standards. A modern artist can afford to be irresponsible; he may dab some colour on a canvas, bend a wire into half a dozen twists, make a few indentures on a stone or a marble, and say that he has portrayed a weeping woman or a dancing girl (probably he giggled behind your back). If a man fails to see there a weeping woman or a dancing girl, it is his fault, or lack of vision; for the artist will say his art is cubist, and if the figure is far more unintelligible, surrealist. But the ancient artist had no such advantages (!) or excuses, we may say; he had to make himself completely understood, and at the same time was expected to instruct and elevate. This he could not achieve without undergoing a discipline.

5

Unlike the artist in the West, the Indian artist, when he shaped gods or men, had no models before him. The artist in the West, the Greek artist, made gods in the image of men; the Indian artist made them in his own mental image. Even his men were idealised and generalised types and had no physical likenesses. To conceive gods in the mental plane, and to render them into plastic terms in all their divinity, is a stupendous task that could be achieved only after a long and arduous mental and physical discipline. This the Indian artist did undergo. He generally belonged to a guild of craftsmen. He put himself to apprentice under a master for a long number of years, and perfected himself in the ins and outs of his craft. Besides he had to study many other subjects, such as mythology, geometry, and philosophy which had a bearing on his craft. Thereafter, he was left to his own inner resources, for the delineation of gods or men. To draw out on these inner resources, he had to develop powers of concentration and self-control by way of meditation. The Samarangana Sutradhara, an ancient authority on art regards the following as the indispensable qualities, which a good artist should acquire: (1) powers of intuitive contemplation or meditation (*prajna*), (2) powers of careful observation, (3) technical skill of the hand through long practice, (4) learning particularly the science of metre or balance, (5) anatomy of men and animals, both in movement and at rest, and under the influence of diverse passions, (6) ready intelligence (*pratyutpanna matitva*) and (7) self-control and character.

Of course, the Indian artist was not left completely in the lurch. Very early in the course of the history of art, laws were framed to guide the artist. In the delineation of men or gods, the artist was helped by these laws, which are found in a number of iconographical and canonical texts. These texts give a detailed account of the attributes and identification marks (*lakshanas* and *lanchhanas*) of each major god and all the important minor gods. They also help him with ideal mathematical proportions of the different parts of the body. This proportion or measure is known as '*tala*.' The Indian artist used the measurement of the hand as the standard measure. The proportion that each particular limb, the hands, the feet, the fingers, the ears,

the nose, bore to the standard length of the head is given in detail in the "*Vishnudharmottara purana*." How this ratio should change with the movements and the different postures of the body is described in detail in the '*Chitrastotra*'. There are various other texts which discuss these points at length. But the artist is never expected to rigidly conform to these rules. He is always free to make such changes as are necessary to impart the utmost beauty and grace to his creations.

6

In India, the art of painting and sculpture was closely related to the art of dancing. The Indians developed a complete language of art in their treatises on dance, such as Bharata's '*Natya Sastra*', Nandikesvara's '*Abhinayadarpana*' etc. These texts recount at length various kinds of glances to suggest different expressions of the mind. They also describe various gestures of the body, postures of the hands, the position of the fingers and the inclinations of the hands and the feet to coincide with various moods of the mind: and it is possible by an assemblage of these different glances, gestures, poses and postures, to give an outward expression to the inner feelings of man. Indian painting and sculpture have made plentiful use of this language of dance. In fact, Indian sculpture, and painting also, very often depict scenes from dancing. (It is common knowledge, that in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, all the dance poses expounded by Bharata are sculpturally represented). Even otherwise, these arts make use of the language of dance, to give expression to particular moods of the mind in the depiction of gods and men.

Of all this symbolic language of dance, Indian sculpture, as well as painting, has made the most use of the gestures of hand and fingers, otherwise called '*mudras*.' The artists were conversant with the various forms of these gestures, and they were also familiar with their meaning and significance. Generally the facial gesture, and the gesture of the body were just made to synchronise with the gestures of the fingers, which blossomed out of the body like little flowers. Each of these gestures of the fingers is associated with a particular mental attitude and invite comparison with the expression of the face, eyes and the general posture of the body, with which it stands in close relationship. Therefore, a knowledge of a few of these important gestures will equip the student with a better appreciation of the nuances of Indian art.

KHADI—THE LAST OPPORTUNITY

By SURESH RAM,
Editor *Bhoodan Yajna*

"Browning has said :

'I have ever been a fighter,
So one fight more,
The last and the best.'

Likewise, I think that *Khadi* has to make its final effort, 'the last and the best.' Thereafter *Khadi* would either be crowned as a king or disappear. It cannot survive in any third capacity."—Vinoba.

Khadi is now completing about four decades and a half of its existence. It was meant to serve three purposes: (i) as a relief to the poor, (ii) as a means of making our economy self-reliant and strong, and (iii) as a symbol of the power of non-violence. *Khadi* has made wonderful progress during these forty-five years, first as a livery of the freedom struggle, and then as a support of the rural folk. The Government of India set up the *Khadi & Village Industries Board* in 1952 and the *Khadi & Village Industries Commission* in 1957. Also it has been offering a rebate of twenty per cent on *Khadi* sales. Beginning from absolute zero. *Khadi* production reached 70,05,473 sq. yds. (worth Rs. 1,11,95,131) in 1946-47 and 896,12,000 sq. yds. (worth Rs. 21,21,56,000) in 1962-63. *Khadi* work is spread over about one lakh villages, giving employment to about eighteen lakhs of people. There is no other industry in India. State-run or otherwise, which supports so many people with so little capital.

But it cannot be gainsaid that the prestige of *Khadi* has not grown with its production. It has even lost its former moral command in society. Nor has it been accepted by the village people in their life. True that the helpless lady-spinner plies the wheel, yet she always uses the mill-product as her wear. As regards *Khadi's* role in generating the power of non-violence after Swaraj, the less said the better. In short, *Khadi* production has been going up with a simultaneous decline in *Khadi* spirit. Unfortunately, for some time past, the amount of stock has been piling up in *Khadi* shops for want of buyers, Government rebate notwithstanding.

How long can this process continue? If *Khadi* sales cannot be pushed up even with Government aid how will *Khadi* face the future? Were *Khadi* to remain a fad of a few, how will it fulfil its claim of non-violence? We had no answer to these riddles. Time and again, one sentence of Gandhiji, uttered in September 1944,

on his return from the Aga Khan jail flashed across the mind :

"Spin, spin intelligently ; those who spin should wear *khaddar* and those who wear must spin."

But there was no solution. However, Vinobaji, who has identified himself with the *Khadi* movement from its very inception, came forward with a suggestion. Addressing a gathering of *Khadi* workers at Nabadwipdham (West Bengal) in February 1963, he said :

"Thinking about *Khadi* it occurred to my mind that we must get twelve yards of *Khadi* woven free every year for every man, woman and child of the country. . . . In consultation with friends I have dropped this twelve-yard proposal and am now in favour of total free weaving."

This idea was accepted by the *Khadi & Village Industries Commission*. The Government also gave its approval. And at Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's instance, it was decided to incorporate it into practice from April 6, 1964. Vinoba inaugurated the new campaign at Sewagram last month.

Khadi now enters a new stage. There will be no rebate on sales, but the Government will be granting subsidy for weaving. Thus the urban customer will not have to suffer. Here are the details about a metre of shirting :

	During the rebate period	In the new system
Price of cotton	0-34	0-34
Carding charges	0-10	0-10
Spinning charges	0-41	0-41
Weaving charges	0-28	0-00
Transport	0-03	0-03
Establishment	0-23	0-23
Total :	1-39	1-11
Less Rebate :	0-28	0-00
Net price :	1-11	1-11

This is only one aspect of the scheme. What is more important is that it is likely to produce a tremendous influence in the countryside. As a glance at the above table will show, the same cloth will cost Rs. 0-44 a metre for the self-spinner, Rs. 0-34 a metre for the self carder-cum-spinner, and almost nothing for those self-spinners who produce their own cotton. In other

words, as those who grow grain get their own food, those who grow cotton will now get their own cloth free of cost. It is well-known that clothing forms the heaviest item of expenditure in our rural households and makes their fortune fluctuate with the vicissitudes of the market. Under the new arrangement, everybody who it prepared to spin will obtain his cloth almost at the price of cotton. It will also enable our villages to stand on their own feet and grow according to their genius. The vast masses of India will now be able to feel the thrill of Swaraj.

But it is not an easy task. Here comes the responsibility of the Khadi or Sarvodaya workers. They have to reach every village, convey the new message of Khadi to every home, and persuade the people to grow cotton and spin. Selling Khadi

on the city-counter or purchasing yarn at the village-centre has been the main pre-occupation of the Khadi worker, essentially a mechanical job, having little to do with the propagation of non-violence or village self-reliance. In fact, ever since the advent of Swaraj, Khadi has been maintaining the worker. Now the role has to be reversed and the worker has to show what he can do and how far he can suffer to maintain Khadi. He is to serve both as an educationist and propagandist in the best sense of the term. He has to come out of his old mental grooves and institutional ruts and give a real fight. This is why Vinoba calls it 'the last and the best' battle for Khadi—for Khadi of Gandhiji's dreams.

Will Khadi or Sarvodaya workers meet the new challenge?

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati :

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Candevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

CHANDERNAGOR ET DUPLÉIX (in French) By Prof. K. C. Kormocar of Chandernagore College and Post Graduate Department in French, University of Calcutta, Published by Science News, 62/6, Beadon Street, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 8/-.

Professor Kormocar had the honour of getting the India Government Foreign Language Scholarship (French) in the year 1955-56 and he thus visited France and the rich collections of books and manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale and other Archives of France. So he managed to bring back to India some rare documents, e.g., Augustin Aussaint's French-Bengali Dictionary compiled in the Fort William New Jail in 1781, long before the vernacular studies of William Carey and other scholars of the British

Baptist Mission. Professor Kormocar also made the first publication from Chandernagore of a documentary study on the historic Governor Joseph-Francois Dupléix (1697-1763) whose portrait has been excellently drawn by his student, Sri Hari Narayan Das, a local artist, which forms an admirable woodblock frontispiece of Dupléix whose death bi-centenary was worthily celebrated by this book under review. It contains from page 7 to page 117 original French records on the socio-economic conditions of Bengal and the French East India Company, rarely remembered by Indian or British scholars treating the history of the British East India Company which led to the foundation of the British Empire in India. To help the general readers, a complete bibliography of the French books and documents together with

an alphabetical index and rare maps of the Fort of Orleans and other historical sites of Chandernagore have also been given. This valuable documentary study of Prof. Kormocar has fittingly drawn the admiration of His Excellency the Ambassador of France, Jean-Paul Garnier, who writes among other things: "Having had knowledge of your previous studies on the relations between Europe and India and on Anquetil Duperron, I can appreciate the solidity of your information and your qualities as a historian."

We hope that Prof. Kormocar will continue to edit and publish other books and documents demonstrating the close cultural collaboration between India and France. We recommend the book to all libraries of colleges and universities of India.

Kalidas Nag

DEVELOPMENT OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN INDIA: By Dr. Surama Dasgupta. Orient Longmans. Price Rupees Twenty-five only. pp. 226+XVI.

Study of morals in its growth and development is interesting and at times fascinating; specially more so when it is traced against a background of thousand of years. We have an old history and this history is replete with the formulation and description of lofty ideas for which people lived and died for scores of centuries. Like all other civilized races of the past, we lived in well-defined societies where Varnasrama ruled and accommodated many contrary inclinations, natural to man. In order to be moral, men must live in a society. Man is not a moral Melchizedek. He must live, move and have his being in society. So the study of morals has a necessary reference to sociological aspects of man's existence. Naturally, the study of morals becomes complicated as it can not be divorced from sociological references. Again, morals have a reference to man's religious life. God is considered by some to be a postulate of moral judgment. If any ideal is taken to be the goal of moral life and if the ideal is a big one, certainly it will

need many lives for the realisation of this ideal. An individual can not possibly realise this ideal in the span of one life. Hence postulation of a series of lives and immortality was considered essential for a healthy moral life.

Psychologically speaking, moral life must take cognisance of the true character of voluntary actions, which form the pivot of moral evaluation. Analysis of the voluntary act and an analysis of the situation in which the individual acts are equally essential for a proper evaluation of the act. Reference to the situation in which the individual acts is necessary as it determines the amount of freedom the individual enjoys while performing the act in question. Freedom is a very important presupposition. The concept of Adrista is intimately connected with the idea of freedom in the context of moral evaluation and this adrista has a necessary reference to Karma-vada or the theory of karma. The role of the fruits of antenatal acts is very important in so far as it determines the station and the lineage of the individual.

All these problems have been discussed thread-bare with specific reference to the texts of ancient Indian philosophy. The Vedas, the Upanisads, the six systems of Indian philosophy, the Gita and the Pancaratna and the Smritis have been referred to again and again and we find in the Book under review a detailed discussion of relevant problems as have been taken up by the orthodox and non-orthodox schools of Indian philosophy in their recognised texts, and bhāṣyas.

The author is a reputed scholar and it will be enough to say that she has lived upto the reputation she so steadily built up in course of the last decade, by her scholarship displayed in the work under review.

The Orient Longmans, her publishers, deserve a word of praise for the neat production.

(Dr.) S. K. Nandi

Indian Periodicals

An Act of God in Lok Sabha

Writing editorially under the above Caption what **The Commerce** has to say on amendments of the Indian Constitution will, we feel, find popular endorsement :

It is encouraging to find that the callous manner in which the Congress Party, under the leadership of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, has been amending the Constitution, as if it were a piece of ordinary law, has met with successful opposition this week, forcing the Government to restrain its hands. Most of the amendments to the Constitution have been made to nullify the decisions of the Supreme Court and High Courts holding several laws passed by Parliament and State legislatures **ultra vires** the Constitution. This has given rise to the impression that the Government has been subverting the highest tribunal in the country and treating the sacred Constitution as a mere scrap of paper. The seventeenth and eighteenth amendments to the Constitution mooted at an interval of less than a year are the latest actions of the Government that have brought, deservingly, of course, much discredit to it. Both have now been thrown out, though in different ways. Both represented a slap, as it were, to the judiciary and contempt for the Constitution. The seventeenth amendment, introduced in May last year, sought to legalise scores of expropriatory land laws enacted by State legislatures, laws that had failed to stand the test at High Courts and the Supreme Court when challenged by the aggrieved owners of land.

Even as this amendment was on the anvil, the Government brought in the eighteenth amendment late last week (on 24th April), with the object of obtaining immunity for itself against any claims for damages for detentions under the Defence of India Rules. Following a recent decision of the Supreme Court in regard to the fundamental rights conferred by Part III of

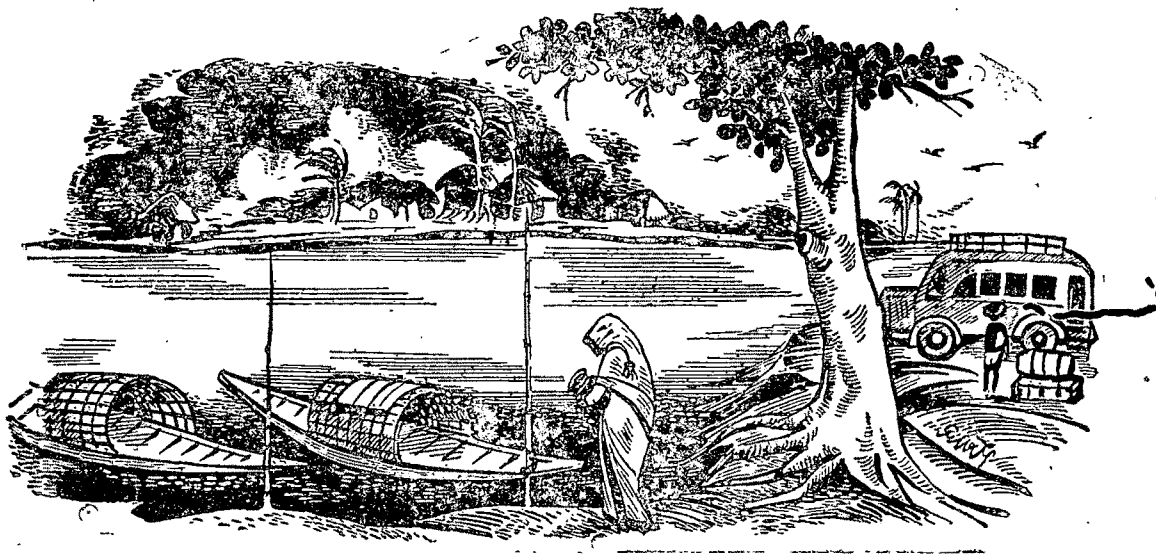
the Constitution, the Government found that it might be confronted with a large number of claims for wrongful detention, etc., once the emergency came to an end. The Government wanted to cover its position by amending Article 359 (which empowers the President to make an order suspending the right to move any court for the enforcement of rights conferred by Part III when a proclamation of emergency is in operation) with retrospective effect. The Government's contention is that, "when remedies are barred during an emergency, the rights for the exercise of which the remedies are barred must also be deemed to be suspended." This amendment is, in fact, less dangerous than its predecessor, for the worst sufferers of the proposed abridgement of the freedoms conferred by Part III will be the Communists and the extreme socialists. Yet all Opposition parties joined hand and severely protested against it, and staged a walk out when the Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha, with the help of the votes of the majority party. But some of the top Congress leaders themselves were opposed to this move and, when there was a serious threat of opposition from the members of the ruling party itself, better counsel prevailed with the Government and a decision was taken to withdraw the amendment Bill. Apparently even Congressmen thought that the removal of protection in question (given by Part III of the Constitution) might one day recoil on themselves. But what is significant about this episode is that it is a reflection, though a faint one, of the growing aversion to any further watering down of the rights guaranteed to individuals in the Constitution. The people are undoubtedly getting tired of the Congress Party's frequent attempts to tamper with the Constitution and circumvent the inconvenient decisions of the Supreme Court.

While the eighteenth amendment was

withdrawn after deliberation and in recognition of the old adage that "discretion is the better part of valour," the seventeenth amendment failed just before its adoption through an accident. But this accident looks like an act of God, for an accident of this nature seldom happens. Incidentally, a similar one had occurred nine long years ago when the seventh amendment to the Constitution pertaining to reorganisation of States (on linguistic lines) was under consideration. Every one who had reasoned against the seventeenth amendment had given up hope, as it was certain that the Congress Party, with its large majority and the support of Communists and extreme Socialists, would get the Bill through. The time for voting, however, came when the attendance in the House was thin, with a large number of Congressmen otherwise busy in the lobbies. The electric bell, intended to alert the members on voting, failed to ring. The automatic device for recording of votes also failed to function and had to be abandoned in favour

of voting by ballot. The result was that 206 votes were for and 19 against the amendment, but the majority was insufficient by 50 votes to fulfil the first condition for amending the Constitution—namely, a simple majority of the total (510) membership of the House—though it was sufficient to satisfy the second condition, namely, a majority of two-thirds of the members of the House present and voting. Accordingly, the Speaker declared that the motion was not carried. Why did the bell and the mechanical contrivance refuse to function? It is, of course, purely sentimental to say that Providence willed it that way. But it is quite a popular sentiment in this country.

The technical, and purely accidental, defeat is however, unlikely to deter the Government from reintroducing the Bill after a time. Although quite a few members of the Congress Party itself are critical of the measure, they do not have that courage of conviction to vote against their party. The Communists and Socialists are all for it.



Foreign Periodicals

A Rendezvous with Pegasus

The following story about the last exploit of the little known Italian poet Lauro de Bosis published in the **Saturday Review** should be of unusual interest to our readers:

History has a distressing way of upgrading mediocrities while downgrading truly brilliant and significant personalities.

Thus Mata Hari, a slim talent at best, won fame because she happened to get caught in the glare of the headlights when World War I came thundering along. Yet the supremely gifted and heroic Italian poet Lauro de Bosis is today unsung, largely because his remarkable exploits took place off-camera and out of season, so to speak, and caught the journalists and the historians looking the other way.

Lauro de Bosis was an adornment of the Italian literary scene in the Twenties. The son of a prominent poet, Adolfo de Bosis, and of a New England-bred American mother, he was reared in the best traditions of the Risorgimento and U.S.-style democracy.

While still in his twenties, he had already lectured at Harvard on Italian literature, translated Frazer's **Golden Bough** into Italian, compiled an anthology of Italian poetry, and written a verse-play, **Icaro**. The play was based on a theme that had long absorbed de Bosis, the Greek legend of Icarus, who flew so close to the sun that his man-made wings of wax and feathers melted, plunging him into the sea.

In 1930 de Bosis and his circle, appalled by Mussolini's ham-handed police-state tactics, founded the National Alliance, an anti-Fascist, anti-Communist group that circulated newsletters and petitions calling for a return to Italy's traditional freedoms.

Their activities soon caused anti-Black-shirt rumbles on a wide front, and in the summer of 1931 Mussolini's police seized de

Bosis's mother and imprisoned and tortured his associates. Fortunately, the young poet was in France on a visit, and escaped arrest.

Since return meant imprisonment and probably death, de Bosis stayed on in Paris, supporting himself by doing menial work in a hotel that in happier days had been the scene of his many romantic escapades.

Oppressed by shame at being free while his mother and friends were in prison, he now made a fateful decision. Since the Blackshirt regime was vulnerable to blunt truths, he would buy a plane, learn to pilot it, then fly it over Rome, dropping anti-Mussolini leaflets on the evening crowds in the streets.

Putting aside money from his porter's pay, he took flying lessons, bought a shaky old plane, packed it with 400,000 leaflets, and by mid-October, 1931, was ready to take off for Rome. In the words of **Icaro**, "Behold him: he seizes the wings with his strong hands. He prepares for flight and compels his fate."

De Bosis had, of course, no illusions about what that fate would be. "My aeroplane," he wrote, "only flies at 150 kilometres an hour, whereas those of Mussolini can do 300. There are 900 of them and they have all received the order to bring down . . . with machine-gun fire, any suspicious aeroplane . . . they are there waiting for me. So much the better; I shall be wroth more dead than alive."

But before taking off, he had one more chore to complete. He wrote and mailed off to a close friend a remarkable document, "The Story of My Death," which was to be his newspaper obituary if he did not return.

"Tomorrow at three o'clock," the obituary began, ". . . I have a rendezvous with Pegasus . . . my aeroplane. It has a russet body and white wings; and though it is as strong as eighty horses, it is as slim as a swallow. Drunk with petrol, it leaps through the sky like its brother of old . . .

we are not going in search of chimeras, but to bear a message of liberty across the sea to a people that is in chains."

Taking off on October 13, 1931, from an airport outside Marseilles, de Bosis crossed the Tyrrhenian Sea at 20,000 feet, then came in low over Rome in the early evening.

Soon after he began his run, dropping a snowstorm of leaflets on the astonished citizenry, swarms of pursuit ships dived on him, but were unable to fire because of the crowds. Unperturbed, de Bosis dropped his plane below roof-level, and snaked in and out of Rome's avenues, showering down not only leaflets but books attacking Fascism. ("As one throws bread on a starving city," his obituary says wryly, "one must throw books on Rome.")

At one point a volley of broadsides from **Pegasus** cascaded down and scored a direct hit on an audience watching an outdoor movie. At another point, **Pegasus** swooped so low over the Spanish Steps that a spectator later said, "He seemed to be mounting them."

In the end, his daring mission completed, de Bosis flew out over the Tyrrhenian Sea, and was last seen climbing steeply, his white wings aglow with the setting sun, as he tried to avoid his pursuers. The presumption is that he was riddled with bullets at some point during his climb and plunged, like his idol Icarus, into the sea. At any rate, he was never seen again.

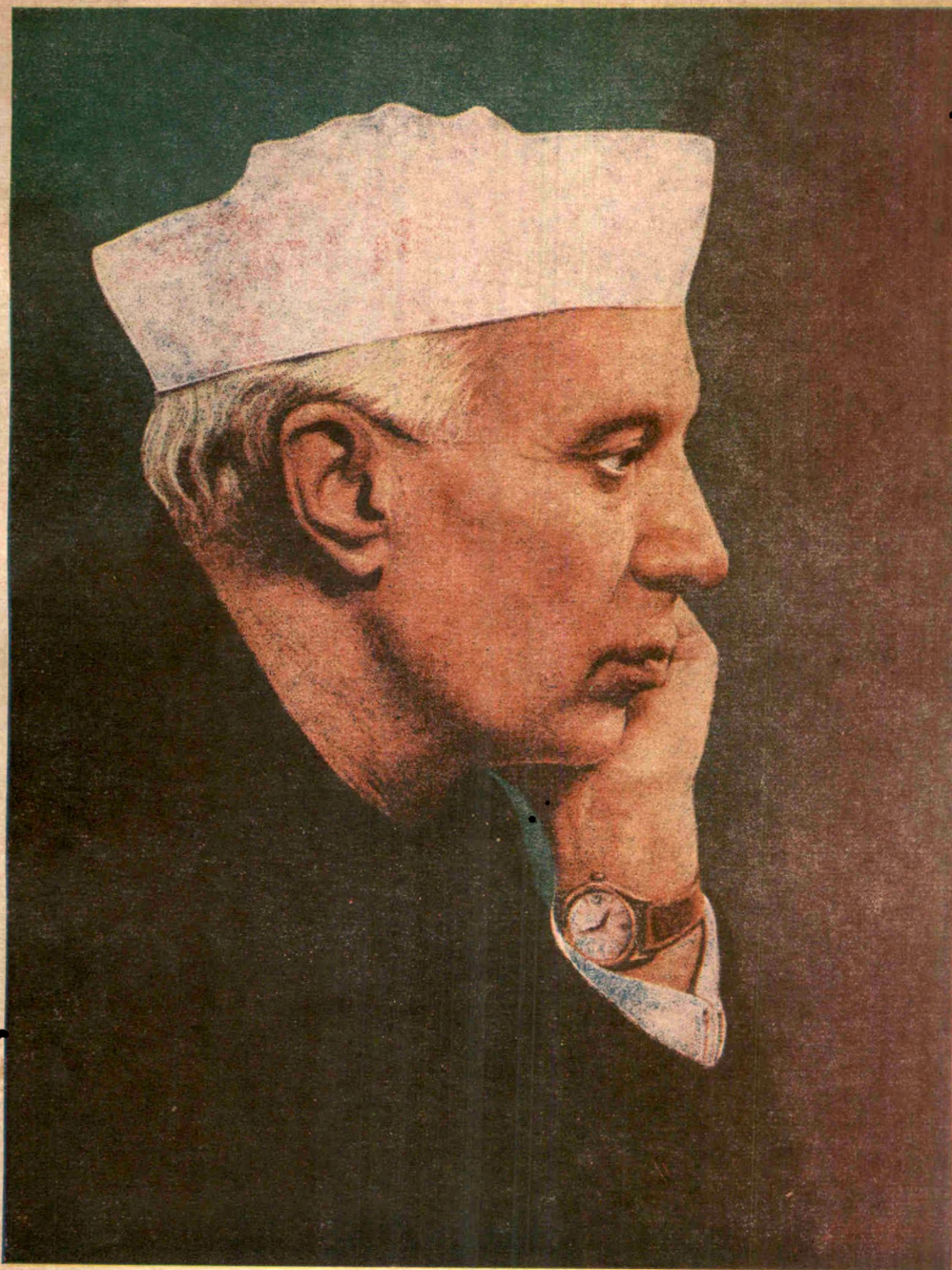
Though Rome was shaken by his exploit, the flight was little noted abroad. If it had taken place on the eve of World War II, or in the full glare of some other historic event, Lauro de Bosis might today be a folk hero of sorts among the world's freedom-loving people. Instead, his act proved a lonely but effective existential gesture, made on behalf of a world that did not yet realize fully who Mussolini was.

Thus Lauro de Bosis joined that company of fervid but anonymous spirits who lie, buried in history's interstices, awaiting that new generation of scholars who will resurrect them and hail their accomplishments.



Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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NOTES

The World

Some significant moves have been made by those in power over dependent peoples, which indicate that Colonialism in all its aspects, quasi-benevolent, solely concerned with exploitation regardless of consequences to the exploited, or intensely malevolent, is as yet far from being on the way-out.

In the small British Colony of British Guiana, where there was a leftist ministry in charge until recently, large-scale riots have been taking place recently. Although the majority of the population are of "East Indian" origin as evinced by the typically hindustani name of the majority leader and ex-Premier Cheddi Jagan, the British authorities have made the police force 90% Negro, in a typically British colonial method. As a result the police have actively enhanced the racial strife and sabotaged all the moves of the ministry to restore law and order to the Colony. Persecution of the East-Indian majority has been allowed to mount by this tacit approval and surreptitious aid from the police.

All these troubles started with the demand by Premier Jagan of independence from British rule and calling for a general strike of the workers in the sugar mills and cane-fields—sugar being the mainstay of the country's finances. The Negro workers stirred and quarrels that led to a flare-up were the result. We who remember

such incidents during the labour troubles in India of British days, know only too well how the employment of agent-provocateurs and police-aided black-legs helped the deliberate stirring up of communal strife in the furtherance of British interests. There is no reason why the use of similar political methods by the British authorities should be ruled out, although British and U.S. news put the responsibility solely on Cheddi Jagan and the Communist tactics of his Chicago born American wife. In any case the result has been the suspending of the Constitution and the assumption of all executive powers by the British Governor. It is reported that ex-Premier Cheddi Jagan has reported this to the U.N.

In the U.N. itself the concerted move by the Afro-Asian group in the Security Council to impose an economic embargo against South Africa as the last peaceful effort to force the South African Government to give-up apartheid, was defeated by the counter-moves of Britain and U.S.A. The culmination of the apartheid debate in the Security Council is reported thus in the **Hindusthan Standard** :

New York, June 15.—Outright rejection of any idea of imposing economic sanctions against South Africa by the British representative, Sir Patrick Dean, and a scathing attack by the Soviet representative, Dr. Nikolai Fedorenko on Western Powers for carrying on "shameful trade" with the

"save drivers" of South Africa, marked today's debate on apartheid in the Security Council.

The British view simply is that apartheid, however objectionable, does not threaten international peace and consequently is outside the scope of sanctions.

Prospects at long last for positive United Nations actions after 16 years of procrastination were further dimmed by a diversionary Norwegian proposal to appoint yet another committee—Sir Patrick rejected the findings of the committee of experts appointed by the Secretary-General in December on instruction from the Security Council—to make "technical and practical study of the feasibility and effectiveness and implications of the measures which can be taken under the Charter."

Arsene Usher of Ivory Coast, this month's President of the Council, reiterated the strong Afro-Asian view that unless bloody suppression of 13 million blacks is stopped, this suppression would lead to race war that could hardly be confined to South Africa's borders and which thereby would seriously threaten international peace.

He pointedly asked the U.K., the U.S.A. and France to suggest a better way if they rejected economic embargo as the last peaceful attempt to force South Africa to mend its ways.

Meanwhile, he asked, was it right that they should enrich themselves by helping the white racist minority to exploit the blacks and was that the reason why they were opposed to economic sanctions?

In his statement Dr. Fedorenko brought out a mass of facts and figures with respect to Western firms and banks such as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Firestone, International Harvester from the U.S.A. and Rio Tinto, Imperial Chemicals, Standard Bank, Barclays Bank, from the U.K. which were rapidly expanding their investments and making fabulous profits in South Africa.

In South Africa itself the intensely racial and atavistic government led by Premier Verwoerd is calmly contemplating the futile protests of the world outside against the inhuman sentences of life imprisonment passed on Nelson Mandela and seven others

in the Pretoria trials. The trials were a mockery and a deliberate travesty of justice. The supporters of the Boer dominated Verwoerd Government are confident that so long the British, U.S., and French financiers can count on fabulous returns on their investments, there will be no effective and concerted world move against this negation of all humane considerations by them, where Africans and Asiatics are concerned. We can understand the British and French attitudes as the history of both these countries are tarnished with myriad acts of brutal colonialism, but the attitude of the U.S. officials is somewhat inexplicable, since within their own country the conscience of the Americans seems to be roused and actively exercised over the injustice meted out to their own coloured population in the matter of Civil Rights. The apparent contradictions involved in their support of the British moves to defeat the Afro-Asian anti-apartheid move in the Security Council, would further lower U.S. prestige in Africa and Asia.

In Europe the recent treaty between East Germany and the U.S.S.R. has had—and is still having repercussions in the Western Bloc. The clear indication that neither the Soviets nor East Germany would regard West Berlin as a part of West Germany is having strong reactions in West Germany.

In Cyprus there seems to be a state of stalemate, which as yet has not been broken by the U.N. negotiations. The main trouble seems to be the intransigent attitude of the President, Archbishop Makarios, who seems to be unable to accept any step that would make a compromise feasible and possible.

In Africa the Congo is again in the picture, as the old tribal animosities have been fomented by the emissaries of Red China. Trained by Chinese experts in guerrilla warfare, who have films showing guerrilla technique in action and incited by witch doctors of the jungle areas who have assured the rebels that they are immune against rifle and gun fire, the rebels are now breaking into and occupying major places like Albertville and committing atrocities of the most horrible type.

3000 members of the U.N. force are due to leave the Congo by the 30th of June and the Government of Premier Cyrille Adoula will be on its own to quell rebellions and maintain law and order in this strife torn African State.

It would be cogent to remark in connection with the ending of the U.N. Military Mission to Congo that the task faced by the U.N. needed besides the 19400 U.N. troops peace force, a considerable amount of skilful manoeuvring by the Secretary General and his staff amongst the officials and highest executives of the Governments of the U.S.A., Britain and France to counteract the villainous propaganda let loose by the news hounds of those three countries. The Unione Miniere organization had been looting the mineral wealth of the Katanga region of the Congo, and the financiers of all those countries had considerable interests in the company, in conjunction with the Belgians. They were keen in keeping the mining areas out of the Congo union and for that they paid immense sums of money not only to the secessionist government of Katanga but also spent large sums through skilled press and publicity agents placed in New York, Washington, London and Paris. Vicious propaganda was let loose against the U.N. peace troops and it took an official declaration at Washington that the U.S. State Department disapproved of the movements of these agents of the Unione Miniere who were splashing money for the publication of fake reports and crooked news in the U.S. press, to awaken the gullible public of those countries to the realities of the situation.

In passing it is worthy of record that the most far-reaching Civil Rights bill in U.S. history has passed the second stage towards being enacted into law. This bill is a legacy from President Kennedy, who was murdered because he was campaigning for the right of the American born Negro for equality in all the freedoms that were his birth-right. President Johnson took up the unfinished work and it was decided by him to press for the passing of the bill as a memorial to Kennedy. In February last the House of Representatives passed the bill with a vote

of 290 to 130. It is also worthy of note that the Opposition voted more solidly having regard to their strength, than the party in power for the bill. The voting in the House as analysed later gave 152 Democrats (the majority party) for the bill and 96 against. Whereas 138 Republicans (the Opposition) voted for the bill and only 34 against.

The second stage meant the passing of the bill in the Senate. And here the opponents of the bill fought the inevitable passage by a long campaign of speeches—called a filibuster in the U.S.—in an attempt to stall it till the end of the session. This was stopped in the last recourse by the use of the “cloture” a guillotine move to stop further discussions by asking for a vote on the motion for the closure of the debate. On the cloture being invoked—for the first time in U.S. history against a civil rights filibuster—by the presiding officer by bringing down his gavel and asking the question “Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close,” the voting started. When the tally clerk announced that the tally stood at 71 for the cloture and 29 against it meant that all the 100 senators had taken their stand and had cleared the way for the certain passage of the bill. It is beyond all doubt now that the conscience of the Americans was aroused—as was remarked by our President Radha Krishnan during his visit to the U.S.—and the American way of life is going to be cleared of its greatest blemish.

The war-clouds that have overhung South-East Asia, particularly concerned the area that was formerly known as French Indo-China and Malayasia. The latest news indicate that the peace mission of the Phillippine envoy Lopez, is progressing. The preliminary talks have gone on satisfactorily and the summit talks are on the way.

But the position in the disturbed areas of South Vietnam and Laos is anything but satisfactory. The Chinese and the Russians are no longer in agreement in the areas of conflict, particularly in Laos. But they are either not in a position to influence events that are moving in a direction which Moscow does not like or else they have not as yet taken a decision over the course they should

take. In any case the Chinese seem to be free in directing the strategy of the Communist take-over, in piece-meal fashion of the entire area. The *New York Times* international edition of May, 24 and May 31, define the situation in the following editorial comments. On May 24, the following summary was published:

The spreading American involvement is a response to the growing Communist challenge in a crucial arena of struggle. Immediately involved are the 39 million people and 307,000 square miles of the former French colonies of Indo-China. Beyond are the hundreds of millions and the vast expanses of all southern Asia—enormous prizes for the winning side.

There were three main thrusts to the intensifying Communist challenge last week.

In Laos heavy Communist attacks, made possible by North Vietnamese support and guided by Communist China, raised large questions about whether the accords neutralizing the country had been scrapped.

In South Vietnam the Communists kept up intense pressures on the Government and its American supporters—pressures that seemed likely to be compounded by the new threats in Laos and Cambodia.

In Cambodia a government increasingly oriented toward the Communists appeared to be turning the country into a haven and supply route for the Communist Vietcong fighting in South Vietnam.

For the United States all this underscores the fundamental problem of how Southeast Asia could be kept out of Communist hands without escalating the struggle to a major war.

Southeast Asia has known no real peace in a generation—since the day, four months before Pearl Harbor, when the Japanese fell upon the Indochinese colonies of a defeated France. It was not long after their return at the end of World War II that the French found themselves in the struggle against Communist-led guerrillas—and on the road to the disaster at Dienbienphu in 1954.

The major powers of East and West recognized that Indochina had become a potential tinderbox of major war. Thus there followed the multilateral agreement, in Geneva,

that Indochina should be neutralized. The accord recognized the three colonies—Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia—as independent states. Vietnam was partitioned into a Communist north and an anti-Communist south, eventually to be unified in free elections. Three-power International Control Commissions (Poland, India, Canada) were created to oversee ceasefires in the three states. That arrangement proved unworkable, largely because the commissions' decisions had to be unanimous.

Thus in Vietnam there came, instead of unification, the fierce war in the south into which the United States now pours money (at the rate of \$1.5 million a day) and men (now totaling 16,000) in support of the South Vietnamese Government. Despite the American effort, the Vietcong has been making headway. The week before last Secretary of Defense McNamara, back from his fourth visit to Saigon in seven months, said a greater effort was necessary to turn the tide.

In Laos, too, there was conflict—among armed factions of Communists, rightists and neutralists. In 1962 the Big Powers agreed on a new attempt at neutralization. An agreement among 14 nations at Geneva established a tripartite coalition government for Laos, headed by the neutralist Souvanna Phouma. But the coalition has not functioned for a year, and the three forces in effect have partitioned the country. Then last month a new round in the conflict began when a rightist junta seized power and the rightists and neutralists then joined against the Communists. Nine days ago the Communists struck at the neutralists in a major attack and sent them reeling.

As for Cambodia her supposedly neutralist ruler Prince Norodom Sihanouk has followed an increasingly anti-Western course in recent years. Apparently he has concluded that Communist victory in Southeast Asia is inevitable and it is wiser to be on the winning side.

The situation, at the end of May, is described as follows in the May 31st issue of *The N. Y. Times*:

In Laos North Vietnamese evidently are taking part in the attacks by the Laotian leftist force, the Pathet Lao. There is some

no longer to be any doubt that the Communist purpose is to upset the 1962 Geneva pact under which the neutralization of Laos was established with the installation of a tripartite coalition government under the neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma.

As for South Vietnam, it has long been apparent that the North Vietnamese have trained and supplied the guerrillas operating in the South, by way of jungle trails through eastern Laos. More recently the Communists have been using Cambodia as a supply route and haven. This has provoked South Vietnamese and Americans to "hot pursuit" of the guerrillas and Cambodia has charged in the U.N. Security Council that both countries have violated her borders. Cambodia's own policy has leaned increasingly pro-Communist as her ruler, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has become convinced that Peking's dominance in the Far East is inevitable.

India After Nehru

Despite the gloomy forebodings of those at home who could not or would not believe that India was politically more mature than it was at the time of independence, the passing of Nehru did not throw the country into the maelstrom of political chaos as was predicted. On the contrary, the appalling shock that the news of Nehru's death gave to the peoples of the nation, who were almost all in ignorance regarding the extent of physical deterioration of their beloved leader, brought on an immense surge of popular determination to stand for the continuity of Nehru's plans for the future of the Union. Those who were eager to seize the moment of political uncertainty for the furtherance of their own particular schemes for taking over the controls of the Government of India, were faced not only by the firm attitude of the Congress President and his powerful supporters in the Congress Executive Committee, but also by the rising tide of popular emotions which indicated in unmistakable terms that no schismatic move would be tolerated by the masses who had closed in solid ranks behind those who were known to be Nehru's beloved and trusted colleagues.

Dissidents inside the ranks of the Congress could read the presages. They knew that democracy had taken firm roots in the soil of India under the care of those who were trained and conditioned by the Father of the Nation and led by Jawaharlal Nehru. They knew that any move for a schism inside the ranks would inevitably result in disastrous consequences for the movers. And lastly, it must be held to the credit of the top-ranking dissidents, the rigid discipline imposed by the Code of Conduct for the Congress High Command held fast, inducing them to bow gracefully to the directives of the Congress majority leaders under Kamaraj.

Outside India the succession problem, on which depended the future of India, caused some amount of uneasiness at the centres of world politics. "The political and economic foundations of modern India were still unstable; a struggle for succession could wreck a job only half done," was the trend of thought of most Western commentators. And there was genuine concern in all the world capitals that were aware that chaos in India would have major repercussions all over Asia which would involve, later on, the whole world. The following paragraphs, taken from the editorial, captioned "What for India," in the *New York Times* of May 31, substantially reflects the more sober and informed opinion in the West:

India has known two great leaders in this century. Mohandas Gandhi guided her to independence with a light so bright that he was enshrined, after his assassination in 1948, as a saint. Jawaharlal Nehru started her along the road of modern nationhood—urging and goading her, praising and cursing her, but always loving her and being loved in return.

The passing of the Nehru era poses severe tests for India under her new leaders—and possibly for Asia as well. Domestically, a fundamental question is whether the Westernizing and unifying institutions built by a generation of British-trained Indians will hold firm, now that the one voice that was obeyed the length and breadth of a land more diverse than Europe is gone, or whe-

ther India's old divisive religious, linguistic and regional forces will reassert themselves.

If they do, India could be fragmented again, her new and still precarious sense of nationhood lost. Short of that, danger of turmoil comes from fanatic and obscurantist movements posing as opposition parties of the right, and from a small but influential Communist party. Within the Congress party itself there are feuds and schisms of right, left and center.

Despite the gravity of these problems, U.S. officials feel there is a better than even chance that India's new leaders will master the situation and carry on—probably concentrating more exclusively on domestic concerns, with less interest than Mr. Nehru in world diplomacy. As to how India felt, observers noted that the multitudes lining Mr. Nehru's funeral procession were much more composed than those who mourned when Gandhi died. Then the country was torn and anguished, unsure of tomorrow; now Indians had had 17 years of their own government and could face the future with less fear. And they owed it, they felt, to Chacha (Uncle) Nehru.

The election of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, "with dignity and decorum" as commented by a leading British paper, allayed these misgivings to a considerable extent, coming as it did within such a short interval after the demise of India's beloved leader. There are still some speculations about the future but they are much more limited in scope. The *New York Times* comment, after the election, reflects the trend of foreign opinion correctly. It said: "Whether the party—and the country—would hold together in the months ahead remained an open question. The consensus after the first week of transition, however, was that they probably would. It was also expected that the Government would be more collective than under Mr. Nehru and that some changes were in store."

The changes forecast, have been limited to reallocation of portfolios, with some regroupings under Cabinet Ministers, up to the time of writing these. The original announcement of the names and portfolios

of the Cabinet Ministers of State was as follows:

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister—Foreign Affairs and Atomic Energy.

Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda—Home Affairs.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari—Finance.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi—Information and Broadcasting.

Sardar Swaran Singh—Industry (including Heavy Engineering and Technical Development).

Mr. S. K. Patil—Railways.

Mr. Asoke Kumar Sen—Law and Communications.

Mr. Y. B. Chavan—Defence.

Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy—Steel and Mines.

Mr. C. Subramaniam—Food and Agriculture.

Mr. Humayun Kabir—Petroleum and Chemicals.

Mr. Satya Narayan Sinha—Parliamentary Affairs and Civil Aviation.

Mr. H. C. Dasappa—Irrigation and Power.

Mr. M. C. Chagla—Education.

Mr. D. Sanjivayya—Labour and employment.

Mr. Mahabir Tyagi—Rehabilitation.

Ministers of State

The following are the Ministers of State:

Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna—Works and Housing.

Mr. Manubhai Shah—Commerce (including Textiles and Jute).

Mr. Nityanand Kanungo—Cultural Affairs.

Mr. Raj Bahadur—Transport (excluding Civil Aviation).

Mr. S. K. Dey—Community Development and Co-operation.

Dr. Sushila Nayar—Minister of Health.

Mr. Jaisukh Lal Hathi—Home Affairs.

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon—Foreign Affairs.

Mr. K. Raghuramaiah—Labour and Employment.

Mr. O. V. Alagesan—Petroleum and Chemicals.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh—Social Security and Cottage Industries.

Mr. R. M. Hajamavis—Supply.

Dr. K. L. Rao—Irrigation and Power.

Mr. B. R. Bhagat—Planning.

Mr. A. M. Thomas—Food and Agriculture.

It is a Cabinet in which the majority belong to the centre of the road in politics, with Shri Shastri in the lead. Two, possibly three, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shrimati Gandhi and Shri Sanjivayya are strongly inclined to the left. Shri A. K. Sen and Professor Kabir are also socialists. Two, Shri Krishnamachari and Shri S. K. Patil are rightists.

The Cabinet, as it is constituted at present consists of experienced men and one lady who, though a newcomer where ministries are concerned, is by no means a tyro in politics as she has been in close contact with politics and politicians practically all her adult years and on level terms with the leading world politicians for the last twelve years or so. There is no reason why the entire ministry should not work in close co-ordination as a team despite divergences in political view-points. Trouble may develop later, however, from the machinations of the group that tried to challenge the election of Lal Bahadur Shastri as the Premier. But that also is not likely in the immediate present though insidious attempts to discredit the Shastri Ministry cannot be ruled out even now. And there are problems galore awaiting immediate decision and firm action.

The most urgent problems are in the economic sphere and here firm and drastic

action is called for. There has been rampant corruption in high places, because of which profiteering, black-marketing and food adulteration has become rife all over the country. Bureaucracy and corruption has brought down the administration to the levels reached during the days when the British and the Moslem League working in concert were destroying the integrity and discipline of the administration to serve their political ends, letting in the floods of corruption through deliberately made breaches.

The tackling of the vital problems of soaring prices and artificially created shortages has to be done with mailed fists. No amount of sermonizing or gentle persuasion will do. Indeed ministers who still use "persuasive talks" when dealing with such problems may justifiably be suspected to have substantial personal interests in following this palpably dishonest policy of *laissez faire* while dealing with such criminal anti-social activities. Crooked party bosses and their following in the Parliament and the State Legislatures should be either exposed and purged or else deprived of all privileges. It is only then that corruption can be rooted out from the administration.

The Chinese are still on our soil in the Himalayas. The Government and the Congress Party are calling on the peoples of the nation to stand in solid ranks behind the Government to resist aggression. And these very people are having their life-blood sucked by these bloated profiteers who are now parading as the patrons of the Party!

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

A NATION HELD TO RANSOM

We have been discussing the mounting crisis occasioned by the continuing and increasingly accelerating price spiral often enough in these columns. If we are obliged to revert to the subject once again so soon, it is because of the increasingly apparent reason that Government and people alike seem to have grown completely helpless and impotent in the face of a situation where all initiative would appear to have passed on to a comparatively small community of wholly conscienceless and anti-social traders and shopkeepers who appear to have been holding an entire nation and their Government to ransom! Prices have been on the rampage throughout the period of development planning but assumed alarming proportions during the Second Plan which, according to Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, then in charge of the Planning portfolio in the Central Cabinet, had correspondingly attenuated the achievements of the Plan, but what with inadequate implementation during the first three years of the current Third Plan, they have further and alarmingly aggravated the situation. According to official admissions, the index of wholesale prices evinced an upward rise by as much as 8 per cent in 1962-63 over that of the preceding year and, according to an inadequate official index, it has risen further by as much as 9.3 per cent over the year between 1962-63 and 1963-64. But what would seem to have been further aggravating a situation which had already become well nigh insupportable is that the corresponding rises in retail prices have been far higher in proportion and, especially so in the essential edible sectors of the market and nowhere has this been of the downright critical level as it is in West Bengal.

Government of West Bengal

The Government of West Bengal, it would seem, to have been especially inept in their handling of the situation with the inevitable result that the concerned trade in the State both at the wholesale and retail levels have grown so obstreperous in their dealings with the people and the Government alike that they have, whenever their nefarious wishes have been sought to be countered by official decisions and action, to completely dislocate supplies, especially of such essential edibles as rice, pulses, mustard oil, fish and other commodities. The essential weakness, almost complete helplessness of the Government of the State to deal with the trade's obstreperousness has been all too apparent in the fact that every time such occasions have arisen, they have climbed down in about every single instance to meet the trade's demands at least half way. Even more. When the rice market in West Bengal last September suddenly evinced a fresh and daily steeply mounting price spurt, all that the Chief Minister of West Bengal, who has the food portfolio of his Government under his personal control, could think of doing for a whole week, was to issue statements from day's end to day's end which were merely designed to find all sorts of excuses and justifications for the trade's profiteering enterprise just in the same manner as a publicity agent of the trade could be expected to do in the circumstances! It was not until the people of Calcutta and suburbs, in obvious desperation, took a vigorous hand in the game by frankly extra-legal measures to breakdown the trade's unholy unjustifiable obstreperousness, that some relief eventuated from the insupportable price pressures that had, in the meanwhile, been generated. The

results, if the people's action were allowed to be sustained for a longer period, might have proved to be possibly far more salutary than they had been if, obviously alarmed by this passing of the initiative completely out of their hands, the Government, who euphemistically described the people's action as "Consumer resistance", had not intervened at this stage and the Chief Minister had not concluded what he called a "gentlemen's agreement" with the trade and fixed a ceiling price of rice at Rs. 35 per maund for all varieties except 'fine' and 'superfine.'

The New Harvest

Later in the year the new harvest, which according to the statistical calculations of the State's Agriculture Department, was said to have yielded a bumper crop of 5.4 million tonnes of **aman** in terms of rice, with additional expectations of a further 400,000 tonnes from the **aus** crop, seemed to relieve, temporarily at least, the heavy pressure on rice prices for the time being and the Government took the opportunity of promulgating an Order in February this year fixing prices of paddy and rice of all varieties and at all stages, ex-mill, wholesale and retail. The Government went even further and the Order contained also a threat that if the prices fixed were not maintained in actual transactions, they would, with the onset of the lean season, be obliged to further reduce the ceiling with a view to compel the trade to behave. Although on the face of it the prices fixed allowed for a fair margin of profit to the trade at all its stages, there were inevitable grumblings and veiled threats that they could not be sustained. But the State Government were apparently satisfied that what with the bumper harvest and the additional supplies promised by Orissa and from Central Government stocks, they were apparently well set to compel the trade to behave. According to a recent statement by a Food Dept., official of the State Govt., the monthly consumption of rice in West Bengal aggregates roughly 400,000 tonnes. So that even with the revised harvest estimates placing the yield of the **aman** crop at 4.8 million tonnes instead

of 5.4 millions as earlier publicized, there should not be any shortage in supplies, and certainly no scarcity. Imports from Orissa and Central Government subventions would, in addition, provide a comfortable buffer. The decision of the State Government to have imports from Orissa routed not through Government to Government channels but on the normal trade account, however, caused a great deal of criticism, wholly justified as later events have amply proved but which, unhappily, still seems destined to continue in spite of the sad experience that had in the meanwhile seemed to supervene. The State Government might well have utilized the Orissa imports to substantially augment the buffer stocks at their disposal and which might then have proved an effective deterrent against the all too frequent recrudescence of aberrations in the State's rice markets. As it is, the State Government, at the end of May, this year, according to an official statement recently released, appeared to have in its stocks a matter of only 150,000 tons of rice, which is only about 37.5 per cent of the State's monthly consumption offtake and would just about cover the requirements of Calcutta, industrial and other urban areas for just about a month. The reason why supplies to modified ration and fair price shops from Government godowns had been very substantially cut down to no more than merely a trickle following the harvest and until the current month, has been explained as having been conditioned by the Government's desire to further build up the stocks at their disposal against the later lean season of the year which, together with the trade's knowledge about the comparatively inadequate quantities in Government's buffer stocks, provided far greater strength to the trade's elbows to play up the free rice market to suit their own particular nefarious ends.

Other Edibles

Truly, as the West Bengal Price Inquiry Committee have averred in their recently released report (and commented upon in these columns in our last issue), rice plays a pivotal role in the State's price structure and with the new rampage in rice prices

beginning from the end of April this year, other essential edibles soon followed suit. Dal—pulses and grammes—the only edible yielding a small measure of proteinous contents in the poor man's daily diet, has registered an average 20/25 per cent increase in prices during the corresponding period. Mustard oil, which was selling at Rs. 2.50 per Kg. until about the third week of April, suddenly jumped up to Rs. 3.20 per Kg. overnight or roughly by 28 per cent. Government intervened to fix the price at Rs. 3.00 per Kg. or at a price higher by 16.6 per cent than previously ruling which had the only effect of driving the commodity completely out of market. The latest published agreement between Government and the mustard oil trade has caused a further revision of the fixed retail price to Rs. 3.25 per Kg. or at a level 30% higher than what used to rule in April! The excuse for this price rampage is that seed prices had steeply risen. West Bengal consumes about 6 million maunds of mustard seed to produce 4.5 million maunds of oil and is by far the largest single market in the country for mustard seeds,—West Bengal producing within the State only about 20 per cent of her requirements, the balance being imported more overwhelmingly from Uttar Pradesh and the rest from the Punjab. Considering the vital importance of the West Bengal market to mustard seed exporters from the U.P. and Punjab, it should be easily possible to ensure a more wholesome and legitimate price agreement and there is no reason why West Bengal oil millers should be allowed to exploit the situation to the detriment of the consumers alone. But the State Government, judging by their repeated concessions to the concerned trades all along the essential edibles sectors, is apparently too weak and too helpless to enforce more legitimate measures. The price pressure has, likewise, communicated itself as forcibly on other edible consumables in the market and even potato prices have risen steeply by some 60 per cent from 56 nP. per Kg. to 90 nP. per Kg. It is usual for potato prices to rise substantially with the onset of the monsoons, but with pre-monsoon prices already ruling at 90 nP. per Kg., it is quite well within probabilities that

by about mid-monsoon, potato prices will go up by another 100 per cent or thereabouts then.

Measures To Combat Price Pressures

The mounting price spiral appears to have concerned Government somewhat but apparently not quite as seriously as it would ordinarily seem to call for. In its broader aspects the price problem is a national problem although there is apparent variations in its expression and intensity from region to region. That shortfalls in agricultural production, especially in the essential edibles sectors, have been playing a crucial role in the varying symptoms of the disease is generally agreed. Remedies are sought to be devised in initiating crash programmes of agricultural development enunciated by Working Groups of the Planning Commission and by the Central and State's Food and Agriculture ministries. Results of such programmes, if any at all—there is reason for the gravest doubt if these programmes can really yield the desired results—will necessarily be slow in coming. In the meanwhile marginal shortages, where they exist, are being exploited by designing and wholly conscienceless manipulators to create conditions of acute scarcity and where there are marginal surpluses as, for instance, in respect of rice in West Bengal this year, manipulators have been busy creating conditions of artificial scarcity to the detriment of the consumers and the national economy. Government have only been dallying with the situation and have been constantly revising their policies as regards measures which might really be effective in combating the situation without, however, yet actually applying any definite measures towards this end. And their apparently helpless impotence is being exploited to the fullest extent to virtually hold, as we have already averred earlier in this discussion, our impotent Government, both at the Centre and in the States, especially the Government of West Bengal, to ransom! Government's bluster notwithstanding, it is they who seem to have been at the mercy of that handful of anti-social price-racketeers and the inevitable victim is the hapless and wholly bewildered consumer.

Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari, only a few weeks before he was re-drafted into the Central Council of Ministers by the late Mr. Nehru as Minister Without Portfolio, was reported to have vigorously canvassed for the imposition of physical controls as the only possible corrective to the continuously and steeply mounting price spiral, deprecated the very measures he had pleaded for earlier soon after he reassumed the Union Finance Portfolio as being virtually beyond the resources, administrative and otherwise, of the Central and State Governments and promised such fiscal measures as would be calculated to serve the same end with much less complication and trouble. During his last Budget speech earlier this year, he reiterated the same decision and claimed that he had provided for such necessary fiscal measures in his current Budget as would be bound to induce a stability in price levels even if they were unable to actually bring them down. All the fiscal measures we were able to read into his actual Budget structure, is the proposed reduction in the quantum of deficit financing while in certain others of the Budget proposals, at the same time, especially in so far as they related to substantial tax concessions to big business on the plea of incentives to development and investments, distinct and substantial inflationary potentials were quite visibly discernible. In any case, almost immediately following the presentation to Parliament of the current Budget, prices have again been on the rampage and, as could be expected, the more overwhelmingly and disproportionately so in the essential edibles sectors, although prices, generally, albeit comparatively slowly and somewhat less steeply, have continued to rise all along the line. So far as food was concerned—and this must be acknowledged as quite pivotal in the process of price rises—even as early as May 3 last, Sardar Swaran Singh, then Union Food and Agriculture Minister, blustered that he (1) would make it **impossible** for food dealers to manipulate prices at will; that (2) if the trade did not co-operate “other methods” (meaning, obviously, the introduction of State trading) would have to be found; and that (3) Government will not allow a big difference between harvest prices and those in lean seasons. Two days later he claimed, with what authentic justification it is not at all clear—that prices had not gone up and wheat prices had actually fallen, although only two further days later Bombay reports that indigenously produced wheat had been steadily disappearing from the market and that prices which ruled at below Rs. 30 only a week ago had already risen to Rs. 40 and, at places, to even Rs. 45. Apparently, the cordoning off of the seven wheat and food zones by the Government, which would appear to have been as foolish a brainwave as it was inane, has been mainly responsible for the steadily aggravating wheat position. Action initiated by Government in West Bengal to combat the caily and alarmingly deteriorating food situation, which has never had the slightest beneficial impact on either prices or supplies so far, would appear to have been even more clumsily conceived and inanely applied. At long last Union Finance Minister Krishnamachari appears to have reconciled himself to the inescapable need for the imposition of physical controls. Some indication of his thinking in this direction was already available last month when he averred that “the public must be prepared to accept some measure of discipline” by which he apparently meant that the Government had no alternative but to think of price controls and rationing. Such controls and rationing, judging from past experience, would be bound to prove highly unpopular and the most pertinent question that would need to be asked and answered in this connection is whether the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, have been able to develop the administrative resources, in terms of both efficiency and rectitude in the meanwhile—the absence of which had been earlier deprecated by Mr. Krishnamachari,—to enable the application of controls and rationing to be at all wholesomely feasible. From indications available, it would seem that controls and rationing to which the Union Finance Minister appears now to have fully reconciled himself—according to his latest statement in this connection it is now only pending the States’ Chief Ministers who are

already due for conference at the Capital as we write, to agree, before rationing is actually reimposed on the country.

Cause And Effect

But even rationing, if it is at all finally decided to be imposed, can at best, and in its most wholesome aspects (if wholesome application can at all be hoped for in the circumstances), be a temporary palliative and will not be likely, as far as we are able to visualize, to be materially helpful in solving the price problem on an enduring basis. Indeed, the results that are, conceivably likely to flow from rationing in view of the inevitable administrative inefficiency and worse, prospects would seem to be highly unattractive and even higher prices, in retrospect, would seem to be a lesser evil. But while speaking about "some measure of discipline" on the public, Mr. Krishnamachari cannot, however, absolve himself and his Government of their responsibility for maintaining the price level through **other methods**, especially by **imposing some measure of discipline on themselves**. Expansion of Government's total outlays has, so far, at **no stage**, been adjusted to the state of demand or the real **resources of the economy**. The total outlays of the Central and State Governments together on Plan implementation have gone up from just over Rs. 2,800 crores in 1961-62 (the first year of the current Plan) to well over Rs. 4,500 crores in the current year, although the national output has been growing at a much slower rate and our capacity to import more has not **visibly** grown (we introduce the word "visibly" with the fullest sense of its implications for we are aware and we cannot believe that the Government are wholly unaware of the fact that a great deal of invisible, extra-legal and wholly unaccounted for imports, especially of precious foreign exchange, has been going on unabated through devious channels despite all the deterrents that Government may have devised to prevent this). It is difficult also to believe that what passes for Plan outlay is the irreducible minimum. Progress on innumerable projects have been unconscionably slow—this is borne out by the very

substantial amounts of unused foreign aid. The impressive Budgetary provision of Rs. 1994 crores in the current year can hardly evoke any very great enthusiasm. It is quite late in the day when Government, imposing some discipline on themselves, endeavoured to create the necessary condition for bringing demand into more wholesome balance with supply.

Then also there is the question of regulation of credits. Selective and rather rigorously applied restrictions on credit, a policy initiated by Mr. Krishnamachari's predecessor in the Union Government, if maintained at an even pressure over a sufficiently long period of time, might gradually induce a trend towards price stabilization. Effects would be necessarily slow and gradual spread over a long period of time, but when late last year Mr. Krishnamachari decided to materially relax restrictions in this behalf for the avowed purpose of creating a favourable climate for increased investments for development, we visualized the possibility in these columns that the always alert market might end by exploiting these relaxations to create inimical speculative pressures upon the price structure. The fact that Government have recently been obliged to prevail upon the Reserve Bank to withdraw these relaxations in substantial measure, is indication enough that our apprehensions in this behalf must have proved all too realistic.

But the heavily speculative pressure on the price structure must, we are afraid, be ascribed to credit sources which are beyond the purview of the organized credit market and are, therefore, generally beyond the restrictive influences of official credit policies and fiscal disciplines. Successive Union Finance Ministers, including Mr. Krishnamachari have acknowledged the existence of such a behind-the-curtains credit market in the country of very large proportions—Mr. Krishnamachari once tentatively placed the size of aggregate credits at the resources of this unregulated sector as being almost as large as those of the organized credit market in the country—and unless effective and expeditious measures can be devised to force these sources of large credits out into the

open, it will always be impossible to eliminate speculative pressures upon essential supplies, thereby causing demand to correspondingly intensify and raise 'price levels.' It is, indeed, a difficult feat to achieve but with all the powers at the disposal of Government, especially the blanket powers under the emergency at present prevailing, it should not be wholly impossible an end to achieve, given the determination and brains to do so.

Finally, there is the present taxation structure in the country, which with over 74 per cent of the gross revenue derived from indirect taxes, a very large proportion of it in the shape of excise and similar other imposts upon a variety of essential consumables, has inherent in itself, a high inflationary potential, we have, again and again, discussed this aspect of our wholly **eccentric** taxation structure and pleaded the urgent need for a thorough revision in this behalf in these columns. Mr. Krishnamachari conceded in his last Budget speech the need for a better balance between direct and indirect taxation but has done nothing to correct the prevailing imbalance or even to initiate a thorough investigation into the matter.

What would appear to be the principal prevailing cause of the price malady in the country is either that the Government, at the policy making levels, have not got brains enough to realistically correlate cause and effect or,—and this is not quite an impossible supposition in view of known circumstances—they are unwilling or unable to face decisions that would be likely to adversely affect those large vested interests in the country, known and unknown, who have, through successive general elections, been financing them into their seat of power. In any case, that they are **not honest** so far as the expedients they have so far applied or are thinking of applying to combat the price situation, is all too apparent to be held in the least doubt!

CONCENTRATION AND MONOPOLIES

A great deal of confusion would seem to inform the thinking of even senior members of the Union Council of Ministers as

regards the actual connotation of the words "concentration of economic power" and "monopoly" enterprises. It would appear that the two terms have often been and are being used as synonymous. Thus speaking to the Lok Sabha recently, Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari was reported to have averred that there was no law against monopolies in the country as such and the recently appointed Monopolies Commission would prepare draft legislation on the subject besides also investigating the growth of monopolies, preparing a precise definition of monopolies and determining the categories that should be abolished and those which should be merely "modified." In the Rajya Sabha, however, the Minister of State for Finance and Planning, Shre M. R. Bhagat, stated that the Government were fully aware of the dangers of concentration of economic power in a few individual hands and the Monopolies Commission had been appointed to suggest measures including drafting necessary legislation to check this trend. These explanations, instead of helping to clear the confusion obtaining in this regard would appear, on the contrary, to have worse confounded them. And although the deadline for the Commission has been set at October, 1965, it has yet to get down to work.

What, after all, is meant by the word "monopoly" in this connection?—would appear to be a legitimate question, but is one which does not seem to have been either asked or answered. For a "monopoly" in the sense of exclusive control over the supply of a particular product or commodity or a one-firm industry is hardly known in this country yet. Its incidence, in the small measure it used to obtain in such industries as cement, aluminium, rubber, metal containers etc., has been demonstrably reduced very substantially over the last one decade or so. So far as characteristic monopolistic practices like, for instance, collusion in price fixation, regulating output or entry in any particular industry, price leadership, discriminatory trade agreements etc., are concerned, it should be realised that even if these prevail in some measure and in certain situations, they are generally overlaid and underwritten by Government policies and

the continuance of a seller's market. Even the latter, in a measure, may be said to derive from current Government policies, fiscal and those relating to industry, and it would be both pertinent and legitimate to hold that so far as tendencies towards the growth of monopolies properly so called are concerned, they derive more from the policies of Government that have been fostering exclusive public jurisdiction of certain key-sector industries and the elimination of free-market competition in large measures from the private sector under a system of regulations and controls some of which, at least, can be claimed to have been really ill conceived. The unholy mixture that is the functional face of our present "mixed economy", which automatically fosters the growth of price cartels of one sort or another, is the principal *raison de etre* of the trends towards monopoly practices which Government now seem to be so anxious to eliminate.

However that may be, the problem of monopolies as such is, patently not the same as that of concentration of economic power in a few hands. This is not to say that the two symptoms are wholly unrelated with each other. Virtual monopoly advantages enjoyed by certain industries in the private sector may be an important contributory factor in the increasing concentration of economic power but it cannot, in any case be the sole one in the process. It would seem to derive mainly from price spirals and tax evasions, the doors to both being opened wide by Government's industrial and fiscal policies, which have been indefinitely fostering a daily intensifying condition of scarcity, with supplies chronically out of balance with demand. This is inevitable when new entries in industry are regulated to conform to plan targets and pricing policies handled by Government in almost all essential industries.

Investigating these related factors and practices would, of course, be of keen academic interest but collection, collation and analyses of data for the purpose of such an investigation would take years to complete and by the time logical recommendations based upon these findings could be formula-

ted, it is very probable that they would already have become out of date and infructuous. The entire economic pattern may have changed and market situations may have undergone radical transformation. The possible labours of the Monopolies Commission may, in such a view of the matter, prove a sheer waste of money and effort and, in any case, the good that may, in some measure, yet be derived from its recommendations, would be likely to prove too inadequate to justify the outlay. This, however, is not to say that the Commission, within its present terms of reference, could not still do a very useful piece of work. Its labours might prove very wholesomely productive, if it were, for instance, to primarily concentrate on such basic problems as, for instance, the industrial licensing policy which, as we see it, is one of the most crucial links between monopoly in a particular industry and concentration of economic power within a few favoured groups in the private sector as a whole.

It would be interesting to review in this connection how the licensing policy has been functioning. It is the exclusive jurisdiction of the Development Wing who, after arriving at an appreciation of the economies of scale, license excess capacity upto 10 per cent over the target and there its responsibilities would seem to come to an end unless, of course, as they frequently do, something goes wrong some where. The manner of arriving at an appreciation of the scale, not wholly clear, would seem to be a curious amalgam of part directives, part inspiration and intuition and perhaps, also in part a certain measure of techno-economic expertise. There must, it seems to us, be a more rational and scientific way of distributing licenses, but that would seem hardly to be in use. From excessive fragmentation of capacity, that used to be the case until, at least, the end of the Second Plan period, there appears to have been a swing, during the current Plan, especially over the last two years, towards the opposite extreme of excessive concentration, although not invariably where it might have been most useful or necessary. Conceivably an independent body like the Monopolies Commission would

be ideally suited to assess the economies of scale and to assess to which the technical and financial diseconomies of small-scale could be effectively offset by vigorous management within a competitive framework.

So far as excessive concentration of economic power in a few hands is concerned, the Commission might fruitfully concentrate its labours into two principal lines of inquiry; first, to assess the number of those business groups other than the few largest and most well known ones who have been able or can be relied upon to implement projects of a specified capital base,—it might be safe to take this as between Rs. 5 crores and Rs. 10 crores—and then measure if their number is large enough to rely upon them to build countervailing power against the known and fewer largest groups. Secondly, the Commission might also usefully evaluate the need and the justification for the continuance of the managing agency system which not merely perpetuates dynastic control over management, nor also that it is an expensive form of management, but also because it has been proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the system is nationally wasteful in that it often gives undue precedence to modicrity in preference to brilliance in management talents.

If the Commission, on the other hand, allows itself to be bogged down merely in an investigation of restrictive trade practices, its report is likely to be no more valuable or useful than that of the Mahalanobis Committee on income and wealth distribution. So far as the latter is concerned, it has even failed to evince any genuine academic interest!

Healers And Teachers

The long continuing controversy as to whether there should be any restrictions imposed upon private practice by members of the medical profession who are attached to teaching hospitals or to medical schools and colleges, appears now destined to be resolved at long last one way or the other. Two opposite views have long prevailed on the question, one favouring the complete isolation of the teaching medico by completely

debarring him from private practice, while the other favoured the removal of any restrictive regulations that may have been imposed in the meanwhile. The Government of West Bengal appear now to have arrived at the tentative decision,—although it will be some time before final confirmation will be available—to separate the teaching wing and what for lack of a more adequate expression may be described as the healing wing of the profession from each other and to make the teaching wing wholly non-practising. The teachers will get a scale of emoluments at Rs. 500 p.m. at the bottom of the scale and upto Rs. 3000 p.m. at the topmost rung.

The matter, in its ultimate analysis, is one of pure economics. When one climbs to the top, Rs. 30000 p.m. may prove to be ample compensation to one especially endowed with a vocation for teaching, but with living costs being what they are, a gross emoluments of Rs. 500 p.m. may prove, we are afraid, quite a deterrant for the talented young who may have a distinct vocation for teaching. Yet it is about as far as the Government may be expected to go having regard to the fact that even as it is, it is estimated to place a net additional burden of Rs. 12 lakhs a month on resources. The result may be that many a talented young potential teacher of medicine in its different branches may be altogether lost to the profession, a possibility which one does not visualize with equanimity when one regards the fact that there is never an abundance of talented teachers at any time. An obvious remedy may be to continue the opportunities of a limited practice. The obvious difficulty, however, is to enforce the limit.

Exit Kairon And The Aftermath

Union Home Minister Shri Gulzarilal Nanda deserves to be congratulated upon his instant decision to relieve Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon of his responsibilities as caretaker Chief Minister of the Punjab simultaneously with the publication of the Das Commission's report, finding the former Chief Minister of the State as having conceived at illegal and improper amassing of wealth by his sons and relatives. Together

with the ex-Chief Minister his second in command and principal supporter and lieutenant, Mr. Mohan Lal, Home Minister in the erstwhile Kairon Cabinet, has also had to go. Some other former Ministers such as Shri Suraj Mal in charge of the P.W.D., Sardar Niranjana Singh Talib, his Deputy Minister and the veteran Akali leader, Giani Kartar Singh, who was a former Revenue Minister in the Kairon Cabinet, have all been mentioned by the Das Commission as having been found to have used their authority or abused the influences of their office to help Sardar Kairon's sons and other relatives to illegally and improperly amass wealth.

That Kairon was a powerful factor in Punjab Congress politics, is entirely without question and in spite of a very substantial section of opinion having been violently opposed to him both within and outside the Party in the Legislature, he continued to wield almost absolute power over the Government of the State. There have been complaints and accusations within the Party in the past and once the Congress High Command was even obliged to depute former Congress President, Shri U. N. Dhebar, to investigate the complaints and report. The Dhebar report was frankly an indictment of the conduct of the former Punjab Chief Minister. Nevertheless Kairon not merely continued to survive in his office, but continued to wield almost absolute power over Party and State; such was the powerful support he was able to gather both within the Party High Command and the Central Government. It is doubtful if any other leader would have survived in public life, let alone in the highest State office, after having faced the accusations and the indictments that came his way.

It clearly called for unusual courage and conviction on the part of Shri Nanda to have this person removed from office. But even out of the powers and privileges of office, Kairon seems to have been creating a great deal of mischief. The battle for succession which has been raging and of which, as we write, no solution appears to have yet been found, would seem to have created a most embarrassing, if not quite a difficult situation.

It clearly seems to have been of the making of the majority section in the Congress legislature party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly who seem to have been creatures and puppets of Kairon. Thus although fallen, Kairon would still seem to be far from vanquished. To allow him to continue to influence the politics of the ruling party even after having been banished to the outer wilderness on grounds of illegal and improper abuse of the privileges of his office, Shri Nanda must realise, is not a very encouraging augury for the weeding out of corruption from the administration. If Kairon's supporters in the legislature prove too intractable, other and more determined measures would seem to be needed.

Another necessary measure, we feel, should be follow ups of the Das Commission's findings through necessary judicial proceedings. Any softness in this regard would be bound to attenuate much of the good that would appear to have so far followed the Das Inquiry. We are a little disappointed to note, therefore, that legal opinion sought by Government, according to a news report, is said to have held that on the findings of the Das Commission it would not be possible to sustain any judicial prosecution of the former Punjab Chief Minister although action against certain officials mentioned in the Commission's report has been held to be tenable. One is reminded of the Mundhra Inquiry and the action that followed. Action against only certain high officials were initiated while the Minister concerned was held sacrosanct and, as it was bound to be, the whole thing failed. Similar may be the fate of prosecutions that may possibly be launched against the officials concerned in the present case. If the Das report by itself may not be held sufficient for a prosecution, further judicial investigations, if necessary, should not be evaded. In any case, unless all possible avenues for bringing the principal actor to book are explored, Commissions of Inquiry, such as the Das Commission, would evoke little fear or public confidence and one of the very initial steps towards the eradication of corruption and nepotism from the administration would prove to be a very wobbly one.

ON THE KHADI PROGRAMME

By VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA

Member, Khadi and Village Industries Board

THE submission to Parliament at the end of February of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee on the accounts of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission has provided an occasion for comments on the programme for the development of khadi and other village industries for the carrying out of which this statutory body has been created. To the extent that these comments arise out of the observations and findings of the Public Accounts Committee they have been dealt with separately by the Commission itself. This article is confined to an examination of the other issues that have been raised in the course of the articles that have appeared recently in certain daily and weekly journals. Taking advantage of this opportunity, it will be as well to attempt to deal with each one of these issues individually.

One of the points raised is "why the habitual use of the home spun article (namely khadi) enjoined on members of a political party should be a charge on public funds." Apparently, the impression is that the bulk of the customers of khadi are those who are or wish to become members of the Indian National Congress. It is true that before Independence the development of khadi was part of the Congress programme, after the nation accepted Mahatma Gandhi as the leader in the fight for swaraj. Khadi is, however, no longer any organic part of the Congress programme. Neither in the Avadi Resolution indicating the goal of a socialistic pattern of society nor in the Bhubaneswar resolution on democratic socialism do we find any mention of the word 'khadi.' In the last ten years, khadi has attracted ten times as many customers as it ever had in the past. Of these large numbers, customers who buy khadi to join the Congress or to continue their membership will be only a small proportion. It is not on their support that sales of khadi depend.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE

A similar point is raised when it is queried why the tax-payer should be called upon "to pay

for somebody's fads." The programme for the development of khadi was not accepted by the nation in the pre-Independence era as merely a fad of Mahatma Gandhi's. It was not the political implications that attracted to the programme the most trusted of its political leaders such as Rajaji, the Sardar, Jawaharlalji, Kripalaniji and others but its social and economic significance. It is the same considerations that have weighed with the Planning Commission, ever since its creation, in including the development of khadi and other village industries as an integral part of our series of five-year plans. Persons like the late Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis to name a few among its members who were never politicians of the Congress or other variety have been party to the decision, which surely they would not have favoured if it were merely "somebody's fad."

SHOULD THE COMMISSION BE WOUND UP ?

The view is expressed that since after the efforts of the last ten years khadi has not become a people's movement, which is the avowed aim of its protagonists, a definite time-limit of say three years, should be placed "for it to deliver (*sic*) some progress or wind up its affairs." Earlier in the same article the (All India) Khadi and Village Industries Board is asked, "in all honesty to wind itself up." The law certainly provides for the dissolution of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission under the orders of the Central Government. If they or the Planning Commission consider that the Commission has out-lived its utility, that step may undoubtedly be taken any time. But before the authorities do so they will examine the achievements of the Commission and its advisory board. These consist, principally, in adding to the quantum of production of essential consumer goods by diffusing employment in such productive work over nearly two million people spread out in a hundred thousand villages. Critics of the programme may well ask themselves whether there is any other sector in

our economy where during the corresponding period work has been found in productive activities for equally large numbers.

RE-ORIENTATION OF PROGRAMME

The critics, however, lay stress on an aspect of the khadi programme which never weighed with the Central Government or the Planning Commission when they gave their imprimatur to it. No test was laid down by either that khadi should be a basis for "influencing the course of the rural economy" or "making it a people's movement" as is suggested by the critics. It is those associated with the Board and the Commission, the old stalwarts of the All India Spinners Association and the ardent spirits in the Sarva Seva Sangh, who have set a higher aim for the khadi and village industries movement, namely, making it an instrument for bringing about a transformation of the rural society. In their view, it is the rural community that should take charge of the movement, which it will do once the conviction dawns that though the main purpose of the programme is to provide work for some who are unemployed or underemployed, if pursued as an integral part of a scheme of agro-industrial developments, it can have a far-reaching effect on the rural economy in particular and on rural life in general. It is from this point of view that a re-orientation of the scheme of working was considered necessary by the Commission so as to generate among rural communities initiative interest and enthusiasm.

CONNOTATION OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY

In another set of comments the gravamen of the charge is that the khadi industry is not likely to become self-sufficient in the next few years. The exact connotation of the word 'self-sufficient' in this context is not clear. However, one may inquire whether there are not countries in different parts of the world where even the primary industry of agriculture has to be kept alive in the national interest with the aid of subsidies or the grant of fiscal protection. Again, there are countries—some highly industrialized, where certain types of large-scale industries have to be subsidized or protected from foreign competition in the national interest. Crafts which keep alive the skills of the people and provide a

useful occupation also come in for various forms of aid. If khadi is part of the national plans it is not because cotton cloth is produced of the value of rupees 20 crores but because this form of production serves a valuable social purpose. The word 'self-sufficient' has no significance in this context.

APPEAL FOR SWADESHI

The allegation that the programme "is inherently unsound," has thus to be examined in the light of the social purpose which it serves and not because the industry "can never hope to stand on its own legs." Those eminent leaders of the nation who preached the gospel of swadeshi in the early days of the century did not call upon the people of the country to support indigenous industries and patronize the products of such industries only until they were able to stand on their own legs. It was the duty of the people, they urged, to confine their purchases to the products of such industries even at a sacrifice, that is even though the prices might be higher or the quality inferior. It is not in the interest of investors and entrepreneurs that this appeal was addressed to the people, but because the causes of national progress would be furthered with the diversification of the economy, the generation of employment and the reduction of pressure on the land. Despite planning for industrialization, the malaise of poverty still persists mainly in the shape of the stagnant conditions that pervade the economy of the countryside.

Although both consumers' goods and some producers' goods are being manufactured in increasing volume in our country, it will be a bold, if not a rash, student of public affairs who will assert that there is reduction of dependence on the land for their sole means of livelihood for the bulk of the rural population or that there has been a diminution in the volume of unemployment or underemployment in rural areas or that there is a diversification of the rural economy. The State has accepted the khadi programme because it has the responsibility for eradication of these evil features of the economy and it takes the view that the production of consumer goods through village and cottage industries is one of the most suitable methods of doing so.

DISPLACEMENT OF LABOUR

Not the staunchest supporter of the khadi movement has ever claimed that it is an industry the products of which can enter into competition with mill-made cloth. Hence it is hardly fair to condemn the movement for its failure to lower the costs of khadi to the level of the cost of production in textile mills. The replacement of a handloom by a powerloom displaces nearly half a dozen persons; that of spinning wheels by a spinning frame displace some 25 to 30 workers. Those who install spinning frames or powerlooms in textile mills are indifferent to what happens to the persons who lose their means of livelihood. They engage labour on wages, which may be higher than those earned by those who spin or weave with their hands, but which in no event are high enough to be equivalent to the aggregate earnings of the persons who are thrown out of work.

It is the payment of wages to these persons who are likely to be displaced by the process of transformation from manually operated to power-driven spindles and looms that accounts, principally, for the wide disparity that exists between the costs of mill production and that of khadi production. Since the displacement is of a smaller order when the handloom using mill yarn is replaced by a power-driven loom, the disparity between the prices of handloom cloth and mill cloth is smaller. However, for certain varieties of handloom cloth and of coarse khadi the differences are small. Besides, there are some special features of the texture of khadi fabrics or of handloom cloth that possess special attraction for customers. If this had not been the case it is extremely unlikely that the custom for khadi should have gone up ten times as it has done during the last ten years. It is not the rebate of 20 naye paise that alone has induced shrewd customers in towns and cities to purchase khadi not just once, but as habitual buyers.

COMPONENTS OF COST

Inasmuch as the wage component of the cost of production is the main factor in determining the cost of khadi production, it is argued by critics that if any effort is made to increase "the present woefully low wages" it will have the effect of raising the price of khadi, making it

even less marketable in competition with mill-made cloth than is now the case. In their programme, those in charge have aimed at reducing all other costs, such as in respect of securing the supply of raw materials, in organising the marketing of the finished products or in making credit available free of interest or at low rates. As a result the price of khadi has remained almost the same during the last ten years for most varieties despite the very considerable increase that has taken place in the price of cotton. No one having knowledge of textile production need be told that it is on the quality of cotton that its success very largely depends. In this respect the producer of khadi cloth has suffered grievously in recent years. There has been a brisk switchover from the shorter staple cotton to medium and long staple and the sorts suitable for handspinning are either scarce or are unavailable. This has added to the cost of production, inasmuch as cotton has to be purchased at higher cost, even for the coarser types of khadi.

When Mahatma Gandhi offered a prize of Rs. 1 lakh for an improved charkha, his intention was twofold: (i) to enable the spinner to earn more and (ii) by raising the productivity to lower the cost of spinning. Even on the traditional charkha he sought to raise the level of efficiency so that the spinner might get better wages. The ambar charkha, although it is a costlier and a little more complicated tool than the traditional charkha, holds out the prospect of securing the twofold object Gandhiji had in view. The earnings of spinners have increased, weaving costs have been slightly brought down, certain varieties of cloth have been produced where the disparity between the prices of khadi and mill cloth have been somewhat narrowed down. But with the increase that has taken place in the price of cotton, no worthwhile reduction in the price of khadi has been found possible.

IMPLICATIONS OF USE OF POWER

The offer of a prize for an improved charkha that was made a few years back by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and its recent decision to introduce a spinning wheel capable of yielding a minimum daily wage of Re. 1 indicate that workers in the khadi movement are alive to the need for technological progress. If they do

not think in terms of decentralized spinning with the aid of power, their attitude is understandable. The bulk of khadi production takes place in small villages. The vast majority of these are not likely to be served by electric power for years to come. A nationwide programme can be conceived of only in terms of the resources that are available. What is available today is abundant manpower. When the supreme need is to make fuller use of it khadi workers can scarcely be expected to switch over to the use of electric power especially since only a few villages are likely to be electrified. Besides, the paramount consideration with them will be to ensure that the resort to electric power does not render idle manpower already at work in the handspinning industry. In case alternative channels of employment were open, their attitude might have been different.

PRODUCTION OF CLOTH

A new possibility has opened out with the introduction of the ambar charkha. It comes within the range of possibility for a rural community to produce enough cloth for its own requirements without every adult contributing his or her share in the shape of self-spun yarn. To aim at self-sufficiency in clothing for a village or a group of villages or a block area, becomes a feasible proposition, especially in tracts where cotton is or can be grown. This was the ideal to which Mahatma Gandhi looked forward and which Acharya Vinoba Bhave cherishes. There is involved in our economic system a twofold drain on the slender resources of a rural community where in the old days handspinning was an important subsidiary industry. What was earned through the pursuit of this subsidiary occupation was lost to the rural community. On the top of this, it had to find the cash for the purchase of cloth manufactured elsewhere in the production of which commodity the rural community had no share. Hence Vinobaji considers that for the rehabilitation of the rural economy the revival of handspinning and weaving as a basic industry should be an essential part, along with a programme for the more equitable distribution of the lands of the village.

PROFITABLE USE OF MANPOWER

Just as for the latter purpose, what is needed according to him, is a campaign for

the voluntary equitable distribution of land, similarly for imparting an industrial bias to the economy, there should be the provision of free weaving service for all who spin yarn. The rural community will get the cloth it needs for the cost of the spinning, plus the little actual overheads involved. The self-spinners do not have to bear even these charges. The effect of such a step will be three fold. In the first place it may induce larger numbers to spin yarn for their own use; secondly, it will widen the offtake of cloth locally and, lastly, it will enable the rural community to organise productive work for numbers who are without work for several months in a year or for most of the time in a working day. The use of manpower fully can then be undertaken profitably by rural communities, thus cutting at the root of enforced idleness which is a corrosive force in the social system. The benefit of subsidized weaving will thus be direct on spinners and weavers and indirect for the rest of the community.

The grant of the subsidy at the stage of production replaces the existing rebate on sales. But the effect of the subsidy on costs will be such as to reduce the price at which the cloth will be marketed, with all other charges remaining the same. Hence the urban customers will get khadi at the same rate as heretofore and there need be no reduction in the volume of sales on that ground since there is no increase in the price of khadi. Moreover, there will be no additional demand made on the public exchequer for larger grants, for the quantum of assistance required is estimated to be of the same order as at present. Expansion of production may, of course, involve an additional outlay.

There is not much substance in the fear entertained in some quarters that subsidization at the stage of production will open wide the gates of corruption. It is true that the number of centres where the subsidy will be payable will be larger than the number of centres where khadi is sold. It will not, however, be any more difficult to control the payment of subsidy or to check accounts than is the case at present.

A SOCIAL SECURITY MEASURE

All that has preceded is intended to present the rationale of a khadi programme reoriented in the manner now proposed by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission. No longer is khadi a mere "ritual," as suggested in the

columns of one journal, or, as another phrases it, "a wasteful and unproductive programme in which the taxpayers' money is being frittered away." The achievements recorded during the last ten years—apart from the valuable services rendered by the All-India Spinners' Association in years past—are a testimony to the contribution that khadi has made towards the progress of the nation by keeping alive and reinvigorating a basic industry of the countryside which suffered grievously from the fiscal policies of our foreign rulers and under the impact of unregulated industrialization.

The problem of underemployment and unemployment is even more acute than it was when

Mahatma Gandhi formulated the programme for the revival of the khadi industry 45 years ago. Other countries have undertaken costly schemes for the relief of such unemployment. We have no scheme of social security covering relief of unemployment except to a limited extent for organised labour in industries. In the absence of a full-fledged scheme of social security, funds devoted to the furtherance of this movement should therefore be looked upon as those spent on an alternative form of social security covering a large vulnerable section of the population, which should be all the more welcome because it provides work for people instead of helping them with doles.

WAGE-OUTPUT RELATION IN SMALL INDUSTRY

By Miss BELA BOSE, M.A.

Exploitation of consumers is a latest development of the take off stage in most of the newly developing countries. India is not an exception to this general trend. Labour, an essential ingredient of expanding economy, succeeds in taking out the maximum from capital by all possible means. Capital, on the other hand, is compelled to concede to the demands of labour. The two vital parties of production function are thus satisfied and the Government is also relieved. The outcome of the truce is soaring prices and the crucifixion of the consumers, the most unknown, most disrespected and unorganised party in the production truce.

To maintain economic stability and particularly to maintain the tempo of growth unabated, this trend in developing and expanding industries needs immediate repression. Reduction of price for the benefit of consumers is the most perplexing question. What is the solution? Industrial truce or labour legislation would not appease unscrupulous capital or labour. Neither enhancement of dearness allowances is the solution. A change in the industrial structure is the only way to bring lasting results. Dispersal of labour and management may stop this onslaught on consumers. An

analysis of production functions in firms of different size groups clearly reveals the myth of high price mechanism, and this analysis emphasises that truce between labour and management should be broken and dispersed in the interest of consumers and producers alike and also for the healthy development of the economy.

In this paper an analysis of labour productivity in different firms is made on the basis of data furnished by the census of Manufactures of India for 28 industries. In measuring labour productivity, it is economically more scientific to measure output in terms of money expenses made for labour instead of physical output. Physical productivity of labour i.e., output per unit of labour employed, depends on a variety of factors of which labour is not an independent and isolated item. Apart from that, to an individual proprietor it is not the physical volume of labour, and the physical volume of output which is important. He is more interested in the money expenses he is to make for employing a unit of labour and the value he gets in return. His object is to maximise his output or income and to minimise the expenses on factors, including labour. His calculation in employing one unit of addi-

tional labour will be determined by the marginal productivity of labour and the current wage at which he could have engaged the man. Hence from the entrepreneur's standpoint to be economic and efficient, the firm must spend less on labour. It is therefore essential, that wage/output relation should be assessed to estimate the level of efficiency of a firm. This may be regarded as a more realistic approach to the measurement of productivity of a firm, as it will give an indication of the competitive strength of different units. Wage/output ratios indicate how much in money value is added to the firm spending one unit of money on labour.

Wage here is used to mean payments made to labour as wages and salaries and other benefits in money terms. This includes the total expenses incurred by the employer or the firm on the total employees, both workers as well as persons other than workers. This however does not include fringe benefits granted by the firms to the workers. Output on the other hand refers to gross output raised by the labour. This is also the money value of the physical volume of output and is deflated by the wholesale price index based on 1950 price level. Wage/output ratio in firms of different size groups determined on the basis of numbers of workers is compared with the normal standard. That is, the wage/output ratio in a particular industry as a whole is taken to be the normal standard under existing economic conditions of the country. This standard, however, may not be very promising in comparison to other countries. But for Indian industries it is this normal level which all units should aspire to attain. The ratio of individual firms is to be compared with this normal levels. The following Table gives in details the output raised per unit of money wage paid in different enterprises of different size groups. Here the average of five years from 1953 to 1957 is given. (Please see table on next page.)

The analysis of the table shows that small units in general produce maximum amount of output in return for one unit of money wage in the majority of the industries. Except in 7 cases the small units produce more than the normal level or the

level of the industry as a whole. These are starch, soap, glass and glass wares, ceramics, bicycle, electric lamps and electric fans. Only in 4 cases out of 27, large units produce more than small units and they are soap, glass and glass wares, plywood and electric fans. Out of 27 industries only in 7 cases the medium units produce more than the small. This medium group however is nearer to the levels of small groups than the larger units. The difference between large and small units is far greater. The first position in respect of wage/output is scored by small units followed by the medium and the last place goes to large units. Thus there exists some definite correlation between size and wage/output ratio. A regular trend is observed in this respect. As size increases the wage/output ratio diminishes. That is, the output per unit of wage diminishes in almost all the industries when the size increases.

This trend unmistakably proves that small units spend minimum but raise maximum which appears to be paradoxical when labour productivity in physical terms is low in small units. But this analysis shows that to an entrepreneur the small enterprise is not at all unremunerative as it pays him unexpectedly high money income. This income, however, does not imply profit which is a function of different sorts of factors. This lower productivity per unit of physical labour is not at all uneconomic to the proprietor of small units as he gets more than what he pays. Here, perhaps, lies the sustaining strength of small units and thus gives an explanation of the persistence of small units even in these days of giganto-phobia. The entrepreneur is not at all in disadvantage in maintaining the structure of his firm, small. Labour if engaged in large units would have got more in exchange of their effort. To raise a particular amount of output the management in large units would have to pay more in wages. The cost of production would have automatically been high. The incidence of this high cost is undoubtedly on the consumers as they have no other alternatives in these days of planning and import restrictions. At the cost of consumers, labour and capital are being benefited.

Labour and capital thus jointly exploit the consumers. This is the significance of rising prices. This analysis of wage/output relation in small units reveals that by employing labour in small units more output may be raised at lower cost and hence be a boon to consumers through lower prices. Break-down of industrial structure in small units is the only tentative solution to this new problem of consumer exploitation. It may be argued that entrepreneurs in small units are exploiting labour by giving them less than their marginal productivity. One thing must be remembered that entrepreneurs must pay the current wage rate to employ a unit of labour and that wage must have been sufficient to maintain labour. Labour is getting less than their marginal

productivity but not less than the current money wage and this is quite a normal phenomenon of the capitalistic system of production. Management in large firms on the other hand is exploiting the consumers. They are compelled to pay high wages and, therefore, raise the price but still earn higher profits. Thus the entrepreneurs in large firms squeeze the consumers to satisfy their lust for high profit. The interest of consumers is jeopardised for the benefit of the capitalist and a small group of industrial labourers. Employment of labour in small units eliminates this evil of modern capitalistic production. And labour-management be regarded as a standard of efficiency, then this wage/output analysis of small units definitely proves that small units are efficient.

Table

Wage/output ratio in different times in relation to Normal level: (in Rs.)

Industry :	Normal level	Small			Medium		Large			
		Below 20	20/49	50/90	100/249	250/499	500/999	1000/1999	2000/4999	5000 above
1. Wheat	3.4	44.2	4.6	41.4	33.6	40.6	39.6	..	..	..
2. Rice Milling	30.6	23.2	34.4	30.2	26.4	24.6	..	..	..	..
3. Biscuit	8.0	7.0	8.4	9.0	8.6	8.6	7.3	..	..	..
4. Fruit processing	8.8	12.4	9.2	6.6	11.4	8.0	..	..	..	..
5. Sugar	9.6	21.4	10.0	5.0	4.4	13.0	9.8	9.8	8.0	..
6. Distilleries	5.8	3.4	8.0	6.0	5.8	5.0	..	..	..	..
7. Starch	16.4	9.0	12.8	12.6	12.0	17.4	6.8	..	..	..
8A. Vegetable oils	8.0	33.8	44.4	41.4	34.0	34.8	11.4	..	..	..
8B. Edible oils hydrogenated	29.8	..	16.6	29.2	33.0	35.6	22.0	..	..	..
9. Paints	10.6	10.2	11.2	9.4	8.0	9.2	8.4	5.3	..	..
10. Soap	13.8	8.8	10.4	10.0	5.4	8.8	11.2	15.8	..	..
11. Tanning	11.8	9.0	12.4	16.4	12.6	7.6	5.2	..	..	..
12. Cement	8.2	..	..	..	6.6	9.4	7.8	1.2	..	..
13. Glass	3.0	1.2	2.8	2.2	2.6	3.2	3.2	2.4	..	..
14. Ceramics	2.0	1.2	1.6	2.8	2.2	2.2	2.0	1.8	2.0	..
15. Plywood	6.4	6.8	6.0	6.0	6.4	4.8	8.3	..	..	..
16. Paper	6.0	4.0	6.8	6.8	6.6	4.4	5.6	6.4	6.0	..
17. Match	3.0	1.2	2.4	5.8	6.2	4.8	5.0	3.2	3.0	..
18. Cotton textiles	3.8	4.0	5.8	6.2	6.6	6.0	5.8	3.8	3.6	3.0
19. Woollen textiles	6.6	7.0	14.4	9.8	13.6	9.2	6.8	5.2	4.2	..
20. Jute textiles	3.8	..	..	..	6.4	3.3	4.0	4.0	3.8	10.8
21. Chemicals	7.2	18.2	8.6	8.8	7.8	7.0	8.0	4.8	6.0	6.8
22. Aluminium	10.0	9.0	10.0	10.2	11.4	10.2	10.2	10.6	6.8	..
23. Iron and Steel	4.4	9.2	10.2	8.6	9.2	6.2	7.0	7.0	4.4	4.4
24. Bicycle	6.0	4.2	5.4	5.4	5.0	8.0	7.6	5.2	..	..
25. Sewing machine	2.8	5.6	5.2	3.8	3.4	..	..	..	2.6	..
26. Electric lamp	4.4	4.0	2.2	3.6	6.0	5.8	3.6	..	..	..
27. Electric fans	3.4	1.8	2.2	4.0	4.2	3.6	3.6	3.6	..	..

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

By A FRENCHWOMAN

OUR great poet Victor Hugo once said, in answer to some critics accusing him of talking too much about himself: "When I speak of myself, I speak of yourselves, because there is no difference between you and I."

This answer is truly admirable, and has a vedantic ring, though it is doubtful if Victor Hugo ever read the Upanishads. It enables one to speak freely of one's experiences, because, indeed, they are, or may be, happening to any one among us.—"Nothing that is human can be foreign to me"—as said a Latin philosopher more than two thousand years ago.

That is why I feel at liberty to speak of Swami Vivekananda as I understand him, being fully convinced that the story of my love for him, though personal, will reach every Indian heart.

My first contact with this sublime personality came through a book written by Romain Rolland whose name is famous in France because he had the great honour to be the first to write the "Life of Ramakrishna" (published in 1928), which met with a tremendous success. His "Life of Vivekananda" not only covers the episodes of the Swami's life, but contains as well a very accurate, though brief, description of Indian thought and Indian metaphysics. I was then immersed in my University studies in English literature, and though rather thrilled, I did not then give the book more than a passing interest. India was so far, and seemed so very strange!

It was years later, fifteen years I think, that I fell ill of a very dreadful disease, which led me to death's door. I underwent an operation, and it was while I lay weak and rather morose on a clinic bed, that a benevolent friend brought me as a solace against worry "The Yogas" of Vivekananda: *Karma—Bhakti—and Raja*. Though suffering very much, I opened the book and began my reading with the "Raja Yoga." I was all alone, in my little white room, after the customary visits of relatives and friends, and I will never forget the shock it gave me. I had no

sooner read a few pages of this truly extraordinary text, that I felt as if, out of a blue sky, a thunderbolt had crashed down into the silence of the establishment. Ceiling, walls, and window seemed to disappear in a kind of hazy whirl, leaving me panting for breath, while the inmost recesses of my soul were laid bare and trembling. I remember I heard myself gasping: "At last I have found! At last, I have found the Truth!"

I do not know how long this crisis lasted. The book lay open on my bed, and I seemed to look upon vistas and vistas of luminous white clouds, upon which my soul rode with a majestic freedom, as if it had at last found the Harbour where there is only Peace. Then, all of a sudden, out of this indescribable Nothing, a Being came out. He was turbaned, and he had in his hand a bunch of strange flowers. I had never seen a portrait of Vivekananda (as far as I could remember), but I recognized him immediately, as I recognized the flowers as being lotus-flowers, though they do not grow in our climate and I had never even seen a drawing of them.

Vivekananda was laughing, with a kind of boyish laughter, and his face seemed to me one of the most beautiful human faces I had ever looked upon. He radiated strength, but I could see his heart, in the light emanating from him. Strange to say, this heart was bleeding, and had bled during his life-time, for all the sufferings of mankind. He offered at once to me the most extraordinary energy and the most marvellous love. But he was laughing, laughing, and waving before me the golden lotus-flowers, as if they too had a significance unknown to me. I now know that they represented Wisdom, so that the vision was complete: Force—Love—and Wisdom.

All the while, my poor lacerated body was making its claims on my attention, and I felt acutely my weakness, my loneliness, and my sufferings. With all the energy left in me, I cried with the voice of the soul: "O Swami Vivekananda, why do you laugh like that? Don't you see how very hard is my lot? I have just been operated, I may die, and still you seem to laugh at me!"—

With a sonorous voice which rolled in my subtle ears like a gong, he answered: "You are not weak! You are not ill! Be strong, rise, and work, for you have many things to do before you die!"

Then slowly, slowly, he disappeared, still waving the golden lotuses, still transported with his heavenly bliss, and the clinic walls and windows took back their ordinary appearance, in the failing grey light of a January twilight in Paris.

That was my first contact with Vivekananda. I recovered—more or less—exactly as he had foretold; and I read, and re-read; and read again; all his works, from the "Yogas" to his "Letters," from the "Inspired talks" to his "Jnana." What, at twenty, I had not understood under the pen of Romain Rolland, appeared to me clearer and clearer when expressed in the Swami's style. His way of writing suits exactly western students: the prose is clear, the sentences short, and he uses no high-flown words, no long-winded sentences, nothing of this heavy and ponderous phrasing which used to distress and confuse me during my year of "Philosophy" at the Secondary School. Under his tuition (and even if I had not meanwhile met my Guru, it would have been the same), the whole Indian thought revealed itself to me, as a traveller discovers from a height the cupolas and towers of a wonderful city in the glory of the sunset. The centuries rolled back, and conjured up by Vivekananda's simple and powerful eloquence, the Rishis came forth, the forest hermitages appeared into view, the Sages smiled at me, and I came at last into my legitimate inheritance: the right to know the Truth.

I remember as if it were yesterday, though thirteen other years have passed over my head, the keen joy I derived from the studies of the Yogas. So there existed on the earth a people who had made of Religion a Science, who had codified, marked down, and carefully measured the different paths man can take in order to reach God!—It was to me as beautiful as the Greek Parthenon, as rigorous and harmonious as an Euclid proposition, and naturally far more important, since it quenched my thirst and appeased my soul's hunger! Impelled by this incredible discovery, I procured later on the "Upanishads", and I made of the "Gita" my

favourite reading. I dipped in the wonderful adventures of Sri Rama, or in the magnificent teachings of Sri Ramana Maharshi. But where was I, if I had not begun earlier by the works of Swami Vivekananda? For a Western mind, nourished in the lap of the Alma Mater, the University, the realm of Eastern thought and Eastern lore is about as difficult to enter as the charmed forest where the Prince had to discover the Sleeping Princess's Castle. I was helped on by my beloved Guru, but his vast intelligence was very often too much for me. When a difficult point in metaphysics had been reached, when I began to despair of ever penetrating Shankara's thought, I would dive again in the beloved pages of Narendra Nath. When troubles came along, in these moments when the soul seems to wallow in the "slough of despond" and hope seems to fly away never to come again, it was to him that I would turn. "Be strong! Be free!" repeated his voice, in exactly the same terms I had heard in the clinic. "You are not this poor being weighed down by the cares of life, you are He, you are divine!" and I would shoulder on the old burden and plod along with a renewed strength, because I believed his message was true. He would then appear as the embodiment of his people's heart, while his love would penetrate my soul and make it glow again as one breathes on smouldering embers.

I further know as a matter of fact that I am by no means the only one to whom he not only brought the Upanishads' message in a crystal clear form, but to whom he appeared in moments of meditation or of worries. He had, during his life-time, paid several visits to France, but they were flying visits, and he was too much engrossed with the Anglo-saxon civilisation, be it English or American. Does he want now to make up for the overlook? I rather think that, true Guru and awakener of souls that he is, he plays on our subtle bodies to enforce his teachings, for there is no true teaching if it does not reach the innermost soul. He hovers over us as a mother-bird on the wing near her young, and it seems he cannot wrench his great heart from this mankind he loved with such a strong love. I daresay that if we could receive the confidences of Eskimos in the Straits of Behring, or of American Indians lost in the heights of the Andes, we would hear many a strange tale. Being French, I can speak only of my compatriots, but I am sure he comes

to all sincere souls, regardless of race or education.

He is in France considered as one of the greatest heroes who ever appeared on the planet. It is surprising how sometimes in townlets of our provinces one may come across an admirer of his genius one would hardly think one could meet there. Spiritualistic societies, philosophers, writers, and even modest and obscure folk, know him, have read his works, or read his life. For us Vivekananda, before being a son of India, before even being Sri Ramakrishna's messenger, is the common treasure of all humanity. His energy, his keen logic, his wonderfully clear intellect appeal to us, because we have, or strive to have, the same racial qualities. The French people will always listen to a thinker's message, provided he expresses himself clearly and his ideas make sense. It is not for nothing that in 1792 Robespierre led in severe garb and composed mien the procession of the Goddess Reason! The true Goddess Reason, had he but known, may be found in the Upanishads and there only, but without Vivekananda who would have thought in our land to look for Her in their pages?

But it is not only because Vivekananda was one of the greatest. Instructors history has known that he exerts such an influence over European souls. He not only sowed to the four winds of the Heavens the great ideas of the Vedas, he is not only in our eyes the true hero so dear to Cassle's heart, he is as well a *saint*, a lover of God. There is in France—and may it never disappear!—a rich soil of spirituality which, through our centuries of Christian civilization reaches back to the time of the Druids of Gaul. A Brazilian friend once said to me: "France is the land of Saints." And that is rigorously true. Our saints are our glory, our protection, and the everlasting helpers of every soul. They may grow dim in the people's recollection, they may be more or less forgotten under the devastating influence of a machine-making era, but they are still there, and their bones are buried in the earth of our ancestors. They still live in the nation's subconscious, and I do not believe that we ever shall lack new saints, sincere priests, and chaste monks. To this France of the saints, Vivekananda has spoken the language of the

saints, and those who know him hail in him the true *bhakta*, the man whose great heart was dedicated to the Eternal. He had in his hands the precious golden cup of Sri Ramakrishna's brimming love and he has offered this cup to us so that we may be able to drink of its sweet liquor. He has translated the message of his ineffable Guru in terms a school boy could grasp, and doing so, he has enabled us to better understand the Christ's teachings. Under his magic touch, the Sermon on the Mount has assumed for us a deeper significance, and it is through his love of God that we love Jesus better.

The gospel he taught was universal—as was Sri Ramakrishna's message. His advent is one of the assets that will eventually lead mankind to join hands over the corpses of prejudices and bigotry. It is my belief that, as the years roll on, as Science unites ever more the nations and races in a common pursuit of knowledge and a common front against poverty, ignorance and squalor, Vivekananda's life and teaching will play a greater and greater role. It is not exaggeration to say that even in Politics his ideas hold good. He was a *kshatriya*, but in his love for mankind and his wonderful insight, he has hailed the advance of the *Sudras* and recognised the right of the people to live and work in safety. His great motto was: "Be free!", but the freedom he advocated was not only spiritual, he has denounced as well the faults of society against the down-trodden, the miserable, of this earth, the people condemned by their so-called betters to an everlasting life of poverty and ignorance. Mankind, as far as we can see, has raised itself at last and its hesitating steps have begun to tread the path which leads to true internationalism. Among its guides on this difficult journey, Vivekananda will be foremost, and his influence will be felt for centuries, even by men who know nothing of him.

Such is the power of the Sages!—Ramakrishna the sweet Son of Gol, not known to the great world, hidden in the shade of the Dakshineswar trees—Vivekananda the hero, crossing the "black waters" and thundering in American cities . . . They have delivered India. Now they have to deliver the world. May their blessings achieve the task, helped on by all the great souls, past and future, of humanity!

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

By ASHOKE MOHAN RAY, M.A., W.B.C.S.

(Concluded from the previous issue)

As a result of the legislation which has been enacted, in most States there now come into existence as interconnected structure of democratic statutory bodies within the district above the village level which are organically linked up with village Panchayats. In all the States, village panchayats are elected on the basis of adult suffrage. The sarpanch or the president of the panchayat is elected by the members of the Panchayat from among themselves except in the States of Assam, Bihar, Rajasthan, U.P. and Punjab, where he is elected by the gram sabha which consists of the entire adult population of the village.

For the constitution of Panchayat Samitis, different systems are in force. Sarpanchas are ex-officio members in Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, U.P., Gujarat and Bihar. In Orissa, in addition to sarpanch, each Panchayat elects a second representative, who must not be a member of the village Panchayat, to the Panchayat Samitis. In Madras according to the legislation, the sarpanchas and panches of each village Panchayat send one representative from amongst themselves to the Panchayat Samiti. In Punjab and Madhya Pradesh, panches and sarpanchas of the Panchayat in the blocks form an electoral college for electing the members of the Panchayat Samiti. In Assam and Mysore, members of the Panchayat Samity are elected directly by adult suffrage. In Maharashtra, direct election based on the adult suffrage are held for the Zila Parishad. Members elected to the district body are also members of the Panchayat Samiti, which includes, in addition, a number of Sarpanchas elected by electoral colleges composed of panches. In U.P., all sarpanchas are members of the Panchayat Samity, which also includes a certain number of members elected directly.

As regards Zila Parishads, there are three sets of arrangements in force.

- (i) In Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, M.P., Orissa, Mysore and Rajasthan, the Presidents of all the Panchayat Samitis are ex-officio members of the Zila Parishads.
- (ii) In Punjab, in addition to the Chairman of Panchayat Samitis, a number of representatives are elected by Panchayat Samitis from among their members.
- (iii) In Gujarat, Maharashtra, and U.P. the Zila Parishad includes members elected on the basis of adult suffrage as well as the Presidents of Panchayat Samitis.

In addition, in Gujarat and U.P. Panchayat Samitis elect a certain number of members from amongst themselves to the Zila Parishad. In West Bengal, the Panchayat Samitis, Zila Parishad Bill has been passed by the legislature.

The functions of Panchayat Samitis include municipal and other development functions and development functions relating to agriculture and other programmes whose execution has been assigned to these bodies. In most states the Zila Parishads are given powers of general guidance and supervision over the Panchayat Samitis. In Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, M.P. and U.P. the Zila Parishad has been given the power to supervise the working of the Panchayat. Besides, the supervisory and advisory functions, establishment, maintenance and expansion of secondary, vocational and industrial schools and securing the execution of plans common to two or more blocks are functions of the Andhra Pradesh Zila Parishad. In Maharashtra and Gujarat, the Zila Parishad has been made the effective unit for the administration of development programmes. In other states, Zila Parishads have not been given any executive functions.

According to Shree V.T. Krishnamachari (Report on Indian and State Administrative

Service and Problem of District Administration, 1962 p 35) the principal duties which have to be undertaken within the district and which, in turn, raise a variety of administrative and other problems are:

- (1) Preparation and implementation of village agricultural production plans and plans for basic minimum amenities for the village.
- (2) Preparation and implementation of block development plans.
- (3) Preparation and implementation of district development plans.
- (4) Assisting in the implementation of land reform programme, assisting the economically weaker sections of the village community, developing co-operatives and rural industries etc.

It is against this background of the constitution and functions of the Panchayat institution that one has to examine the relationship between the permanent civil servants and non-officials. We will discuss the roles of Collector and B.D.O. in Panchayati Raj as they will have to play significant parts with two important tiers of the system—the Zila Parishad and Panchayat Samitis respectively.

To begin with, Panchayati Raj has been given the responsibility for pushing through the programme of a welfare state in the field. But, as Shree B. Sivaraman, Chief Secretary, to the Government of Orissa has put it, (I.J.P.A. Vol. VIII No. 4 p. 494), it is not a force of administration independent of State administration. It is also the opinion of Shree V.T. Krishnamachari that at the present stage of development it is necessary that village panchayats, panchayat samitis and Zila Parishads should be built up as institutions carrying out the policies embodied in the plan and laid down by State Governments with the approval of State legislation. The constitutions place the State as the unit of administration and the unit of authority for administration and all the administrative systems within the State derive their authority from the State by delegation. Panchayat Raj is one limb of administration and is a means of decentralisation of the authority of implementa-

tion in the field. The source of power is the State, therefore the ultimate responsibility of the State for the welfare of the citizen has not been removed. The collector's position in Panchayati Raj arises out of the responsibilities of the State. As his area of operation coincided with the area of the Zila Parishad he has automatically come into the picture as the eyes and ears of Government.

It is true that the varying forms of democratic decentralisation adopted in the various States called for a reorientation of the fundamental character of Collector's office. Where previously the Collector ordered, he now has to persuade and convince. Where he previously inspected and punished, he now advised and gently corrected. Where previously he commanded, he now led and encouraged. In the new order, the Collector has been made a regular member of the Zila Parishad in Andhra Pradesh and a member without voting rights in Gujarat, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan. He can attend the meetings of the Zila Parishad without voting rights in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. In Madras and Mysore, the Collector is the Chairman of the district development council. His position, however, continues to be focal in all the States. Everywhere the Government apparently feel that he could represent the Government and that administration will not function effectively unless he co-ordinates the various wings and unless his authority is felt by them. To the non-official world he is the source of advice, guidance, assistance and finally of appeal. From a symbol of power, as Shree M. P. Rai has put it, he is being transformed to a symbol of service and authority.

The Collector's important position in the changing context of experiments in decentralised democracy has depended on two contributing factors: (a) the trust and confidence that the Government have reposed in him as a consequence of his selection to his post on consideration of merit and experience have maintained his position as agent of the Government at district level (b) the faith which the people of the district in his charge continue by and large to repose in him. On all controversial problems Government and people alike have always turn-

ed to the Collector for objective views and non-partisan executive action.

In some fields and in some ways, his position will be what it has always been. As the agent and representative of Government he is likely to continue to be the 'eyes and ears' of Government. He may not in the future, be the only channel of communication between the Government and the people but he will always be the most important channel and when controversies or conflicts arise the only dependable channel. There will also be a wide field of governmental activity e.g., regulatory functions in the fields of Revenue and Land Records administration, General administration, Criminal administration and Law and order. It is in the field of developmental activity alone that his role is in some directions widening and in others changing into a new form.

Developmental duties are nothing new to the Collector and were of importance even in the Company days, though the weight and sense of proportion were different. The nation-building activities have become normal functions of Government and with changes of political forms, the Collector's role can no longer remain the same. The responsibility for these has been placed in the hands of the elected representatives of the people in varying forms. One common pattern in all the States is that executive agencies are directly or eventually controlled by the Government and with increased decentralisation and delegation of powers the need for an agency to co-ordinate the work of these agencies has increased. In all the States, it has been accepted that the necessary powers of co-ordination can best be exercised by the Collector. At present, the Collector has no alternate to such a choice.

The Panchayat Samiti and the Zila Parishad have responsibilities for co-ordinating the welfare programme in their areas and distributing various funds that are earmarked by Government for development work in the district. The potential for taxation either at the Panchayat Samiti or at the Zila Parishad level is very small. Direct responsibility for collection of any such taxation has generally not been placed on either

the Panchayat Samiti or Zila Parishad. These bodies therefore substantially deal with funds for which they have not sweated. The powers to give monetary favour without the responsibility for finding the money is a corrupting influence. Some Control in this matter is necessary. The Collector is to exercise such control. The Collector, moreover has been given the power of supervision over institutions. There is need for a convention to give Collectors powers in implementing necessary works in the areas which may be neglected because of party pulls and factions or general lethargy. Besides, his role as principal executive and chief co-ordinator between those responsible for the work of the various agencies, The Collector will have to play a new and difficult role in the field of working of democratic institutions. For success in the development field, close liaison between the Government and democratic institutions at the village and district levels are of great importance. The channel of communication will obviously be the Collector, but for the satisfactory working of development programmes, mere communication will not do. The Collector is now required to persuade, convince and encourage. As regards control over development services, there has been a pull that the elected body must have control fully over its services. The personnel for the executive cadre however, comes from the State cadres for the services. Extra institutional loyalties, therefore, are bound to arise. Unless there is a strong co-ordinating and enforcing agency, the executive arms of the Panchayati Raj will become ineffective. The Collector, who was the chairman of the old District Development Committee has automatically stepped into the position of a controlling agency of the development services in the district.

The upshot of the above discussion has been brilliantly summed up by Shree E. Sivaraman. Panchayati Raj is like the Rath of Lord Jagannath. The motive power has to come from the mass. Unless democracy decides to pull together and pull in one direction the Rath cannot move. Vast motive power is required. The Collector is very much like the director of the show. He can

advise on moderating pulls and evening out pulls. He can order the braking of the Rath. If we expect the Collector to supply the motive power, we shall be asking for the impossible.

These observations equally apply to B.D.O.'s role in Panchayati Raj. When the Panchayati Raj institution were introduced it was thought that the B.D.O. as the Executive representative of State Government at block level would have fewer functions. The current thinking (the latest being the Diwakar Report on the position of Gram Sabha in Panchayati Raj movement) is that the B.D.O. should be responsible to the Pradhan and the latter's supervision over the Panchayati Samiti staff should be exercised through the B.D.O. The Pradhan should also write the confidential reports of all extension officers, including the revenue officer, posted at Block Hqrs. It is also admitted that the B.D.O. should have the status of a Provincial Civil Service Officer so that he could command confidence and ensure smooth functioning of the administration of the Panchayat Samiti. In reality, the S.D.O. and Collector have still powers atleast in West Bengal to protect the B.D.O.s against vindictive Pradhan in case they are satisfied that B.D.O. has acted in accordance with the policies of their superiors and Government. The fact remains that there will be dual control over B.D.O.'s. When the Panchayati Raj institution will be in full swing, immediate control by the Pradhan and also control by S.D.O.s and Collectors will be simultaneous. No final comment can be made at this stage about this dual control and supervision of work of B.D.O. For this relationship is still in the stage of experiment. Healthy conventions have to grow. But the role of the B.D.O. and his extension staff is not thereby nominated. According to Shree V. T. Krishnamachari the extension officers should function as a team under the general guidance of the B.D.O. and assist the Panchayat Samiti by seeing to the technical soundness in execution of projects. The B.D.O. will also act as co-ordinator of different technical programmes and act as friend, philosopher and guide to the proper planning and exe-

cution of works within the jurisdiction of Panchayat Samitis.

It is true that in the new set up B.D.O. and his extension team have a difficult role to play in the transitional phase. They will have to work in dual capacity—as an administrative organ of the local authorities and also as an agency of Government helping the development of local authorities. A gradual change has been advocated by writers like Shree B. Mukherjee, I.C.S. (I.J.P.A. Vol. VII No. 3 p 315) According to them, B.D.O.s. link with the Collector should be retained, so that he continues to get the latter's help and guidance, though ensuring at the same time that the Panchayat Samiti has effective day to day control over him. Similar shall be the position of the technical officers at the level vis-a-vis their own senior departmental officers and the Panchayat Samiti. The attempt has to be to establish a partnership between the Panchayati Samiti, the block officers and the higher officers of the administration in the difficult task of developing the system of local Government on right lines. This will be an administrative problem of democratic decentralisation of great importance and much complexity.

Beside the above trends there may be other trends in administration like the increasing role of civil servants in the sphere of delegated legislation etc. But the trends discussed in the paper are major trends. One distinguishing factor of the above trends is that the permanent civil servants have adapted themselves to the new social and political forces in the country since Independence. Of course in the matter of adjustment there are stresses and strains. New administrative problems have cropped up. But the permanent civil servants have not attempted to undo the basic social and economic objectives of a welfare state embodied, in the Constitution. There are only few cases where civil servants still cherish the law and order and laissez faire view of the state. But the majority of them are making important contributions in the field of policy formulation and policy implementation in collaboration with and dictates of political executives and elected local representa-

tives of the people. Their prestige and power have not dwindled thereby. They have added new dimensions to their career. This discussion may, therefore, be concluded with the following observation of late Sardar Patel on the floor of Parliament about the competence of All India Services (Indian constitutional Assembly debates, 1949 p. 48 and 50): "I wish to assure you that I have worked with them during the difficult period. I am speaking with a sense of heavy responsibility and I must confess that in point of patriotism, in point of loyalty, in point of sincerity and in point of ability, you cannot have a substitute. They are as good as ourselves I wish to place it on record in the House that if, during the last two or three years, most of the members of the services had not behaved patriotically and with loyalty, the union would have collapsed."

HUMANISM IN THE COMEDIES OF CHRISTOPHER FRY

Prof. AKHILESHWAR JHA

All comedy, by its nature, is essentially humanistic. Whatever its aim, its theme has always been the eternal between man and woman in the context of society and the world. It explores human life almost as deeply as tragedy; but unlike tragedy, it ultimately finds out the source of joy of human life in not ignoring or by-passing life's realities, but in the full acceptance of, in Aldous Huxley's phrase, "the whole truth" of existence. It laughs at the excesses, various oddities, pain and suffering, and the delusion of imagination, and inspires us to accept the life of everyday joyfully. From Aristophanes to Bernard Shaw, and Christopher Fry, in varying degrees, and in different forms, the comic playwright has been consistently applauding, to quote Sir H. J.G. Grierson from a different context, "the humanistic spirit of Montaigne or Erasmus, the spirit which loves reason, moderation, balance, culture, and dread extravagance and other worldly aspirations and ardours."¹

In the comedies of Christopher Fry, this humanist spirit is apparent even at the first sight. In the beginning of a play, the protagonist is shown to be suffering from some extravagance on account of which he or she is on the point of rejecting society, the world, and even life, altogether; but almost invariably, at the end, through attaining a comic understanding of life's nature, he or she comes round most joyfully to accept them. The young soldier Tegeus, in *A*

Phoenix Too Frequent, in the beginning finds the world:

"as mildew, verdigris,
Rust, woodrot, or as though the sky had
uttered
An oval twirling blasphemy with
occasional vistas
In country districts."

Towards the end of the play, the same world turns into "a good creature again." Thomas Mendip, in *The Lady's Not for Burning*, sees, at the outset, "a world festering with damnation", but he grows in his experience to discover a world of beauty:

"a pale pastureland of peace
And something condones the world,
incorrigibly"

The Duke, in *Venus Observed*, in his inveterate lust for flesh, suffers from dangerous extravagance. His fleshly infatuation is suggestive of his innate contempt for human values. He is not aware of the things which would fill in the vacancy in his soul and, therefore, he is utterly lonely, interested only in the human pursuit of the stars through his telescope. But, in the end, he, too, comes round to discover abiding human values in the acceptance of the responsibilities of living within the social bounds. In *The Dark is Light Enough*, Gettner, a re-en-garde soldier, is presented as a thoroughly worthless creature. He is of use neither to himself nor to society. He refuses to und-

take the responsibility of living. He has no courage to court death either. But as the curtain begins to fall at the close of the play, we find that he is, after all, ready to face life, and be responsible for the consequences of living.

The reconciliation between man and society is a characteristic which Fry's plays share with other comedies of the world. But this is not all. Implicit in them, in the deeper layer, is a pattern determined by what may be described as man-God relation. Fry's vision of humanism is inherent in this pattern. The two relations, however, man-society and man-God, are not mutually exclusive of one another: they are blended into one with the result that at the same time as the characters resolve themselves to make an acceptance of society, they define their own relation to God and His Creation. The moment of revelation is one and the same. Here, then, is the most distinctive feature of Fry's handling of his themes, from which his idea of humanism is seen emerging. Contrast with T. S. Eliot's plays, in this respect, is remarkable. Eliot, too, attempts at dramatic fusion of the human and religious experiences. But the ultimate gestures of his characters such as Harry, Celia, and Colby imply a rejection of the ordinary human society: all of them choose to recognize a reconciliation in the other world, as it were. Not so in Fry: the characters are emancipated through their very acceptance of life and the world, because life and the world themselves happen to reveal resplendent, mysterious, and the divine significance. Even in his pronouncedly religious plays, the revelation of God's grace points to the utmost significance of worldly living, which is at the same time living with spontaneous understanding of the Christian virtues. Cymen's words, at the end of *Thor, with Angela*, are rich with humanistic resonance:

"We have still to learn to live.....

We are afraid
To live by rule of God, which is
forgiveness,

Mercy and compassion.....

God give us courage to exist in God,
And lonely flesh be welcome to creation."

More pronouncedly humanistic is the end of *A Sleep of Prisoners*. After having gone through the dreams of death and sin, the spiritual pilgrimage of the four prisoners reaches a state of quietness and hope. The last four lines suggest how calmly they have come to accept life with faith and blessing.

To show how consistently this composite vision of Fry's humanism determines the thematic organisation of his plays is the principal task I have set before myself. But before coming to that I intend to explore a central line of approach to the concept of humanism through sharply conflicting philosophical views on the topic in order to find out a philosophical context for his essentially creative vision.

Let us begin with T. E. Hulme, whose staunch opposition to the humanist creed was indirectly of much help to humanism defining itself more positively than ever before. Before Hulme, it could hardly be said to have existed independently. According to James Hastings, up to the first few years of the twentieth century humanism was thought to be no more than being the extension of pragmatism. It was J. S. Mackenzie, however, who for the first time associated it with an interest in man as opposed to an interest in dogma and the supernatural.² The controversy sharpened with the rise of the Marxian philosophy whose profession of humanist creed was in fact based upon a dehumanised conception of man. Yet, once man was extricated from any need of the spiritual and the supernatural, the force of logic tended to veer towards Marxism. This, to my mind, is in the background of the reassertion of dogma and ritual by the Catholics, of whom Hulme was one. Hulme imbibed his Catholic dogmatic creed during the first two decades of the present century in Paris which was the centre of heated controversy at that time. He distrusted any compromise between humanism and religion, and stood for clear and sharp division of the two. He argued:

"that there is an absolute, and not a relative, difference between humanism (which we can take to be the highest expression of the vital), and the religious spirit. The divine is not life at its intensest. It contains in a

way an almost **anti-vital** element.....The questions of Original Sin, of chastity, of the motives behind Buddhism etc., all part of the very essence of the religious spirit, are quite incomprehensible for humanism".³ The two things are not only "in reality separate",⁴ but also absolutely incompatible.

"The Religious Attitude:.....In the light of absolute values, man himself is judged to be essentially limited and imperfect. He is endowed with original sin..... A man is essentially bad, he can only accomplish anything of value by discipline....."

"The Humanist Attitude.....Life is the source of and measure of all values, and that man is fundamentally good."⁵

These two things are however mixed up by Romanticism, and consequently, the characteristics of both are blurred, and our understanding of life and art is confused. We mistake one for the other. "The whole subject has been confused", says Hulme, "by the failure to recognize the **gap** between the regions of vital and human things, and that of the **absolute** values of ethics and religion. We introduce into human things the perfection that properly belongs only to the divine, and thus confuse both human and divine things by not clearly separating them."⁶

Obviously, underlying Hulme's violent attack on humanism was his anxiety to define his enemy's position more clearly than his allies could do. Humanism which he denounced as being wholly "wrong" included, apart from the socialist humanism, the humanism implicit in all liberal faith in the progress of human beings towards higher perfections. The inadequacy of Hulme's theory of absolute separation, according to which man could not be thought capable of even apprehending the perfection of the divine, was somewhat modified later by other Catholic thinkers. More rigid was found to be his theory of **discontinuities**. M. Mahood, for instance, scoffs at the idea of the sudden break or gap between the religious and humanist epochs:

"Many....speak of the Renaissance as a kind of violent eruption; as if every European who, in 1452, unquestionably accepted the Ptolemaic world picture as the limit to his observation and the decrees of the

Catholic Church as a check to his metaphysical enquiry, had, by 1454, been transformed into a selfseeking individualist, ready to reject all Christian dogma for a Swinburne-like glorification of pagan thought and art."

Hulme's violence is also visible in his denunciation of **Personality**, "a harmonious character" as "the bastard thing."⁸ A host of questions arise from Hulme's negation of the "free-will," and rejection of things created by God which He found to be good. A harmonious character was by no means the Renaissance product; the human personality, in the Middle Ages, was still a 'personality' making choice, taking decisions, though all decisions and actions derived meaning from God. After the Renaissance, because the horizon of man's awareness was immeasurably widened, his understanding of man's relation to God also changed. The cleavage set in during the eighteenth century in England, with the limited conception of man being complete in himself. But the human personality is there in all ages—only changing its way of fulfilment according to the accepted findings of the thoughts and sciences, scientific and philosophical, of a certain age. To deny personality to man is to deny the story of Creation as narrated in the Bible.

Even in Hulme's concerted attack on humanism, there is a gap which points to a large middle region between the two absolutes. He divides the reality "into three regions.....The inorganic world, of mathematical and physical, (2) the organic world, dealt with biology, psychology and history, and (3) the world of ethical and religious values".⁹ He tries to emphasize the absolute discontinuities between them by asking us to imagine a geometrical figure of two concentric circles. "The intermediate region of life is...essentially relative; it is dealt with by loose sciences like biology, psychology, and history. A muddy mixed zone then lies between two absolutes...."¹⁰ Having however created this relative zone, Hulme found it unmanageable for his purpose. In the very next paragraph he therefore says: "I am afraid I shall have to abandon this model, for to make it represent faithfully what I want, I shall have to add

a further complication. He is face to face with a dilemma, and he saves himself only by evading it. It is quite likely, however, that Hulme's intermediary, relative, zone of life becomes in the hand of early T. S. Eliot the zone of "pure humanism," which though being tagged to religion, is supposed to act as a corrective to religion:

"Humanism", says Eliot, "is either an alternative to religion, or is ancillary to it. Any religion, of course, is for ever in danger of petrification into mere ritual and habit. . . . It is only renewed and refreshed by an awakening of feeling and fresh devotion, or by the critical reason. The latter may be the part of the humanist."¹¹

Later on, when Eliot accepts Catholicism, he would, for instance, in *The Idea of a Christian Society*, take nearly the same attitude as Hulme towards religion and humanism. But the early Eliot is not quite in agreement with him. For Hulme, order and institutions are absolutely necessary for man, whereas for Eliot they are hardly of any worth without their being able to evoke in the people inner, spontaneous, response to faith in religion. Even the early Eliot, by implication, prescribes outer control, the control of tradition, for instance, but unlike Hulme, he believes that without 'inner control born of faith, the outer control designed by institutions and priests would be no more than the political law enforced with the policeman's help. In Eliot's argument thus the elements which are exclusively opposed in Hulme, come to acquire a delicate balance. He says:

....the idea of religion is the **inner contact**—the appeal not to a man's behaviour but to his soul. If a religion can not touch a man's self, so that in the end he is controlling himself instead of being controlled by priests as he might be by policeman, then it has failed in its professed task."¹²

The phrase "**inner Control**" is significant for it is there that both religion and humanism fulfil themselves in man. Eliot thus cuts through the absolute discontinuities, as advocated by Hulme, by conceiving of man as residing simultaneously in two worlds, natural and supernatural. A humanism which does not take cognizance of this

"dualism of man" falsifies man's true nature. Those who cannot see man as inalienable from his supernatural elements view him finally as not more than an extremely clever, adaptable, and mischievous little animal."¹³ Humanism, based upon this false image would ultimately result in its own defeat. The pure humanism is, on the contrary, based upon the true nature of man; man with his supernatural realities, the immense possibilities of his inner world, and his constant itch to rise above his own littleness. This kind of humanism is not incompatible with religion.

"There is no opposition" Eliot declares, "between the religious and the pure humanistic attitude; they are necessary to each other."¹⁴

The essential difference, inspite of some apparent agreement, between Eliot and Irving Babbitt, should be clearly noticed. For Babbitt, the only philosophy of life, valid for the modern world characterised by loss of faith in religion, is based upon humanism. He wishes to replace not faith, but religion; it should now be a higher object of man's faith: hitherto it has will of man.¹⁵

Babbitt pleads for the ideal self-sufficiency of human higher will, though in his analysis, higher will has been shown as rising and decaying with religion. Is the "higher will" capable of enlisting spontaneous human faith, of replacing the concept of God's grace, and thus of creating conditions for urging man to the ideal of universal perfection and humility? Besides, Babbitt rejects the concept of Original Sin, and believes man is born with a lower self and a higher will: his freedom lies in the realisation and attainment of the latter. Thus he places a sort of supernatural element within man himself, by completely detaching him from the religious order. Putting too much burden on man, one would say: what is more, there is always the danger that the 'higher will' might decay into higher power and higher vanity as also religion, without humanism, might decay into merely formalised priestly rituals. Eliot's assimilation of the two, therefore, appears to be more logical and convincing.

Like Eliot, Maritain points out that any idea of humanism is dependent upon the kind of man's image we have in our mind; "whether we hold or do not hold that there is in the nature of man something which breathes an air outside of time and a personality whose profoundest needs surpass the order of the universe."¹⁶

In other words, we must first be sure about the true nature of this piece of creature called man before deprecating or applauding humanism. And like Eliot he declares that, "in point of existence, we may say that man is at once a natural and a supernatural being."¹⁷ Granting this simultaneity inherent in the nature of man's existence, he gives his definition of true humanism.

"Let us say that humanism. . . . essentially tends to render man more truly human and to make his original greatness manifest by causing him to participate in all that can enrich him in nature and in history (by 'concentrating the world in man', as Scheler has almost said, and by 'dilating man to the world'). It at once demands that man makes use of all the potentialities he holds within him, his creative powers and the life of the reason, and labour to make the powers of the physical world the instrument of his freedom."¹⁸

This definition is central to Maritain's approach to the whole problem of humanism. In all the key-phrases of the passage such as 'to render man more truly human' 'man use of all the potentialities' 'his creative powers', 'the life of reason', and 'to make the powers of the physical world the instrument of his freedom', there is no reference to God. Yet the phrases suggest a different kind of philosophy of humanism from what is put forward by the Marxists. But the controversies do crop up regarding the particular things, acts, and states of feeling or experience which would make man truly human and the physical world the instrument of his freedom. The various meanings and characteristics of the concept of freedom, again, are liable to be stretched along divergent lines.

"For this new epoch in the history of Christian culture the creature will neither

be belittled nor annihilated before God, its rehabilitation will not be in contradistinction to God or without God, but in Christ. There is but one way of progress for the history of the world that the creature should be truly respected in his connection with God and **because** he is totally dependent on Him; humanism indeed, but a theocentric humanism, rooted in what is radical in man: integral humanism, the humanism of the Incarnation."¹⁹

In these lines we get an indication of a redefinition of the relation obtaining between man and God. The stress falls on the understanding of the deeply mysterious, and indispensable unity behind the idea of Incarnation: the Word made flesh out of God's love of man. It calls for the spiritual renovation, at transformation of the whole being to be achieved by attaining the true understanding of love.

Love emerges as the core of Maritain's new integral humanism. He gives a new explanation of 'contempt of creatures' shown by the Christian saint, according to which "the more he despises creatures in degree in which they might be rivals of God or objects of a possible choice to the exclusion of God, the more he cherishes them as loved by God, and made by Him as fair and worthy of our love."²⁰ The contempt therefore is only love in disguise; he hates his own contempt, because everything potentially has the beauty of God's creation. In love—Maritain makes no such distinction as divine love and human love—contemptible things of the world become aglow with beauty, and in that very experience the God-man relation is revealed. As he says: "the transfiguration of things in a love which is higher than they, this standpoint taken as generalized, as become common, corresponds to the **rehabilitation of the creature in God** which I see as characterizing a new age of Christendom and a new-humanism."²¹

It is here that I find the context for the kind of humanism implicit in the comedies of Christopher Fry. They are all comedies of love, and social and individual manners; but it not the conventional, sentimental, love of Shakespeare's early comedies, or of Restoration comedies, or, again, of most

of love-comedies of our own times. In fact, all these kinds of love: sentimental, conventional, lustful, etc., are ridiculed by the nature of true love. This is basically, fundamentally human love, and at the same time Christian: one and both simultaneously. Maritain describes the whole thing in his characteristically clear manner:

"And it strikes me as highly relevant that the theme of human love, . . . in the deepest springs of its historical beginning, a Christian origin, should now rise up in a current of thought which under materialist influences, has long wished only to give it a secondary and sentimental value."²²

In fact, Maritain's **True Humanism** provides so exact a philosophical commentary on Fry's treatment of love that one feels inclined to believe in its deep influence on the formation of Fry's vision of life. But the book was first published in 1938, though the lectures, which the book consists of, were delivered at the University of Santander in Spain in 1934. By 1938, Fry had already written **The Boy with a Cart**, a religious comedy, and his first play to be published, in which he accorded a highly personal treatment to the theme of Christian miracle. The influence of **True Humanism** on Fry is unlikely. But through a development of his artistic vision he comes to discover in love—true love, which deriving its mystery and significance from Incarnation, is both indistinguishably Christian as well as human—the same instrument of redemption and fulfilment in the modern world as does Jacques Maritain. This is a remarkable vision, when we think how insistently, since the seventeenth century, man has been falling apart from God in spite of his several desperate attempts to avoid it. The successful attempts so far have been all one-sided: they involved either the rejection of the world of flesh altogether or else the rejection of God; and in the end they resulted in the death both of flesh and God. Attempts at compromise have been, in the main, abortive, because they have been unrealistic unaware of the innate, eternal, unity of the two in the idea of Incarnation.

What is Christopher Fry's image of man? and his idea of man's situation in this universe? It is difficult to find in all

his plays a single character who could be said to personify the dramatist's ideal man. He is, in fact, not concerned with either the ideal man or the worst man, but with man trying to grapple with evil and good, and death and life, in the course of his own existence. And since, this image of man is relevant to all the people of the entire civilized world, the playwright may be described as being concerned with the universal man.

Christopher Fry on the one hand presents a Christian view of man as being fundamentally imperfect in consequence of the Original Sin, which however is conceived of as a necessary concomitant of the flesh:

"Am I an inconvenience to you?"—asks Jennet of her lover, Thomas Mendip, at the end of **The Lady's Not for Burning**, and he replies:

"As inevitably as original sin. And I shall be loath to forgo one day of you. . . ."

On the other hand, he is a humanist because the redemption from the Original Sin, according to him, is to be achieved not through Christian sacrifice, penance, affliction of the flesh, and suffering, but through deep realization of the very human emotion of love. For in its intensity and depth and purity, love happens to acquire its original Christian significance: love which urges the flesh to creation and makes for life even out of death. But in the pattern of Fry's comedies, no character, man or woman, makes love; he or she discovers it all on a sudden. The moment of it can not be planned, or even foreseen. It is beyond man's manoeuvrings, dependent upon what may be called divine mercy.

It is important to remember this divine characteristic of human love in connection with an appreciation of Fry's comedies. As suggested before, this true love exposes the absurdity and evil of the pretended, vain-glorious, sentimental, and sensual kinds of love. It would be worthwhile to examine Fry's treatment of the theme in his comedies.

In **A Phoenix Too Frequent**, Dynamene, in the beginning of the play is in delusion. Her "Promising husband" is dead, and she is making preparations, along with Doto, her maid, for travelling to the Hades. There is only one way that lead to Hades, and that

is death. She is therefore fasting, and Doto fasts too to keep company her lady on the way to Hades. She only thinks conventionally she loved her betrothed lover; but her words betray the true nature of her spirit which had not yet known true love. She finds the whole creation meaningless, broken, out of joint.

Nothing however in the dialogue suggests that Dynamene is serious about her death. She is life-abundant, and ready with her spiritual awareness to recognize the value of living, and the insignificance of death. The sudden and fully discovery of it comes later, but the tendency is always there in her.

In Tegeus, she happens to discover the real love which the richness of her life craved for. He, too discovers his own "future" in the moment of his accidentally meeting her: "It was more than coming", he says. "I followed my future here." They both rediscover the meaning of life, love and death.

And when they finally find they are in love, their entire vision is transformed; they are, both of them not only reconciled to life and the world, but also eager for creating a world out of themselves. It will, by no means, be an immortal world; it will be still mortal, composed both of the flesh and spirit, yet blessed with the bliss comparable to that of the Gods:

It is well to remember here what Maritain has said about truly humanistic love which does not recognize so much the flesh as that which makes the flesh glow with radiance. In his words "The question is whether for this love to be the true love of man, we do not also need to love in man what in man vivifies man, Love itself and the spirit's gift of love."²³

And it is in this sense that at the end of the play, when the situation is comically reversed, Dynamene tells Tegeus-Chromis:

"Chromis, love is the only discipline
And we're the disciples of love"

In *The Lady's Not for Burning*, the pattern is complex. True love is opposed to various kinds of pretensions and evil. Vanity,

delusions, lust, officialdom etc. The main situation in the plot is only a variation upon the one in *A Phoenix*.....Here Thomas Mendip exhorts the Mayor to award the capital punishment on grounds of his having committed murders which only he thought he did, or invented 'to make an excuse for his own death, because he had come to love life, and the world. 'I've never seen a world so festering with damnation', he says. Like Dynamene and Tegeus before they had found love, Thomas Mendip in the beginning of the play, finds both human body as well as the world wholly meaningless.

But, on coming into Jennet's contact, and having been affected by the pure feelings of love, he begins to discover beauty and symmetry in the same universe which he found ugly before. The spiritual change, which has occurred in his heart, is suggested through the images and the rhythm:

Jennet. What can you see
Out there?"

Thomas. Out here? Out here is
sky so gentle
Five stars are ventured on it.

I can see
The sky's pale belly glowing and
growing big,
Soon to deliver the moon. And

I can see
A glittering smear, the quail trail of
the sun
Where it crawled with its golden
shell into the hills."

By the end of Act Two, when love has fully brought about his spiritual transfiguration, he wishes to live, and what is more remarkable, wishes to live usefully.

"We should be like stars now that
it's dark

Use ourselves up to the last bright
dregs;

And vanish in the morning."
And he who craved for death is
yearning for living.

"And I'll live too, if it kills me."

The whole universe and the elements of Nature, now acquire a beauty he had seen before:

Richard Gettner is a man terribly afraid both of living and dying, a hopelessly worthless fellow.

For the Countess, however, it is enough that he is a human being and ignoring the opinion of her friends, gives him shelter in her house inviting troubles to herself, and her conventional Thursday-evening friends. This opposition, incidentally, lends great force to the drama, as also it throws the humanism of the Countess into sharp relief. She dedicates her life to the shaping of Richard Gettner's life through love which is never demonstrated or directed to him. The Countess's love, it will be seen, reaches the highest point in the playwright's developing concept of it. The Duke, in "Venus . . ." married, and accepted the life of the flesh. In this play, after the death of her husband, the countess did not marry again, and discovered the fulfilment of her life in its dedication to the love of her son, friends and ultimately all human beings: friends or foes, high or low. She is the personification of compassion, which is Christian because it is purely humanistic. She gives shelter not to Gettner alone, but Colonel Janik too when he comes begging of it. Ultimately both come to see the reality and truth of the world, and accept to face it. Gelda is reconciled to Peter, and all her three friends, Belman Jakob, and Kassel come to see the truth beyond their conventional convictions.

There are two peculiar things which particularly merit our attention in the play. First the non-interfering divinity of the Countess; and second her death at the end. Any adequate estimate of these peculiarities of this play would make another full-length essay. But I mention them here because they suggest Fry's deepest idea of humanism. The Countess is non-interfering because she believes in the absolute freedom of the human individual, and in the individual responsibility of making one's own choice. She respects all kinds of choice made by human beings, but does not judge them. In the play she makes no decisions for the characters round her: but she provides the glow in which the characters are inspired to take their decisions. She loves all of them. What she hates though her hatred is never

displayed in the drama—are the things we all hate: hatred, tyranny, war, and in an individual, his or her incapacity to take decisions, and accept the responsibility of living.

It is tempting to go into deeper analyses of this richest of Fry's comedies—richer than that is, if one is acquainted with his previous plays. But I shall only point out in a few words the significance of the death of the Countess in the final scene from the point of view of humanism, and then proceed to indicate the 'humanistic theology' of Christopher Fry.

Love in, and of, life inevitably leads to an effort to find out a significance in death. The significance is not sought in anything beyond death, but death as being the culmination and not an extinction of living. The death of the Countess, in the play, is the culmination of her living; her life realises its fulfilment in her death. The main conflict of the play lies between the countess and Gettner; it is humanism on trial: her divinity is put to test: She is dedicated to transform (though she never declares, nor does demonstrate, it) the most worthless fellow. And to the end of the play, Gettner remains nearly unchanged, a man with no faith. The final scene, therefore, is very exciting: one feels pitched onto the verge of curiosity as to the 'fate' (if we may use the word) of Richard Gettner. He is, it seems, affected gradually by the Countess's philosophy of love but something sudden is needed to jolt him out of his inhibitions. This is provided by the quick, reposeful, happy everlasting sleep of the Countess. The impact is sudden and severe like divine revelation, and Gettner is reborn into a man of full stature, responsible enough to face the world, and live his life. The door that he asks Bella in the last line of the play to open is not simply the door of the house: the door opens to an entirely new life. Thus in her death the Countess defeats the evil: in her death triumphs the spirit of humanism: a soul that was lost is found again:

In Christopher Fry, firstly there is no reference to Christian dogma or belief: the belief is born out of the triumph of human

emotions, their intensity and depth. Secondly, the idea of the immortality of soul does not occur in any of his plays, but there is evidently a belief in the eternity of life which death can not destroy. Individuals will surely die, but if only their lives had been illumined by love, out of their death would flow unceasing and powerful forces of purposeful life. It is in this sense that death is defeated: in love life is reborn and recreated—not the life of one individual or two, but of all those who come into contact with the loving spirit. Such is the death of the Countess in "The Dark is Light Enough."

There is another implication of love in Fry's plays. We find in them a striking similarity between the two descriptions of the happening of human love and the striking of human soul by divine grace. The divine occurrence, too, is described in the same words implying suddenness of the revelation, and a helpless feeling of compulsion to accept it.

How is this dilemma resolved in Fry's Plays? It is resolved in the divine mystery of love. It is love alone which transforms the "body's hell" into "body's heaven" as it were, and transforms the ugly, rotting, broken, meaningless, universe into a beautiful and purposive universe. The creation then does not only cease to be cursed, but is made to associate with love, and becomes, indeed, the fulfilment of love's meaning.

The creation of the universe now turns into a meaningful proposition: the sun, the stars, the moon, the hills, the landscape—all become resplendent with gleaming lustre. What is, above all, the individual, feeds in complete harmony with the universal Nature. Love reveals to him the purpose of his existence in God's universe, and unites him in happiness and joy both to the world of men and women, and the world of Nature.

This is, it will have been noticed, a kind of image of creation—creation in its beauty, with which man finds himself in absolute harmony. It should not now be difficult to see that the image of meaningful creation and the beautiful universe recalls the pre-fall world while the image of a purposeless creation, and the ugly universe at complete

discord with man, recalls the post fall world.

In such a world man inevitably became lonely. It is in this sense that the element of loneliness in Fry's plays has to be understood: it is not psychological, or sociological: it is spiritual.

But the true love restores not only the relation with other human beings, but also reveals a harmonious relation between the individual and the universe. The curses of fall are turned into blessing through submission to the new discipline of love. The individual no longer feels lonely since the whole universe, he finds now, exists for him. The pattern is repeated in all his comedies.

Once this state of understanding through love is attained, it becomes possible to feel like the Duke. "You think more of sin than the sinner," like the Countess: "In our plain defects we already know the brotherhood of man" like the later Richard Gettner:

"So long as the punishment falls

It is inconsequential where" because, then, the underlying one-ness of God's creation—man in complete conformity with Nature—becomes clear and evident as one's own hand.

M. M. Mahood, in his "Poetry and Humanism": points out that the chief accomplishment of the seventeenth century humanist poet was the reintegration between the mediaeval Thomist theology and the Renaissance revival of the glory of man. But, it is remarkable that the re-integration during the Renaissance and after is achieved only rarely, and then only through highly romanticized imagination. Secondly, the dichotomy between the Mediaeval spirit and the Renaissance faith is never eliminated "Man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy him for ever." "That is the conviction," says Mahood, "which underlies all the devotional writings of the seventeenth century. It deflects the most melancholy poets from despair with man's shortcomings to the hope of his high calling: it reorients and refines the pride of the most optimistic to a humanism which gives man a greater end than his own glory."²⁶ In this summing up, as is clear, man is not yet free

from the task of the glorification of God. And in the seventeenth century how was man to glorify God if not by observing religious rites, however liberal they might be? In other words the dichotomy in beliefs which caused the dissociation of sensibility still prevailed in those humanistic poets, and went on widening through subsequent years and centuries. The new humanism based on Protagoras's dictum "Man is the measure of all things" was taken over by politics and economics, and thrown at an alarming distance from the religious thought. The distance was so great that any attempt at reintegration in the seventeenth century manner would have been ridiculous. Meanwhile the explorations of the expanding universe revealed unknown mysteries, and the investigations of the human mind revealed an inherent unity of certain deep human experiences, the experience of love being typical of them. To a secular man and woman, the deep experience of love was found to reveal the same transcendental power and capacity as religious grace and faith in the days of yore. Thus, in the plays of Fry the theme of love becomes the only true source of the new, living, practical humanism, not as a philosophical concept, but as a living experience. There is a Paradise in all souls waiting to be realised by each one of them. This is the end man and woman must live for: and this is the end which is most elevating, ennobling, creative and therefore most humanistic. And the end does not regard God as apart from itself: it envisages, in fact, the Pre-Fall relation between Adam and God when the human being was indistinguishable from the Divine. It is that humanism, simple and pure, personal as well as universal, which Christopher Fry evokes through his poetic plays. And, since anthropocentric or a theistic

humanism has led to the enslavement of man himself, and the Christian humanism of Hulme and later Eliot failed to carry the conviction of the people fed on Einstein, Freud, and Jung. It seems to me that the only possible humanism for the mid-twentieth century world of ours is the one based upon, and growing out of, human love. And of this human love which transcends into the divine by yet remaining deeply, purely, human, Christopher Fry is a great exponent. For after all, God created man in His own image, and He created Adam and Eve in the form of flesh. "And saw everything that he had made, and beheld, it was very good."

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"MANAGEMENT FOR INDUSTRIES"

By N. SEN, M.A.(Com), B.M.(Dip), F.S.A.A.

Associate Member of SIET Instt. (Ford Foundation and Government of India)

MANAGEMENT is the core of an enterprise. It is its lifeblood as the failure or success of a concern solely rests on it. Efficient functioning is the result of good management while the deplorable state of an organisation is both the cause and effect of bad management.

MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE

Today is the age of science and technology. With their blessings, there is rapid economic and industrial development taking place all the world over. Highly advanced countries of the West are becoming more and more modern and advanced, underdeveloped countries becoming developed and backward ones coming forward. What was small a few decades back has today turned into medium, medium into large and large into scientific and mechanised units with modern techniques and methods of operation and process of producing goods. This process of industrial development has brought about a number of complexities and problems in modern business and industrial organisations. The important ones are the application of scientific approach and technological innovations to production, distribution, administration and management, research and development, psycho-analysis and experiments, training of artisans, placement of labour, human relations, labour disputes and the problem of procuring finance for re-equipment and replacement of plant and machinery, resources for working capital, increasing costs of doing business and increasingly keen competition and so on. These cannot be tackled and handled by ordinary men, but by able and competent managers with good management set-up and environment.

MANAGEMENT IN INDIA

'Management' is still in its infancy in the Indian industrial structure, the main reason being her relative backwardness in the field of industrial

and business organisations till recently. But, in the wake of our national independence, there has been a tremendous revolution and upsurge of industrial activities in the country for building up of a self-generating and self-sustaining economy. Our achievements are quite impressive, despite many failures and shortcomings. The country has witnessed during the last one and a half decades the birth of hundreds of public and private sector commercial and industrial organisations, undertakings and corporations and millions and millions of such corporations and companies would come up and go into production in the foreseeable future. The task envisaged is, therefore, gigantic and cataclysmic. To meet this challenge, our industrial structure would require better and sound management and an ever-increasing supply of brain power and muscles—personnel working as a team that can tackle immediate problems and anticipate future needs.

WHAT IS MANAGEMENT ?

'Management' is a social process entailing responsibility for effective and efficient planning and regulation of the operation of an enterprise in fulfilment of a given purpose or objective with the best use of human and material resources, energy and time. To quote Gantt, 'Management is that thing which causes people to co-ordinate with the other for the good of the whole.' Management functions practically in every phase of organised human activity—whether it is the home, farm, school, shop, factory or any other organisation. It is a complex task. It is said that management is what management does. The development of scientific management has brought about a reorientation in our entire outlook as regards modern industrial organisations, for it aims at a scientific approach to all internal problems of an industry by applying most rational methods and techniques with the general object of increasing the output and efficiency of the industry as a whole.

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF MANAGEMENT

In order that the management of an organisation is sound, healthy and competent, it should generally observe certain basic principles of scientific management to attain its goal of higher efficiency and optimum productivity. Although no hard and fast criteria can be set out, the following basic principles are worth a good deal of careful thought :

1. *Sectionalisation*—An organisation should be suitably divided and sub-divided into several sections and departments according to the requirements of an enterprise, each dealing with a particular function and organised on the basis of functional control and principles of division of work. This leads to specialisation and efficiency of an organisation.

2. *Delegation*—There should be clear instructions, orders and directives of the management to all concerned and proper delegation of authority and power should be vested in the sectional and departmental heads. This will generate initiative and ensure quicker disposal of the problems and is, therefore, basic to a competent administration.

3. *Responsibility*—Responsibility is the corollary of authority. An organisation is perfect when there is a smooth flow of authority downward and a regular flow of responsibility upward. In other words, there must be a definite line of authority and chain of command. Each subordinate should be responsible to his boss. He is answerable to him for his task and accountable to him for his performance. Moreover, each employee should have one immediate boss only.

4. *Discipline*—Discipline is the code of management. There should be praise for good work and punishment for negligence, disobedience, insubordination and breach of discipline. It calls for constant vigilance and strict supervision at all levels, clear and fair agreements and judicious application of penalties. Sufficient checks and counter-checks and controls at various points should be instituted so that the work done by an employee is automatically checked by one or more other employees of one or more other sections and departments.

5. *Objective*—A good and perfect organisation must have a clearly defined objective in view and is concerned with answers to the five broad questions—what shall be done, how shall

it be done, who shall do it, where to do it and when shall it be done? A sound management may secure good results out of a poor organisation, whereas a bad management cannot show good results out of a good organisation.

6. *Communication*—It is a two-way traffic and must be quick and easy. The free flow of communication up and down the line of authority is a vital necessity for good human relations and morals as well as for production efficiency. Good communication down the line builds unity in the organisation and up the line helps the administration to frame policies and practices.

7. *Decision*—Decision-making is the basis of sound management. Speed and accuracy are the key-notes of management-decision. A problem should not be kept hanging fire, but solved immediately by a responsible manager, who must give his rational judgement and correct decision on the problem.

8. *Unity of direction*—Each group of activities having common objectives, must have only one head and one plan for direction and execution.

9. *Periodic meetings*—Meetings and discussions amongst the various sectional heads should be arranged at regular intervals for a check up and review of the workings and for exchange of views, opinions, facts and figures. It will create a spirit of healthy working atmosphere, co-operation and better understanding amongst the officials.

10. *Equity of treatment*—Fair deal, proper justice, reasonable consideration, kindly manner and equity of treatment to the subordinates, are the essence of modern management. They would build up their pride in their work and self-respect and would elicit loyalty and conscientious devotion to their work.

11. *Right men for the right jobs*—One of the basic principles of modern scientific management is the hiring of the right type of men for the right jobs with fair remuneration and proper incentives. This affords maximum satisfaction to both the employers and the employees.

12. *Stability*—Instability in the tenure of employment of personnel is the effect of bad management. Unnecessary labour turnover is definitely costly to the management and should be avoided at any rate.

MANAGEMENT FUNCTIONS

An efficient management must be concerned primarily with the following important managerial functions :

1. *Planning*—It is the logical forecasting of future problems and events, selecting from among the alternatives the courses of action to handle the problems and events foreseen. Practically, it is thinking ahead and determining the broad lines, preparing the appropriate methods for effective action and laying down the general plans, programmes and policies.

2. *Organising*—It is getting ready to do what has been planned. It consists of getting together, when needed, all the resources required to accomplish the plans already framed by the planners. It calls for the determination and enumeration of the activities required to achieve the enterprise purposes and objectives, the grouping of these activities and assigning them to subordinates with proper delegation of authority and power for purposes of implementation.

3. *Motivating*—It is convincing subordinates to do what they have been assigned or directed to do. It is one of the major tasks of the management. It has to get the work done through a group of people so as to be in keeping with managerial planning and organising efforts.

4. *Controlling*—It is to decide as to what degree the plans have been achieved and to take appropriate action and corrective measures when they have not. In other words, it is in the nature of follow-up to the other fundamental functions of management to ensure that what is intended to be accomplished is accomplished as envisaged in the schedules and targets.

5. *Co-ordinating*—The essence of management is the achievement of co-operation among the employees and co-ordination among their activities. The various efforts of an organisation should be unified and maintained in their correct inter-relationships so as to fulfil the objectives set by the organisation.

6. *Directing*—It is the training of subordinates in the general way to do their jobs and commanding them to carry out some specific tasks involved in their jobs at particular times.

MANAGEMENT PROCESS

Management is a process by itself. Its functions are designed and directed for practice to the different processes of management, viz :

Men—Personnel Management, which is concerned with the hiring, firing, remunerating, training, placing and maintaining cordial labour-management relations.

Money—Financial Management to deal with financial planning and control, cost structure, cost analysis and cost control, accounting and profitability of a concern.

Market—Marketing Management to handle the sales, product policy, price policy, market research, advertisement and publicity.

Material—Material Management to tackle the problems of purchase, receipt, storage and issue of materials, stores and equipment and inventory control.

Minute—Office Management involving office routine, secretarial practice, information, administration and public relations.

Method—Method is generally connected with the Production Management for production planning and control and different techniques, systems and methods connected therewith including work study practices.

CONCLUSION

In fine, it goes without saying that the best sign of good management is the steady and methodical training of all employees and placing them for the right work. This will undoubtedly create the atmosphere conducive to the production of quality goods, increased efficiency and higher productivity and at the same time producing the goods at the lowest possible competitive cost, so as to attain an optimum return on investment, i.e., an adequate profit margin on sales in relation to an acceptable rate of return on capital employed with a continuance of healthy financial state, steady and stable growth of the organisation and better labour-management relations in an ever-changing economic and industrial environment.

In view of the present perspective of industrial development in India, better management is a must for all types of units—be it small, medium or large. Earlier it is practised the better. In the context of this imperative necessity, there is now much talk on management here and there—both in Government circles and in the commercial and business world. A number of specialised management institutions are being set up in the country, managers are being trained and oriented in management education and quite a good number of seminars and symposia on management philosophy are being held. This will continue in increasing proportions as we go along and go ahead with the rapid progress of industrialisation.

NEW TRENDS IN AMERICAN FINANCIAL SITUATION

By KAMAL ROHTAGI

AMERICAN economy is getting away from classical or even observed cyclical patterns in many respects. Text book models of American economic behaviour in an upswing are no more valid and perhaps after this cycle new and more thorough studies would be needed to find out the new equilibria of growth and stabilisation dynamics of the American economy.

American finance are no exception to this rule. Money and credit conditions have radically changed in the current economic upswing and do not reflect the trends observed hitherto since the last war during all other upswings of business cycles. These new trends may mean several new problems for the internal American corrections and may also pressurise American balance of payments problems because of the excess liquidity in the U.S. banking and financial system, lowering of interest rates (or their standstill) as compared to their conditions during the downswing periods, and consequent pressures in seeking more profitable investments in securities outside U.S.A., which means that the *outflow of capital movements from U.S.A. is about to be stepped up*, leaving a larger gap of negative balances to be filled.

It is to this end that we wish to see a little more clearly where the interest rates in the internal U.S. market are going and what are the new factors in banking developments, other financial institutions, retirement or increase in treasury debts, finance for mortgages, finance for corporations, municipal and local bodies, and consumer credits. We must know these internal

developments of the American markets to find out its true external position, not only now but in months and years to come.

We had been accustomed to sharp rises of interest rates during all upswings of the business cycle in America hitherto, but the current upswing has proved an exception. At the end of September, 1963, *yields on most long-term securities were actually lower than at the trough of the recession in February, 1961*. The only exceptions to this had been long-term U.S. Government bonds, and even in this case the increase since the trough has been quite small: 1/5 of one per cent.

In general the trend of interest rates during 1963 has been upward but very slow and moderate. Actually yields on high grade issues tended to rise while yields on lower quality securities tended to remain about unchanged or declined slightly. Also, yields on mortgages declined, but the decline temporarily ended in April, 1963, and after that yields on FHA's in the secondary markets and on conventional remained stable though a new weakening has been noticed from early November, 1963. In relation to their generally sluggish movement, the decline, however, from December, 1962 through April, 1963, was fairly substantial.

The trend towards narrower yield spread between mortgages and bonds and between low and high yield bond issues, has been under way since roughly the peak of the business cycle in May, 1960. Such movements were common during

the latter parts of the recession phases. This probably results primarily from the spilling over of the large volume of loanable funds which are available at such times into greater-than-usual demand for lower quality issues.

The rather unusual extension of the trend towards narrower yield spreads in the current upswing in business activity is probably due to the easier posture of monetary policy at this stage of the cycle and to the cost squeeze which has induced financial institutions to seek high-yield investments. But are there any more permanent factors, which may also operate even in future in such upswings? One just wonders.

Now take banking developments. Bank credit, seasonally adjusted, at all commercial banks, increased at an annual rate of 10 per cent in the first nine months of 1963, compared with approximately 3 per cent in comparable periods of two previous cyclical upswings and 9 per cent over the whole of last year. Most of this increase occurred in loans and investments other than those of U.S. Governments. In the loan categories, real estate and consumer loans each rose at an annual rate of about 12 per cent or roughly the same as in the first nine months of the last year. Business loans, however, increased at an annual rate of only 5 per cent in the first half of 1963, which was only half as fast as that of the first six months of 1962. This is rather ominous.

Monetary expansion has already continued longer than in the two previous stretches of cyclical advance. In the first nine months of 1963, the seasonally adjusted money supply increased at an annual rate of 2.5 per cent, much faster than the first nine months of 1962, when the money supply did not rise at all.

In contrast to developments at comparable stages of previous business cycles, time and savings deposits, seasonally adjusted, also continued to expand rapidly in the first nine months of 1963. They increased at an annual rate of 14 per cent compared with an increase of 18 per cent over the whole of 1962. Larger deposits generally mean lower consumption, over which the real strength of an upswing depends. Thus, larger time and savings deposits in an upswing could only mean that (a) it is a comparatively smaller upswing and (b) it may be short-lived, as compared to previous upswings. This is not a happy prospect at all, either for us (exporters

to U.S.A.) or for the people of the U.S.A. (because the opposite of upswing is downswing).

The trends in other financial institutions (other than banks) were almost similar to banking trends. Savings flows into savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks continued at the rapid pace during the first nine months of 1963. The absolute increase in savings at these institutions was greater than in comparable periods of recent years.

Over the post-war period, the inflow of share capital at savings and loan associations has tended to increase at a fairly constant annual percentage rate *regardless of the phase of the business cycle*, while deposits at mutual savings banks, like time deposits at commercial banks, have tended to increase faster in periods of recession than in periods of economic expansion.

In the first nine months of 1963, savings shares at savings and loan associations, increased at an annual rate of 15 per cent, roughly in line with the increases in the first nine months of other recent years, but well above the increase last year (1962). Deposits at mutual savings banks grew at an annual rate of 7.7 per cent, slightly faster than the rate of increase in the same period of 1962. Both institutions invested a record volume of funds in mortgages.

Assets of life insurance companies rose at the annual rate of 5.3 per cent in the first nine months of 1963, substantially faster than the first nine months of 1962, when declining stock prices reduced the value of stock portfolios, but about the same as the rate for 1962 as a whole. Mortgage investments of American insurance companies were the largest since the first nine months of 1955 and 1956, two years of rather good economic weather in U.S.A.

Seeing all this the Treasury tried to help the situation. In the first half of the calendar year the U.S. Treasury normally supplies funds to the market by retiring a small portion of the marketable debts. During the first six months of 1963, however, the Treasury neither increased nor retired debt on a net basis as attrition and repayments totalling \$6.8 billion were exactly matched by \$6.8 billion of cash borrowing. In contrast, the Treasury redeemed net \$400 million of marketable debt in the same period of 1962 and \$2 billion in the first half of 1961.

Net debt redemption in the first half of the

year usually contributes to the seasonal decline in interest rates which tends to take place in that period. The absence of net debt redemption was one factor contributing to the general increase in market yields, which occurred in the first six months of the year on a selective basis.

One of the main beneficiaries of the increased liquidity of banks and other financial institutions had been the mortgagees. Interest rates and fees which borrowers have to pay declined as lenders have competed for existing supply of mortgages. From January to April, 1963, yields on FHA new home mortgages in the secondary market declined from 5.52 to 5.44 per cent, while interest rates on conventional loans to finance new houses declined from 5.95 per cent to 5.80 per cent. Since then no further decline has registered in these series.

The trend towards lower rates and easier terms has been under way now for approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ years and has probably been an important factor in the continuing strength of the construction industry. Total mortgage debt outstanding increased by \$12.5 billion in the first half of 1963 compared with an increase of \$11.2 billion in the same period of 1962 and \$8.2 billion in the same period of 1961.

What has been the condition of the corporate and municipal finance in the last nine months? During this period the State and local governments raised new capital in substantially the same amounts as the first nine months of other recent years. New borrowing by corporations totalled almost \$5.2 billion, virtually the same as in the same period of 1962 but about \$1.3 billion less than in the same period in 1961. This is ominous. It can only mean that the present upswing is of lower magnitude than even that of 1961.

Of course larger tax exemptions and rebates for machinery replacements may also have contributed to net lower borrowing by corporations. But this trend needs to be watched. This is nothing to be feared as such. (In Western Europe self-financing by large corporations is a normality, but not so in U.S.A. and U.K. Are the Americans also adopting European financing methods?).

Although aggregate corporate borrowing in 1963 has been approximately the same as in 1962, the distribution by type of borrower has differed significantly. Manufacturing industries borrowed

somewhat less than in 1962 (which was comparatively a recession year) while other industries, which include extractive industries, transportation, real estate, financial and commercial enterprises, borrowed substantially more; and public utility and communications industries borrowed substantially less.

The credit for manufacturing industries needs to be watched carefully, together with the fact that several large manufacturing organisations are moving part of their manufacturing activities abroad (mostly in Western Europe). A general decline in U.S.A. in the manufacturing activities could hit that country and also the world trade in several directions, financial ones included, and may even hasten the devaluation of the U.S. dollar, which has come again under severe pressure.

In the field of consumer credit also one finds certain trends that are not very healthy. At least these are unknown in their total ramifications, which have not been unearthed as yet.

In the first nine months of this year, consumer credit, seasonally adjusted, rose at an annual rate of about \$5.8 billion, about the same as the yearly increase last year but \$600 million less than the record increases in the years 1955 and 1959. Most of the rise this year has been due to the \$2.8 billion (annual rate) growth in automobile instalment credit outstanding, an increase exceeded only by the phenomenal increase of \$3.7 billion in 1955. Other types of instalment credit grew at about the same rate as last year, while non-instalment credit grew much slower than in the other recent years.

The ratio of repayments of instalment credit to disposable income has long been regarded as a good measure of the burden of the consumer debt. Since about 1955 the ratio has fluctuated around 13 per cent but recently has risen to a new record of 13.6 per cent. Also, the ratio of total consumer debt to disposable income has continued to edge up, and there is some evidence that certain consumer loans are not being classified as consumer credit. Some home-owners, who have substantial equity in their homes are refinancing their mortgage indebtedness to raise money for non-housing purposes. In view of these developments, the burden of consumer debt may be somewhat greater than the ratio of repayments to disposable income suggests.

Thus, in a nutshell one may say that the supply of credit continued to be readily available in 1963 (first nine months). The money supply expanded at a moderate rate and savings continued to flow into commercial banks and financial intermediaries at record or near-record rates.

Since corporate, State and local demand for credit remained approximately unchanged from year-earlier levels, the increased inflow of funds was directed primarily into the financing of real estate and consumer durables, principally automobiles. In response to the cross-currents and demand and supply, yields on short-term securities and high-quality long-term issues rose moderately, while yields on mortgages declined and yields on lower quality bonds either declined or remained approximately unchanged.

It is these trends that show *the further increase in the liquidity of commercial banks and financial institutions of the U.S.A. would mean search for larger outlets or outflow of larger long-term capital from U.S.A.* This could benefit the under-developed countries, if the outflow could be made to move in our direction, but chances are that these would move towards Western Europe and towards some

selected investments in extractive industries overseas.

Whichever way these funds flow (as the higher-yielding investment opportunities are diminishing at home) the U.S. balance-of-payments would be further pressurised and the U.S. Government might be forced to resort to the control of capital movements, which may start the movement of a growing lack of confidence in the dollar and then perhaps its devaluation. But before that happens, these new trends in the American financial situation would need to be watched with care and caution and may be that we would have to wait till the next business cycle, which may come in the trough next year (1964) and in the upswing in the latter part of 1965.

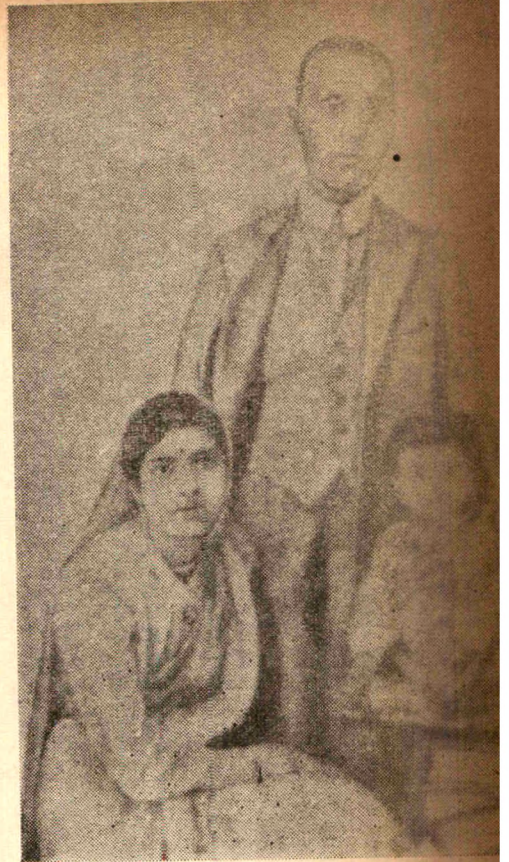
Thus, the devaluation of the American dollar may not take place till 1965, but if present trends are confirmed and the financial situation of larger internal liquidity, smaller consumer demands and larger balance-of-payments deficits remain or increase, then the devaluation of the U.S. dollar may become a strong possibility. This international danger has to be understood in its full ramifications and there are ample signs pointing to that direction.



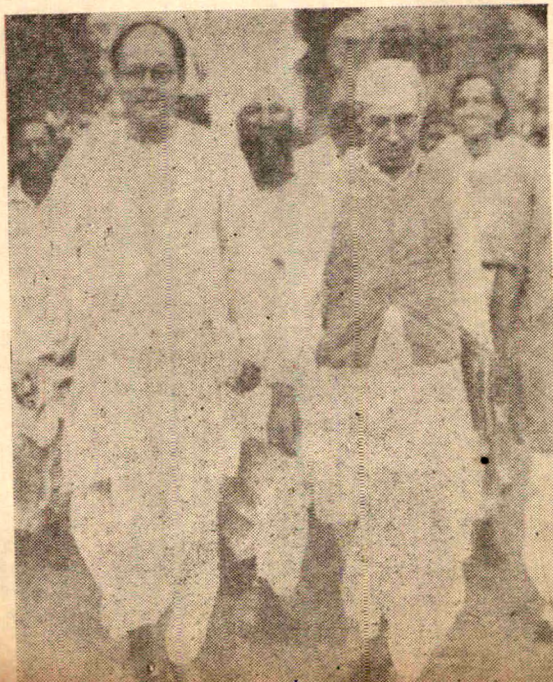
NEHRU HIGHLIGHTS IN PICTURES



Mother and Son



With wife Kamala and daughter



With Netaji Subha

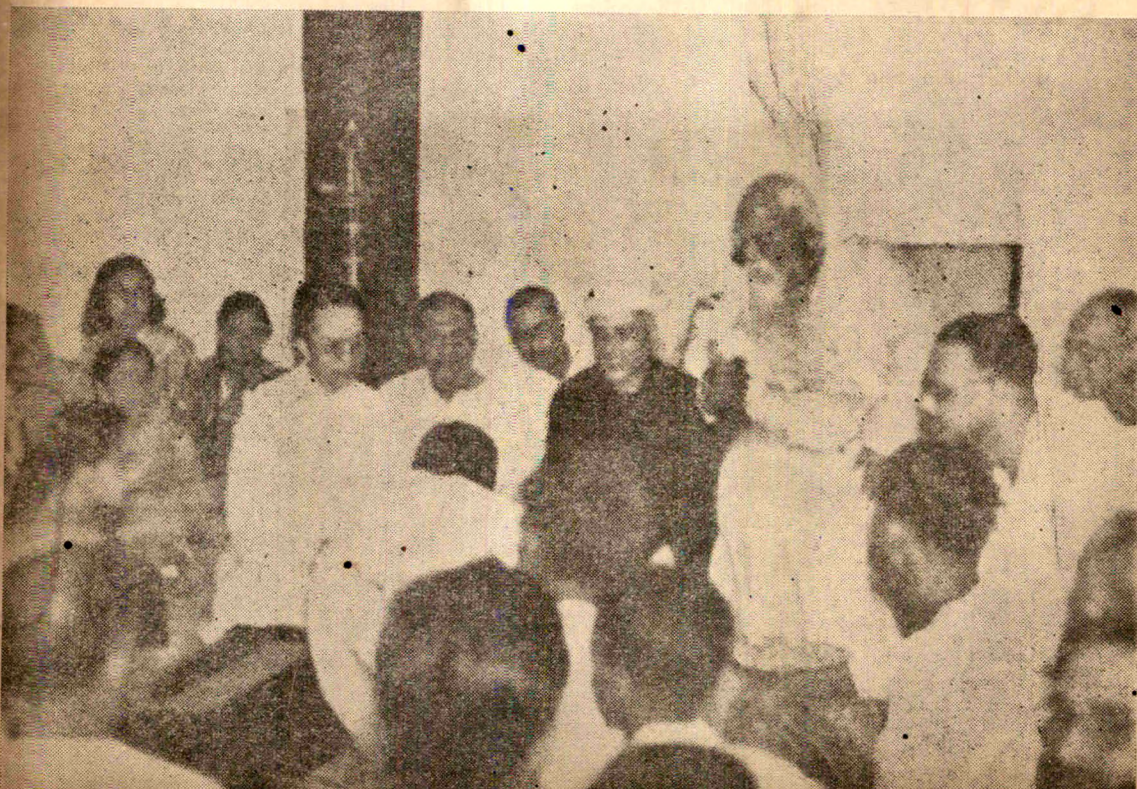


First Incarceration



On way to defend INA accused

With the poet in Santiniketan





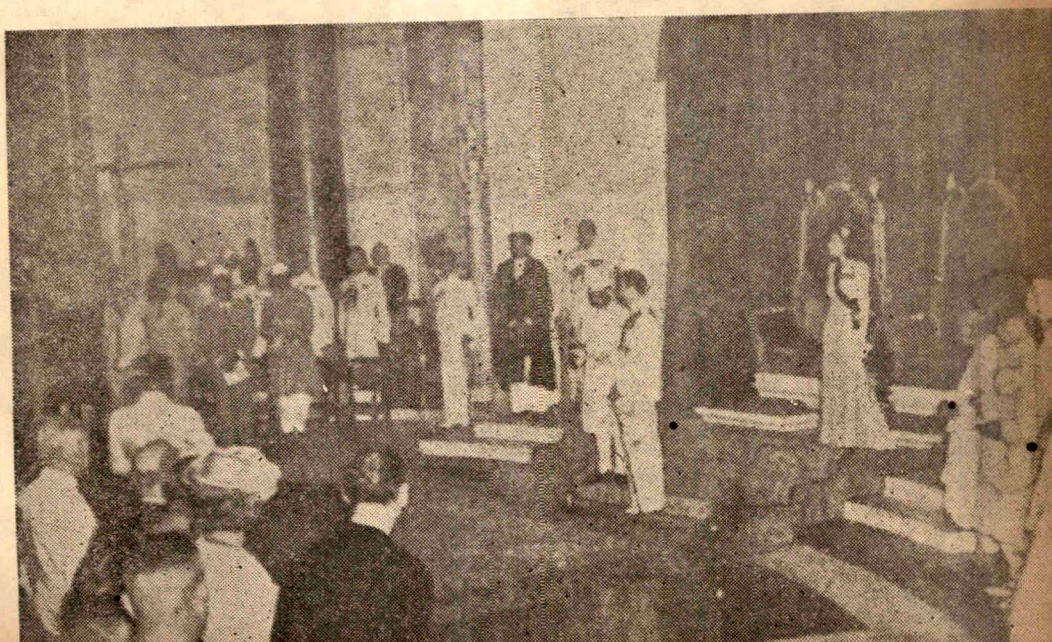
Discussing the Mountbatten Plan—Jinnah, last but one on the right

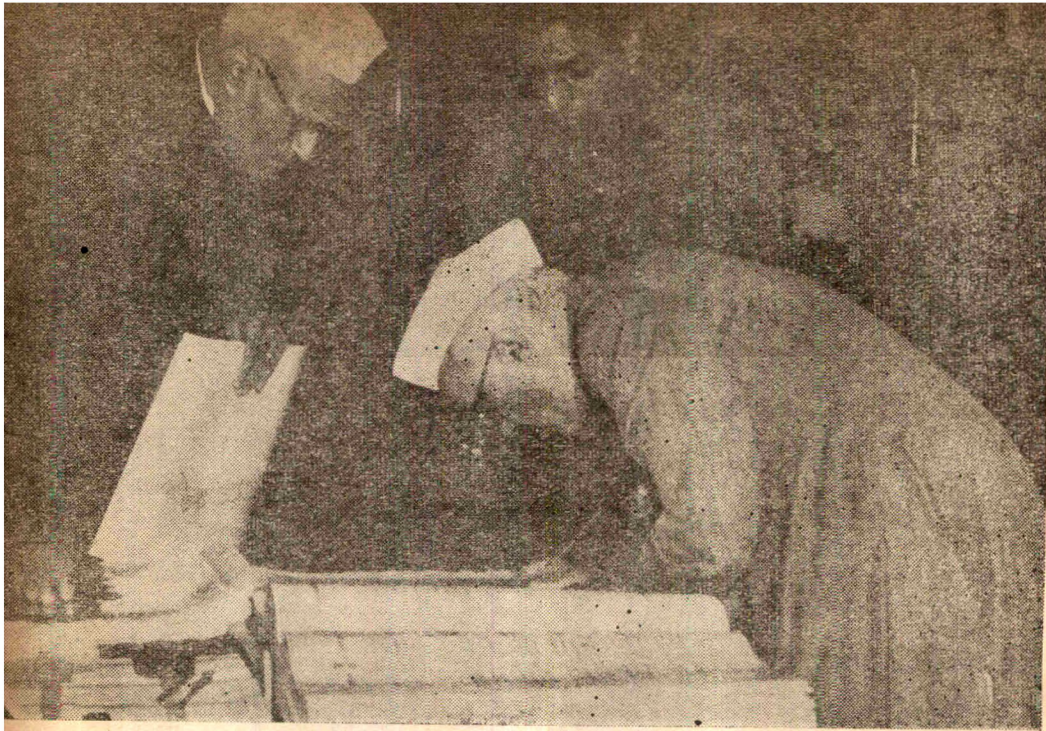


Two Great World Leaders :

With Martyred U.S. President Kennedy

The Historic Ceremony—Taking over from the British

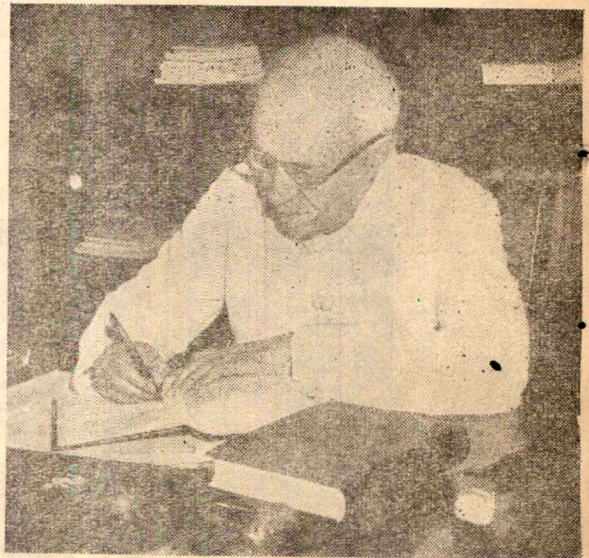




Signing the Constitution of India



stering Indo-Soviet Friendship :
With Bulganin and Kruschev



Signing the Second Five Year Plan



Never so happy as when with children : Birthday felicitation



Jawahar Lal Nehru "Jewel of India": being awarded the Bharat Ratna by late President Rajendra Prasad

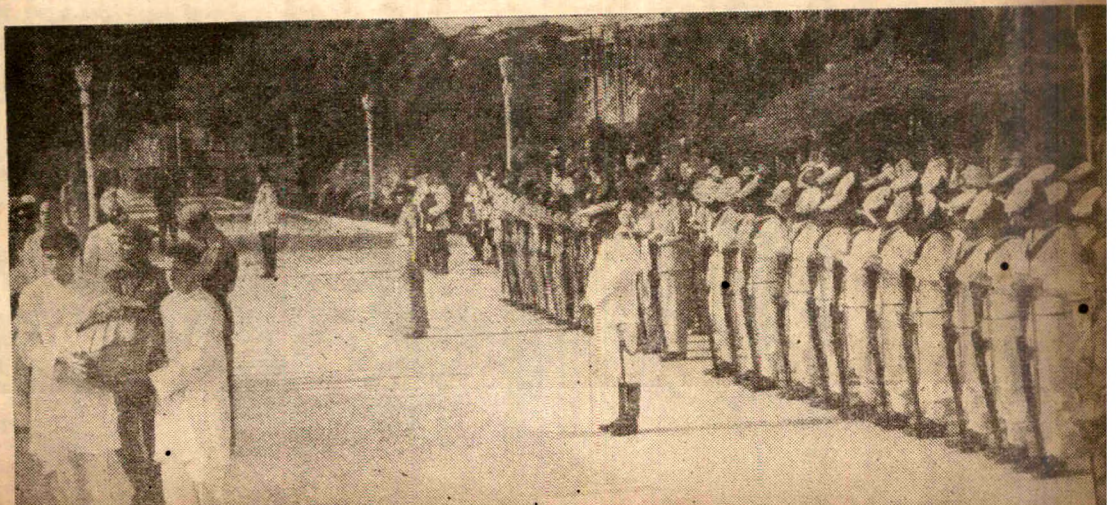


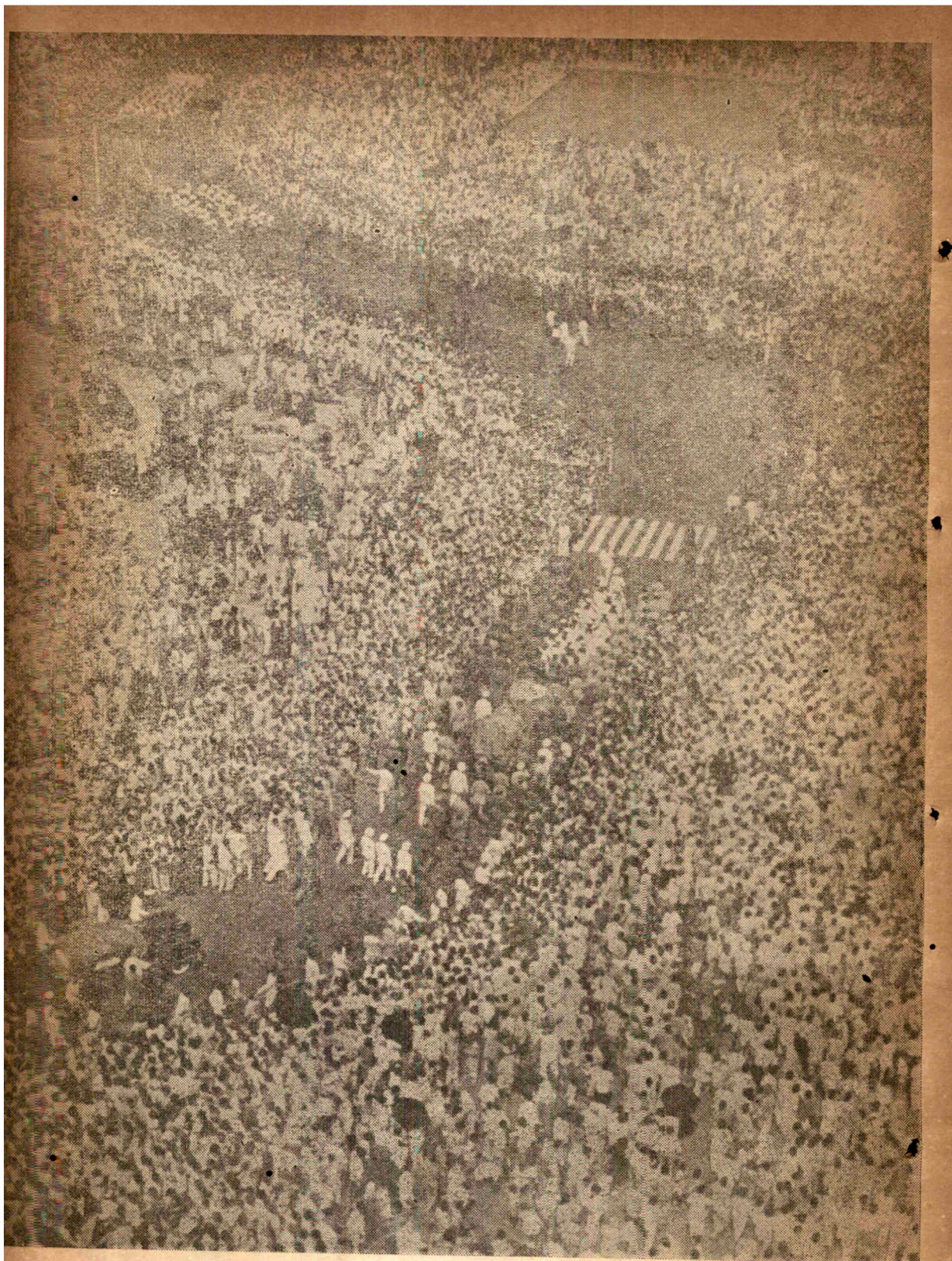
At the Annual Convocation of Visva Bharati in Santiniketan



Jewellery for the defence effort : Examining donations from Himachal Pradesh

His last
gift to the
nation —
Ashes
from his
funeral
pyre





The last journey—on way to Santighat

TRENDS IN RAJASTHAN POLITICS: MAHUWA BYE-ELECTION (A VIEWPOINT)

By Prof. K. L. KAMAL

Social psychology, reflects social structure which in our country, is fragmented heavily in castes and sub-castes, regional and religious groups, sects and sub-sects and factions that form around strong personalities and local leaders. A ceaseless social struggle goes on among individuals as well as their groups and it is carried over into the political field. The political behaviour of an Indian citizen is negative; he votes negatively i.e., against something rather than for "something" and this negativism of political behaviour is a reflection of the prevailing economic scarcity,¹ the common attitude being that if one gets more bread to eat then some one else must eat less.

An analysis of the recent Mahuwa Bye-election would show the trends in Rajasthan politics, a study of which would be fascinating. Rajasthan had not been under a common administration prior to 1949 and this is largely responsible for the development of politics along regional lines paralleling the boundaries of the old princely states, and ownership formerly coincided with caste lines and the politics of jagirdari abolition demonstrates a significant change in the basis of political power within the new political system. With the emergence of Congress as the ruling party, major reforms were introduced but they were far from being satisfactory. The lot of the common man still remained unimproved. The common people have been suffering from hardship which arose, among other causes, in the transition from a feudal and agrarian social order to a mercantile one. Prices went up, established social and political relationships were disrupted and underwent profound change, commercial gain was ever more sought after. The new life was just coming but the old one remained firmly clinging to it and many people, who were not convinced of the coming of the rosy future, looked back nostalgically to the good old

days under the rule of the princes. This background of Rajasthan politics would be helpful in our study of Mahuwa Bye-election.

The Constituency and the People

Mahuwa constituency, which forms part of the erstwhile Jaipur State, occupies a special place among other constituencies of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly. The recent bye-election in February 1964² has caught the imagination of many politically conscious people throughout the country. It is interesting to note that Mahuwa has gone to polls as many as six times since the First General Elections in 1952. This constituency has witnessed three General and also three bye-elections and as many as 20 bye-elections were contested between 1952-57. It is shocking that even after 16 years of Indian independence, communalism continues to remain the most dominant force in national politics and our political parties, whatever ideology they might profess outwardly, have simply perpetuated it. No wonder if Mahuwa also fought elections on this basis. In this context, community-wise division of this constituency is also interesting. The major communities of this place are the Minas, the Gujars and the Harijans but the politically conscious and dominant are the Minas and the Gujars. In all, there are 62 thousand voters in this constituency out of which 18 thousand are Minas, 14 thousand Harijans, 9 thousand Gujars, 4 thousand Muslims and the remaining constitute the Rajputs, Baniyas and other communities.

Background—Political and Communal

Some background is vital to understand this bye-election. The Minas and the Gujars have been the two dominant communities

in this area which have almost been on hostile terms. The Mina-Gujar conflict grew deeper in 1957 when Shri Tika Ram Paliwal, an ex-Chief Minister of Rajasthan, contested the assembly seat and defeated Sati Kishan, a Gujar. Shri Paliwal did not continue to represent the constituency longer as he resigned his Assembly seat to become a member of the Rajya Sabha. The Minas thought that the Congress would offer them an election ticket but their hopes got shattered when it was denied to them. The Minas, with their 28% solid votes want to maintain their political domination and regard this constituency as their own. A Mina won the bye-election caused by Paliwal's resignation.

In the 3rd General Elections, too, a Mina, Shri Shiv Ram defeated the Congress candidate, Shri Shiv Charan, a Gujar. Shiv Ram was a Jan Sangh candidate. This bye-election under review was caused because the Jan Sangh M.L.A. was unseated on a petition filed by Shiv Charan, the defeated Congress Gujar candidate. This was the source of profound irritation to the Minas who blamed the Gujars for the exit of their representative from the Assembly. Bitter communal feelings prevailed and the Mina-Gujar hostility marked the political and social life of this constituency. It was in this political atmosphere that this bye election was contested.

Polling Election Results and pattern of Voting

Before we analyse the election strategy and technique employed by the two political parties, a study of the election results might be helpful. In 1962, the polling was 54% but this time it rose to 67.77%, out of 62263 voters, as many as 41377 voters exercised their franchise. This, although it does not prove the authenticity of the fact that the people have developed more political consciousness and vigilance, may be attributed to the concentrated efforts of the leaders of the Swatantra and the Congress, the two contesting parties. Undoubtedly, the leaders of the two parties left no stone unturned to win the election. It is inte-

resting to note that the Congress lost but it fared much better in the elections and doubled its strength. Viewed from another angle, the margin of the Congress defeat this time was wider as compared to the last General Elections. The Congress candidate lost by only 1059 votes in 1962 but this time he lost the seat by 2571 votes. A study of the community-wise voting would show that most of the Minas, Rajputs and Banias voted for the Swatantra while the Gujars and the Harijans voted for the Congress. The explanation for such voting is clear. All the Minas combined to defeat a Gujar. Those who argue that the influence of the Jaipur Maharaja and Maharani alone led to the Congress defeat are awfully mistaken. The Minas, although loyal to the Royal Family, never wanted a Gujar to represent the constituency, which, they feel, is their monopoly. The Minas love neither the Swatantra nor the Congress but their own community. In the absence of an influential Mina as their candidate, they persuaded Mr. Kishori, a Mina to withdraw and concentrated all their efforts to defeat the Congress Gujar candidate. The Rajputs naturally showed their loyalty to the Maharaja and Maharani. The Banias voted for the Swatantra partly because of the loyalty to the Royal Family and partly because the system of controls, permits and licenses perpetuated by the Congress Government angered them. The Gujars naturally voted for the Congress because the Congress candidate was their man. The Gujars, too, are no less communal in their outlook. The Harijans voted overwhelmingly for the Congress since they were conscious of the fact that there has been a tremendous improvement in their condition with the emergence of Congress rule.

Strength of the Parties

(A) Congress :

About a month before the election was to take place, the Congress party had unanimously decided to concentrate all its efforts to win the election. Several hundred workers in hundreds of jeeps and trucks were working almost round the clock dur-

ing the election days. All the ministers led by the Chief Minister Sukhadia toured every remote part of the constituency and most of them stayed on till the elections were over. The work in the Secretariat was paralysed. 'Mahuwa Chalo' was on the lips of every Congress man. Some of the Central Ministers, including Mr. Raj Bahadur also campaigned for the party. In no other election in Rajasthan the number of Congress leaders and workers was higher. Even the Kishangarh Bye-Election which returned the late Shri J. N. Vyas to the Assembly faded away into insignificance. Mahuwa Bye-Election put a tremendous mental and physical strain on the minister and other leaders. It reminded them of the Pre-independence days. The Congress party exercised its full official influence e.g., one Mina was arrested in a three-year old case. Promises were given that Gur and Sugar would be made available at cheaper rates and Mahuwa would be electrified. Fictitious poles were also installed. At a number of villages promises were made to start schools, dispensaries etc., and to raise the status of the already existing schools and dispensaries. Choudhry Kumbha Ram's leadership and organisational skill were remarkable. Mahuwa temporarily united the split house of the Congress. All the Congressmen sank their differences and rose like one man to face the challenge. There was no case of sabotage in the Congress as it happened in the last elections.² To sum up, the Congressmen had tremendous material resources, an army of workers, a well-knit organisation and full determination to face the crisis.

(B) The Swatantra Party

The Swatantra Party also had its strength. It also did not lack in resources. The Swatantra candidate Mandhata Singh, an ex-senior Government official and a jagirdar had ample resources at his command. The Royal Family of Jaipur also did all that could be done to defeat the Congress. It was, in fact, the prestige seat for the Royal Maharaja Jaipur addressed the election meeting only once but Maharani Gayatri

Devi campaigned ceaselessly for full one week. Certain factors were favourable to the Swatantra. The greatest single factor favouring the party was the withdrawal of Kishori, a Mina from the contest. Had he been in the field, the Congress would have definitely won. Without any efforts he got 807 votes. To sum up, the influence of the Maharaja and Maharani on the basis of the traditional loyalty, the unpleasant record of the Congress rule in the past, rising prices and unemployment, corruption in the Congress administration, communal voting, social backwardness and lack of political consciousness, enormous resources and the exit of Kishori from the political scene, favoured the Swatantra. Last but not the least, the role of the Jan Sangh also contributed to the Swatantra success. Jan Sangh people forgot all that had recently happened in the Jaipur Municipal Elections and lent their full support to the Swatantra candidate. Jan Sangh commanded considerable influence since the former M.L.A., who was unseated, was their man.

A Study of the Limitations

(A) The Congress

The organisational leadership of the Jat leader, Kumbha Ram, was not acceptable to Chief Minister Sukhadia. It has also been reported that the role of many of the ministers was rather miserable. The Ministers have become rather feudal lords who are fast losing their mass contact. They remain surrounded by flatterers, people who seek permits and licenses. Many ministers were seen at Mahuwa boasting of an overwhelming majority over the Swatantra candidate. The vast crowd of workers was also unmanageable. To sum up, the election machinery could not be well managed. The rising prices, communal voting, the choice of the Gujar candidate, the feudal influence of the Royal Family and the withdrawal of Kishori from the contest led to its defeat.

(B) The Swatantra Party

The Swatantra won neither because of the organisational skill nor of any ideolo-

gical dynamism; it was largely because of the Congress weakness. The Swatantra workers were unorganised. They did not have even half of the organisational skill of the Congress party. It was a Rajput-dominated scene and the members of other communities were not viewing it with favour. To the observers it so appeared as if feudal system was going to be revived. The secretary of the Hindaun Swatantra Party resigned out of sheer frustration. Even the Minas were not happy with the candidature of Th. Mahendra Singh, both a Rajput and also an outsider. The Swatantra placed neither any ideology nor any programme.

A Study of the Election Campaign

(A) The Congress:

The congressmen, being more experienced, have developed masterly skill in the art of campaigning. Two things may be mentioned here. They talked much of their struggle against the British regime, their profound patriotism, the glorious past and the legacy of Gandhi and Tilak and above all their noble ideology of democracy and socialism. Secondly, the congress leaders vehemently criticised the Swatantra. Chief Minister Sukhadia charged the Maharaja and the Maharani of hypocrisy. P.W.D. Minister Harish Chandra, an ex-ruler of Jhauwar, called the Swatantra a party of jagirdars and their henchmen. Choudhry Kumbha Ram, in his characteristic way, said that this contest was between the son of a peasant and a feudal lord, in other words, an exploited and an exploiter. The Swatantra Party was criticised for championing the cause of the capitalists, it is never the party of the masses, they argued. The congress leaders accused the princes of exploiting the masses and also held them responsible for the backwardness of Rajasthan. Even now, the congress leaders campaigned, the princes are getting fat privy purses which put a great strain on the people. But for the Jagirdars and the Maharajas, the Government would have

provided greater facilities to the people. The congress leaders also claimed that the face of Rajasthan was completely changed with the advent of congress regime and the Chief Minister in one of his speeches illustrated this point by saying that the entire budget of Rajasthan on the eve of its formation is now being spent only on one item, namely education. It was because of them that the peasant has now become the master of his land. It cannot be denied that the congress has had long history, it has a well-defined programme and ideology and the congress leaders exploited everything in their interest including the name of Gandhi and Nehru.

(B) The Swatantra Party:

The Swatantra, on the other hand, is a new party. The organisational skill was miserable. Mr. Man Singh Mahar M.L.A. was formally in-charge of this election. The workers talked less of programme and ideology but simply exploited the declining popularity of the congress which they held responsible for rising prices, appalling poverty, corruption and step-motherly treatment given to the Minas. The Jaipur Maharaja, who was in Military uniform, gave a slogan, 'Rajput Mina Bhai Bhai' and this naturally had a powerful impact on the Mina voters. His tour of the constituency in a jeep carrying the Military Flag with the Swatantra Party candidate on his side, was a part of his well planned strategy. The Swatantra workers were almost colourless and the little colour they possessed was lent to them by the Maharaja and the Maharani of Jaipur. All the time they were seen speaking in the name of the Royal Family. What Gandhi and Nehru were to the congress, the Maharaja and the Maharani were to the Swatantra. The name of the founder of the Swatantra was not even heard. The tireless work of the Maharani was particularly amazing. The Swatantra leaders knew that their choice of a Rajput in the Mina dominated constituency was not a happy one³ and they wisely extended this assurance to the Minas that next time the Swatantra would put up only a Mina in this constituency.

Conclusion :

The Sarvodaya leader Jaya Prakash Narayan is very correct when he says that an elected representative, under the present set up, hardly represents the people. He is, in fact, thrust upon the people who have no alternative but to elect one. They may not like the man they have elected but they hate him less. The man, who won at Mahuwa, was in fact, a winner of a consolation prize, he was an outsider and practically unknown to the people of the area but still he got elected because the Mina dominated constituency did not want to return a Gujar candidate, who inspite of his being a son of the soil and also a good worker, lost. And this brings us to another point, namely communalism.

Is it not tragically shocking that the sixteen years of Indian independence could not improve the political behaviour of the electorate? The political parties (not excluding the congress) have miserably failed to educate the electorate on the right lines. It is a national tragedy that the top leaders of many political parties do not feel hesitant in demanding votes on communal lines. This reminds one of the horrible picture that Harrison has painted in his controversial book, 'India, the most dangerous decades.' The solution of the much debated problem of 'National Integration' does not seem to be in sight in the context when elections continue to create tensions in the society. It is injurious to the general health of society that communalism is the most dominant force in all representative institutions of the country from the village Panchayats to the National Parliament; representation in the State and Union Cabinets is often made on communal and regional basis and what is still more shocking is that even the temples of learning are not free from it. If social tensions continue to rise like this, it is high time that we look searchingly into the fact whether parliamentary democracy has not outlived its utility in our country.

Mahuwa has made it crystal clear that ideology plays a negligible role in elections.

The Swatantra victory is not the victory of its ideology. What to talk of the electorate, it is doubtful even if its leaders understand it. The defeat of the congress, again, is never the defeat of democracy and socialism. In fact, the common man does not know what democracy and socialism stand for. The political parties have miserably failed to educate the people ideologically. Their negative and destructive role is unfortunate.

Mahuwa was another Amroha for the Congress. Even the united house of Rajasthan Congress failed to meet the challenge. The Congress is now a spent force and perhaps it is difficult to reform it. The old spirit is gone and with it is also gone the hope to rebuild it. 'The old order changeth yielding place to new.' We are not sorry if the congress goes, we have seen enough of it; but many of the emergent parties are reactionary and communal; they care more for the classes than for the masses, they represent the vested interests of the privileged few, they want to revive the system which we fought to abolish. We may, dispassionately analyse the political situation of the country and with this analysis is inevitably linked the future of Parliamentary democracy.

1. The Politics of Scarcity by Myron Weiner. The central theme of the book is that the development of a legitimate and stable democratic infrastructure in India is contingent on the development of a bargaining culture in the key roles of the political system—in the political parties, in the bureaucracy and among the interest groups themselves.

2. A press reporter stated, 'Group leaders did their best to defeat the candidates and the other groups. The tussles between the union Minister Raj Bahadur and Aditendra, former P.C.C. President in Bharatpur, the Jat Group V/S Sukhadia and Damodar Vyas in Bikaner, Udaipur and Jaipur divisions account for many casualties!' *Times of India*, March 7, 1962.

3. Although Maharani Gayatri Devi told me in an interview that the Swatantra Party put up a Rajput candidate in a non-Rajput constituency, because there is no place for communal feelings in Swatantra Politics, this is hardly based on facts.

PLACE OF PLATO IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

BY PROF. SATYENDRANATH PAL

Extremely strange to trained ears of the students of modern sciences are the uproars of the dim and distant past, and peculiarly strange are those fifth century B.C. outbursts of sedition and sophism which made prominent the curiously complacent and phlegmatic people of Greece with the tinge and stigma of revolutionary radicalism. Shortly before the middle of the fifth century before the Christian era, there appeared a figure on the Greek political stage offending the contemporaries though he did not offend posterity. The political teachings and preachings of the then political luminaries were only poetic apparitions and about two decades out the poetic conception took flesh and the preachings of Plato served as a spark on the dry timber of public opinion and showed the ancient political world to its very foundation. The writings of Plato almost completely span the hey days of Greece. The name of Plato is still surrounded with the respect due to a great genius and a great renown. It is true that this respect often degenerates into servility, because here as elsewhere, the admiration of the few becomes the exaggeration of the many, and genuine enthusiasm is echoed in loud homage. But no amount of exaggeration ought to make us unjust to the noble faculties which inspired these excesses.

In gazing back across the yawning gulf of time and after a searching survey of political history, we are constrained to contend that Plato stands alone unsurpassed by any political philosopher. The gulf between the stubborn Greek and his predecessors and successors widened into a ravine; it was spanned by a footbridge and Plato though simple and serene, walked on it alone. For nearly two thousand years people of Europe were almost completely unaware of the works of Plato and when in the rumblings of raging torrent of Renaissance the complete text of the Republic woke up from the deep sleep of peace, the comprehensive Plato re-emerged and has remained very much alive ever since.

In this paper we are primarily concerned with a proper appreciation of Platonic political

programme. In doing this we are faced with enormous difficulties and distractions. Because a long line of political scientists have interpreted Plato in their own trend of thought and outlook. But we shall try here, as far as space permits, to square with the conflicting and bewildering views. The vexatious variety of views lands us in difficulty to speak of Plato without exaggeration. It is generally contended that each and every one is either a Platonist or an Aristotelian. Carrying home the logic of Coleridge, we are essentially in agreement with him when he says that every one may at one time be a Platonist and at another an astute Aristotelian "so universal are the qualities of these two giants of Greek philosophy" says Prof. Maxey "and so perfectly do they typify our characteristic modes of reasoning that the average person shifts his mental gears from the Platonic high to the Aristotelian low."

In analysing the programme of Plato we shall move this way or that: wander from the broad path into the winding and obscure alleys whither only a handful of persons will take pains to follow. But in anticipation of caustic comments I should plead that although my predilections may seduce me into the intricate and thorny political and social problems, I have tried my best not to sacrifice any general interest to such pure predilections.

Though widely analysed and read with avidity and keen interest, he is known to be marvellously mighty and is known to be woefully wrong. History of political development of the civilised world, we can say, after a thorough survey of his pinching pretensions and presentations, gazes on him with wonder, awe and admiration. But modern science with least regard for emotional penumbra, has thrown a challenge to these presentations, tasted these with commendable indifference, and indifference, without the least intention of exaggeration, easily emptied itself out into staunch antagonism by the 'uproaring urgency of unauthenticated eulogy.' Thus, to us, it is definitely difficult to the point of absurdity to

direct the 'opposing stream of criticism' into the equable channel of calm appreciation. Metaphorically speaking, we may be unable to turn the turbulent torrent into the rippling rivulet; because the skyfilling figure of splendour of name and fame gives the memory of his failure a perpetual place in political philosophy. His piercing and comprehensive intellect fed fat the philonophy and politics for twenty centuries and more. Then the tide took a different turn; and the smouldering and long-murmuring spirit of discontent gathered the strength of a volcanic eruption and dethroned him. His fame fell like a tree without roots and a skylicking castle without foundation. "Ages of servility had raised him to an unexampled eminence; in the tumult of revolution this pedestal became a pillory." Amidst the construction and destruction of Platonic representation we can safely say that Plato, with a philosophy characterised by 'radical dualism' is the first Greek whose writings have come down to us, to present a coherent and comprehensive system of political philosophy that can stand among the greatest systems of history.

In paying our tribute to the 'great lion of Greece' in most glowing terms we must always be on our guard and generously just: we must hold the balance fairly like the goldsmith weighing the failures with fruitfulness. In an attempt so delicate, keen and fine, my submission is that I have not been able to hold the balance. But without hesitation I make no secret of my intention to say that it has always been my cherished aim; and it is my firm conviction that I could be certain of so unfolding myself as to prevent the readers from misconstruing and misconstructing either the praise or the blame which will have to be pronounced assuming the position of an analyst.

Coming into the heart of our analysis, i.e. the determination of the place of Plato, our task can be divided into the following parts. (1) We shall consider the indebtedness of Plato to earlier thinkers: (2) spell of Plato and we shall have constantly to bear in mind the relative and the absolute, i.e., the historical and the scientific aspects of his achievements and aspirations.

The Republic, the best known work of Plato, did not spring into existence, at once, self-begotten, as it were, in the brain of Plato; instead we find its germs and had its preludes and preparations in previous political ideas and

ideals. In many places of his writings Plato could not agree with them and at times the disagreement degenerated into constant antagonism to his predecessors. Thus we must not forget his indebtedness. To begin with, the earlier thinkers furnished him with a definite starting point and stimulus to thought; over and above these they gave him some of the materials which Plato used with splendour and harmony. Among the philosophers who exerted profound influence on Plato is Protagoras. Justice, the central directing wheel of Platonic social and political programmes, stems from 'the Pythagorean idea of justice'; meaning thereby, according to Plato, a number multiplied into 'itself,' it is a square number, harmony perfected. Thus the Pythagorean definition of justice makes it crystal clear that 'justice is not separate from ritual.' With what measure you may mete it shall be measured out to you again; The prophetic belief first set out in the Gorgias, the belief that justice is the retribution in the other world, the Pythagorean Orphic mystery, dominates the work of Plato. It constitutes the leitmotif of the great dialogue, the Republic, which forms the centre of his creativity (Kelsen: What is Justice). In the Republic Plato completely adopts this conception of Pythagorean justice but by his high-flown imagination he gives it a new meaning 'a blood of life' with deeper truth and spiritual content which finds no parallel in the whole range of Greek political science. Here a difficulty crops up. As we shall proceed with our analysis we may find, to our surprise, Plato in constant antagonism to his predecessors. We must not forget that in the convenient cover of constant criticism Plato tries to hide his indebtedness to others. In moulding the manner of his thought process they furnished him with a starting point and significant stimulus.

The famous idea of the philosopher king, a lover of truth as a philosopher, seems to be an echo of the Pythagorean idea of monarchy ruling "jure divino" over the subject as God rules over the universe. Thus there seems to be an inseparable link between Pythagorean and Platonic ideas of State and Society. In the words of Sir Ernest Barker, "Pythagoras was the first . . . for whom philosophy issued in a Rule to be communicated to a circle or order of disciples and herein he already may be said to have anticipated Plato."

But here the indebtedness of Plato to others

does not end. Two other Pythagorean ideas have left a deep impression on Plato's performance and have moulded the manner of his approach to political problems. These two ideas are: (1) doctrine of the three classes of men (a) the lovers of wisdom without unmanliness, and (b) the lovers of honour and (c) the lovers of gain and lastly (2) the theory of limit.

By way of clarification we should now analyse these points in some detail. First the debt of the Republic to the Pythagorean doctrine of the three classes of men is obvious and absolute. The Platonic analysis of the state into three classes and the soul into three parts may be said to be originally Pythagorean.

The influence of the previous philosophers is much more pronounced in his musical studies. In it "Plato found that of the four fixed notes two intervening notes constituted a mean between the two extreme and opposite notes." This idea of music led him to believe that the mean, so dear to Aristotle, was a happy blend of two opposites.

The ideas of communism of wives and equality of men and women are directly borrowed by Plato from Euripides. And in Plato there is a distinct ring of Aristophanes' idea of a parliament of women in the Ecclesiazusoc. Aristophanes introduces us to the lady 'communist', Praxagora who makes an astonishing oration in the following terms:

"I want all to have a share of everything, and all property to be in common; there will no longer be either rich or poor; no longer shall we see one man harvesting vast tracts of land, while another has not ground enough to be buried in . . . I intend that there shall only be one and the same condition of life for all . . . I shall begin by making land, money, everything that is private property, common to all . . . Women shall belong to all men in common."

Again, the dialogues of Plato—the dialectical crossfire—are essentially borrowed from the teachings of the sophists of both generations; and by way of attraction he was immensely influenced by their teachings. Without the sophists we can not think of Plato or, in other words, with clearminded caution we can boldly state that the sophistic philosophy directly or indirectly, by way of attraction or rejection, found its culmination in the writings of the stubborn Greek.

Thus our preceding analysis points out that Plato is not original in the true sense of the term.

In spite of his profundity and stupendous learning and vision and his astonishing scope, he is not a man of striking originality of thought. It is now admitted on all hands that the infra-structure of the state constructed by Plato is built out of the materials of the then Greek society and state. He borrowed materials from his predecessors and produced an almost entirely new philosophy which can not be found in the writings of earlier thinkers. Thus metaphorically speaking, Plato seems to be a pipe through which all winds blow into music.

The whole of the intellectual world is, this way or that, deeply indebted to Plato. Now passing from his indebtedness to influence we come across a large number of thinkers, from Aristotle to Wallas, who are highly indebted to Plato for their intellectual achievement. Thus, in the opinion of poet Coleridge each and every one is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian: and this may well be supplemented, without making any exaggeration, by an almost equally true proposition that every one may be at one time a Platonist and at another an Aristotelian.

With due deference to chronology, we are forced to analyse Aristotelian principles. In doing this that the idea of sovereignty of law which is essential in the Laws, is repeated by Aristotle in the Politics. Somewhat grudgingly he followed his great teacher as closely as his temperament permitted . . . so he endorsed, and systematized Plato's naturalistic theory of slavery: 'some men are by nature free and others slaves; and for the latter slavery is fitting as well as just . . . In the account of the growth of the state from the family Aristotle follows closely what Plato says in the Laws. That is why an eminent political scientist has convincingly pointed out that Aristotle has borrowed materials from Plato at least two hundred and sixteen times.

In the Roman period Cicero and Polybius were also impressed by the great master of the Academy. Along with the eulogy of the mixed const., which Cicero had borrowed from later Greek writers, the De Republica contains a translation of Plato's caricature of democracy, of tyranny and above all of the myth of Error. St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei is a picture of a city in the heavens like the Republic of Plato. Boethius, it seems, was also influenced by Plato. The high-flown ideals of the latter find their

restatement in "Kings becoming philosophers and philosophers kings."

But the *Republic* could not keep pace with the careless flow of time. It slept over a thousand years. And with the birth of the idea of Renaissance—when man was viewed in his totality, in his flesh and blood and as well as in his mind and spirit—and with the rediscovery of the complete text of the *Republic*, there came a new tide of analysis of the *Republic* completely different from the analysis of earlier times. Thus circumstanced, with renewed vigour and vitality the spell of Plato fell upon a galaxy of thinkers. Of them Sir Thomas More attracts our attention first. Plato constituted an important and sustained inspiration for more, even though the latter's analysis in the *Utopia* differs in many profound and pronounced respects from that of the *Republic*. In the opinion of More, however disputable it may be, Plato advocates communism for all; he is essentially in agreement with Plato and 'nothing marvels that he would make no laws for them that refused those laws' whereby all men should have and enjoy equal portions of wealth and commodities which is not possible to be observed where everyman's goods are proper and peculiar to himself. But there is remarkable difference between the mental set ups of the two thinkers. In Plato we come across an ascetic but in More there is a Hedonist. Penetrated with and saturated in a different spirit from that of Plato, while borrowing details of description from the Master of the Academy, More is a typical representative of the age 'in which in opposition to Christian monasticism men lived like Epicurean philosophers.' Thus More could not drink deep into the spirit of Plato. Then we can safely say that he is rather the father of modern socialism, scientific indeed,—the first stage of communism, than an initiator of Plato's communism. Both in the *Republic* and the *Utopia* some sort of religious reformation has been sought to be effected. But Plato would transform the unscientific Greek mythology and fables into a coherent and uniform idea of God, but More did nothing more than the advocacy of a quiet and happy toleration of all beliefs.

We can also say that Campanella in his well-known book *City of the Sun* was imbued with Platonic ideas. He advocated Platonic communism of property and of wives, but his work though borrowed from Plato, shows only a

superficial acquaintance with the inner significance of the Philosophy of Plato. As compared with Thomas More, Campanella is far more Platonic in the prominence which he gives to education (Jowett: *Dialogues of Plato* CC XXVI CC XXVIII).

The 'paradoxical Rousseau' is not only the last of the three great social contractarians but also the first of the modern thinkers who are generally known as 'quasi-Platonists'; and through Rousseau, as well as directly the spell of Plato filtered down to the modern mind. Hegel and ultra-Hegelians continue analysis of society and state which in many respects are inspired by Plato, even though specific statements may normally owe little or nothing to him. And writers like George Herbert Meade in their antagonism to the continental and Anglo-American tradition in political philosophy, embrace Hegel and in some measure, Plato.

Thus it is not easy to gauge what the influence of Platonism actually is. It is always amazing to note that analysts who, in their substantive proposals for political reform, often criticize Plato and differ from him in many vital points, are nevertheless highly indebted to him; who have borne a grudge against his name, often take their points of departure from Plato. What Burke could have said: "if the debt had been brought home to him it is impossible even to imagine."

Now we turn to Hegel and see how he is influenced by the stubborn Greek. Hegel flatly refuses to envisage the state in terms of dry bones of law or as a legal institution. He discusses it in terms of ethics and as the highest expression and organ of that 'social morality' at once participated in and enforced by social opinion, to him the state is the march of God on earth. The conception of state and society depend heavily on the presumption that the state is a 'moral organisation'—an 'organised system of life by discharging his duty 'in which each citizen attains a full righteousness' and both conceptions issue in the rigour of the rule of life—'to fulfil my station and its duties' (Bradley: *Ethical Studies*). Like Plato Hegel is an absolutist. Just as Plato criticises Athenian democracy, so Hegel sneers at the British system of representative government. The anti-individualism of Plato is beautifully expressed in his own words: "Our very eyes and ears and hands should see and

hear and act as if they belonged not to the individuals but to the community. All men should be moulded to praise and to blame the same things at the same time." (*The Republic*). Thus to Plato as well as to Hegel the individual is a mere pawn at the hands of the absolute state.

Passing from the Hegelian absolutism to the 19th century French Philosophy we come across a prominent Platonist, —Auguste Comte—the founder of positivism. Comte is essentially in agreement with Plato in holding that society should be governed by scientific knowledge but he differs from Plato on the point that such knowledge must filter down to earth from the cloudland of metaphysics, logical abstractions or theological assumptions, and that it should be purely positive and curiously cold in character and dimension. Like Plato he is a lover of and an ardent believer in mathematical methods. But he differs from Plato in holding that the use of mathematical principles of themselves elicit the principles of our social life. He also draws a distinction between, following Plato, the spiritual and the temporal power. And this is known as Comte's famous way of 'returning to the dualism of the Middle Ages.' But his dualism is firmly based on psychological principles. Thus his ideal state is one in which the class which drank deep into spiritualism and acting not by physical force, fear or favour or ill will but by affection and persuasion, guide the course of affairs in the 'height of scientific principles.' This led him, according to J. S. Mill to "the completest system of spiritual and temporal despotism which ever yet emanated from a human brain, unless possibly that of Ignatius Loyola" (*Autobiography*).

The Platonic political programme also served as the chief source of inspiration of a group of English political philosophers—popularly known as 'Neo-Hegelians.' This school is generally represented by the Oxford idealists—Green, Bradley and Bosanquet. Some scholars argue that Green's political philosophy is profoundly influenced by and solely based on British Political traditions. Needless to say, this is a tall claim on the part of a Britisher. (*Metz. Hundred years of Br. philosophy*). Green definitely does not distinguish between the state and the society. Because of his failure to maintain this distinction, it is difficult for him to restrict the state to the function of removing obstacles to the good life and to 'avoid the kind of paternalism to which he objects.' He

seeks to square with this difficulty by enunciating a theory of self-conscious citizenship, which, in spite of its noble appearance, could not silence the distinctly 'Hegelian ring.' But above all Green is a 'sober realist and a soaring idealist.' Therefore, harnessing the horse of reason Mac-Cunn says that Green is more an Aristotelian than a Platonist (*Six Radical thinkers*). Explaining the emergence of this Platonic school, Barker says, "Perhaps it is under the influence of leaders trained in this school that Plato had found an eminent circle of disciples." Plato classifies society on the basis of functions. This functional basis of class division looms large in Bradley's society where each of us is placed with a particular function. State helps me to realise what Plato calls justice and Hegel calls social righteousness. And this social righteousness is the outward manifestation of an 'external legality of law.'

The philosophy of Bernard Bosanquet, Hegel's most modern and faithful exponent, begins with Rousseau and Green and ends in Hegel. In his acceptance of Hegelianism the everlasting Plato reappears. Both of them are idealists and have deified the state. Thus to Bosanquet the state is the guardian of our whole moral world and not a factor in our organised moral world. Like Plato he writes, "The state as such certainly can not be guilty of personal immorality, and it is hard to see how it can commit theft or murder in the sense in which these are moral offences." Plato also holds that all the citizens must pursue courses of craven appeasement by conforming to the commands of the leader. There will be no murmur of discontent against the rule of the master race—the possessor of the truth—the 'fully qualified philosopher.'

Further, there is an ostentatious extravagance of resemblance between the philosophies of Carlyle and Plato. Carlyle's ideal was a society governed by the best, the ablest and the wisest. He was a staunch opponent of democratic ideal and of free trade. The unstable and nugatory democracy smells Platonism. There is an affinity between the Hero of Carlyle and the Philosopher King of Plato. Both opposed to democracy, Plato and Carlyle are none the less both radicals, anxious to pluck up society by the roots and plant it afresh in new soil: and if the new soil chosen by Plato is more definitely socialistic, Carlyle, in his attitude to competition and his desire for per-

manence of contract, shows signs of a socialistic trend." (Barter) ✓

Modern Writers are deeply indebted to Plato. 'The revolutionary' spirit of the Republic and the traditional spirit of the Laws attracted and influenced them to an amazing extent. Of the modern prominent writers we may safely mention the late H. G. Wells. He has clearly depicted in 'Autobiography' that Plato acted as the trier of temper of his political philosophy—a major influence on his thinking. A careful analysis of his book gives us a gradual development of his political ideals. And in doing this Wells is confronted by an empirical political situation in some respects radically different from that within the context of which Plato wrote. And there is no shadow of doubt in our mind that the basic and fundamental assumptions of human nature constructed by Wells on which the super-structure of the code of human conduct and his political conclusions are constructed, are marked by sharp deviations from those of the Master of the Academy; yet despite divergences and dissimilarities and fundamental differences in the construction of thought, it is quite evident, on the authentic testimony of Wells himself, and from a very minute and careful examination of their contents, that "Plato lives again in both a modern utopia and in Menlike Gods. The first of a rather authoritarian socialist scheme." (Sibley).

Oswald Spengler, following Plato, in *Decline of the West*, spits venom on the earth with its general law of decline and death. Again, like Shelly and Plato he demands a new order, a gigantic experiment to stem the forces of history, a revitalization of Prussian militarism.

Among writers who have been directly or indirectly challenged by the keenness of dialectical cross-fire and the vigour of Plato's arguments, we may with disarming caution mention the politicians and writers of a number of books, Richard Crossman, Warner Fite and Karl Popper. These Platonists (Crossman and Fite) who are not prepared to admit at all that 'from Plato's longing for unity and harmony, we may say that he was himself disunited and disharmonious, may be reminded that this way of arguing is definite-

ly invented by Plato'. Commenting on Popper's appreciation of Plato's presentation, critics aptly characterise him as an 'inverse Platonist'. At the very beginning of his thought-provoking book, *Open Society and its Enemies* (Vol. I), he professes to be aware of the nefarious and evil influence of Plato on successive generations of students and teachers of political science and sociology. The pains to which he goes to refute Plato's arguments doubtlessly proves that the influence of the stubborn Greek on him was profound and the classical theory has much to contribute to the controlling of his thought process. Thus in the Hegelian terminology we can explain the relative positions of Plato and Popper by quoting Prof. Sibley himself: "Plato furnishes the thesis to which Popper becomes the antithesis, with the synthesis yet to be born."

Again, following Edwyn Vaughan, we can boldly state that the honest opponents of Plato generally prescribe fundamental beliefs and complete departures from Platonic plans but ultimately they are generally bound to follow Plato. Therefore, we can say that modern political programmes, however high-sounding these may be, are no better than footnotes to those of Plato. Thus the works of a very prominent political scientist—Karl J. Friedrich—will give authentic testimony to our exhilarating assertion. He contends that even the most basic beliefs shall not be infused and imposed by education. Then it will truncate the soul and limit the will. The fullest flowering of inner faculties will melt into the thin air. But a few pages later of his book he advances the argument that education is chiefly concerned with shaking 'human mind in the height of a believed-in-ideal'. Thus modern thinkers have not yet been able to shake off their intellectual slavery.

Here an analysis of Plato's indebtedness to others and influence on the mind of the modern man comes to an end. Still our purpose remains unfulfilled. Plato's place will only be determined when the strength and character of the Platonic political programme will be analysed from all aspects. Thus coming to analysis, we land into the vortex of the fiercest of political controversies.

By way of denouncing in the strongest

terms the caustic critics of Plato ardently commend "*The Platonic Republic*", "must be considered as a brilliant exercise of philosophical imagination, not as a contribution to political science. But it is hardly too much to say that Plato never got the point of having a theory of the state at all". Further, it is generally chosen that Aristotle is the representative of ancient science, and therefore of scientific method and Plato has no idea of science or scientific method. These are two extreme views. It is difficult, but not impossible to answer these two vitriolic charges against the stubborn Greek. But I do not myself pretend to share the sympathy and admiration for Plato's philosophy, which has been felt, with no exception, in all ages by many wise and beautiful souls. In an analysis of astronomy, we may find frank avowal of the subjective Method. Thus in the *Phaedo* Plato bethought him, wearied with contemplating things as they are, that men in studying an eclipse of the sun look at its image reflected in the water, lest they should become blind by gazing directly at the sun. "It seemed to me, therefore, that I ought to have recourse to reasons, and in them to contemplate the truth of things. Thus always adding the reason which I judge to be strongest. I pronounce that to be true which appears to me to accord with it: those which do not accord with it I deny to be true." (*Phaedo*). Here there is no solidarity of the grounds upon which he judges one reason to be stronger than another.

But in other spheres of analysis of political science we meet his method closely akin to modern. Thus Books VIII and IX of *Republic* describe which the process of disorganisation or disordering are among the most empirical of Plato's dialogues in the sense that they are definitely based on careful observations of actual politics, yet the described states fall short of the actual. In these books there is an analysis of the actual constitutions of Greece, in which Sparta, an example of both timocracy and oligarchy, Athens, the citadel of democracy, and Syracuse exemplifying tyranny, all in turn are separately analysed. To Plato all these types of constitutions have 'taken sick'. That is why Plato likes to visualize his political

mission as one of the healer or saviour of the sick body of society. Here Plato's method differs from that of the traditional. His method is closely associated in modern times with the immortal name of the great sociologist Max Weber. On the basis of actual observations of the imperfect forms of government prevailing in 5th century Athens before the Christian era in the empirical world, Plato erected the sky-licking castles of ideals of timocracy, oligarchy and democracy and last of all tyranny—the worst form of government. Max Weber's resort to ideal types was an attempt to state the influence of certain factors by comparing the real situation or action with the construct he called ideal types (*Max Weber on the Methodology of the Social Sciences*). At no point, in the whole range of the literature of political science we find a cleaver union of empirical approach with the rational. Therefore it is generally said that 'at no point are the principles enunciated more universal in their application and more suggestive of advanced research'. In the word of Prof. R. L. Nettleship, "Our first impulse on a superficial reading of the *Republic* is to say that Plato altogether ignores what we call observation and experiment, and writes as if use could construct laws of nature simply by thinking out certain axioms to their consequences. We think so because, coming to Plato with certain expectations, derived from what we know of the method of modern science, and with a certain modern phraseology in our minds, we apply these to him. Really he says nothing which has not been practically confirmed in its spirit by modern science"

We can also fortify our position by pointing out that whatever the ethical and utopian method may be called, it is highly relevant for practical politics and that it cannot be fully understood if we do not resort to the ideal forms. We can further suggest that in order to rectify wrongs the utopian idea is indispensable and this ideal form provides a stimulus for the progress of society and it gives a good direction for the achievement of the highest goal. Thus it can be stated that the ideal form is the motive force of the ship of society and without it society will be like a ship in an uncharted sea. No

political philosopher can have ideas and ideals completely divorced from actualities. Social and economic environments always help to mould the thought-process of thinkers. Thus the *Republic* is not only a deduction from the 'principles' it is also an induction from the facts of Greek life. They acted as the representative of the then Greek society. Therefore Ernest Barter in his inimitable language says, "It is easy to interpret the *Republic* as a Utopia, a city in the clouds, a sun-set fabric seen for an hour in the evening and then fading into the night. But the *Republic* is based on actual conditions, it is meant to mould, at any rate to influence, actual life". Therefore Crossman is right when he says "This plan was no Utopian dream". Thus the ideal of the *Republic* is an exhibition of what actual states ought to be.

Before the First World War it was taken for granted that the *Republic* had nothing to do with our day to day working of government. The whole conception was far fetched and remote from reality. It was admitted on all hands that with the advent of science and the institutions of democracy, the world was marching ahead towards perfection. The world could not then appreciate Plato's analysis of the common man.

But the tables were turned after the outbreak of War II. The estimate of Plato of the masses seems now to be a grimly realistic one. Knowing what class-war and revolution mean, we can fully appreciate the Platonic advocacy of dictatorship to prevent them. He knew that economics plays a prominent role in moulding the relationship between or among individuals or groups within the society and this idea of Plato after two thousand and five hundred years has been corroborated by political scientists. But without offending the Platonists it can be said that the impact of economics on politics and vice versa is not fully understood by Plato. Economics always has constituted and will continue for good to constitute the 'infrastructure' of political power. There is an inseparable relation between the political issue and its economic implications. "In accordance with this transsubstantiation" says Prof. Loewenstein,

"the core of every political ideology of our time consists in the economic eschatology it has to offer'. Considering the tremendous impact of propaganda on society, we can treat the 'noble life' not as an exposition of phantasy but an extreme of practical instruments. One modern objection to Plato is that he is too much a realist, in his analysis of of human nature. His cure for the diseases of society are only too applicable today. "The book is addressed to the social reformers who have no faith in their reforms. Sometimes they think that they are building on foundations of sand."

Again, Plato is the spring of the idea of 'social contract'. Consent as the basis of the State has changed the character of political analysis. This idea of contract between the rulers and the ruled has gone a long way in dynamising democracy. And today 'the state lives and has its being in a climate of contract and of all the concomitants of contracts, secondly its constitution is an actual political contract'. In the case of Chisholm Vs. Georgia it was declared that "the const. of the U.S. is a compact made by the people of the U.S. to govern themselves as to general objects in a certain manner. The const. of Maryland also declares "that all government of right originates from the people is founded in compact only".... Thus we see that the government is ultimately based on some sort of contract and herein the shadow of Plato looms large.

Let us now turn to another and more edifying picture, namely, the idea of Communism. Today nearly one-third of the citizens of the world directly live under the influence of Communism. But today's Marxian Communism is basically different from the Platonic breed but the ideas of the two are more or less the same regarding the unity and solidarity of the State. Like the Marxists Plato's cherished goal is to banish unchecked competition of individual for individual for economic power. The Marxist "would eliminate the doctrine of the economic man, exactly as Plato sought to eliminate the doctrine of the 'superman'. 'Like Plato he pursues an ideal of justice'. 'In a word, the ideal of both is that of a society

organised on the basis, not of difference in wealth, but of common social service".

Further, modern systems of government and administration are highly indebted to Plato's methods. The ideas of civil and criminal laws and their reformatory character are the guiding star to the modern legislator. Today's ideal is to reform the wrong-doer and to bring him back to normal social life. And this is a great contribution of Plato to modern political theory. Therefore "the presumption upon which Plato worked, that human relations may be made the object of rational study and subjected to intellectual direction as a *sine qua non* of any social service." Thus our study reveals that many later studies in political science are a return to the age-old but ever new ideas of the master of the stagirite.

This leads us to make the bold statement that Plato is as much a political realist as he is a political idealist—he 'hovers in a balloon' but at the same time is a 'working colonist'. This is borne out by the admission of the principle that "our rulers will find a considerable dose of falsehood and deceit necessary for the good of their subjects." His political realism is clearly exemplified by the fact that he confined the most difficult part of his system of State to the class of the philosopher Kings properly and spiritually trained for the purpose.

The Platonic principle is also at work behind the modern classification of States and of Governments. He was not content with a classification mainly based on number. He also tried to classify constitutions on the basis of the nature of the polity. This basis of analysis has been filtered down to us through his pupil and critic Aristotle.

Therefore, to launch caustic comments against Plato is to destroy a straw man. His immortal principle that the Statesman should be as specifically and thoroughly a realist as physicians, should be accepted by us without any reservation. Thus we have no hesitation in accepting the lyrical effusion that "Plato exhibits the rare union of subtle logic with the Pythean enthusiasm of poetry melted by the splendour and harmony of his periods into irresistible streams of musical impressions which hurry the persuasions onward as in a

breathless career." Again, for the first time in the history of political thought Plato "maintained that a state ought to be governed, not by the wealthiest or the most ambitious, or the most cunning but by the wisest." (Shelley)

Regarding the nature of the rule of the Philosopher King some critics have used strong terms unwarrantedly. Of them Karl Popper heads the list. In his own words "The main reason I can see is the need for increasing to the utmost the authority of the rulers." But this does not seem to us to be a fair estimate of Plato. He sought to regenerate man and society by spiritual means. And that is why the rule of the intellect. If this, to Popper, amounts to a rule of a class or of tribalism verging on totalitarianism, the fitting reply is that the 'theory of limit' enumerated by Plato put the last nail into the coffin of all totalitarian elements and makes the critics laughable. Further, in spite of the emergence of comprehensive theories regarding good government the contention that the fittest and the wisest should rule, remains still unassailable. But this type of government requires continued vigilance, for it is always on the brink of peril. And if the progress of the society is to be maintained we must not retrieve ourselves completely of this rigorous responsibility. If we shake off the burden of responsibility by placing it on the shoulder of our fellowmen, we have to pay dear for it. And so the Protagoras 'myth' and the Philosopher-King, in true Socratic vein, do not teach a doctrine, but merely help us to become more keenly aware of the perennial problems "for which each age must seek its own solution" (Review of *Matsphysics* : Dec., 1963).

We can never doubt that Plato's programme is in keeping with contemporary problems and character. Thus Prof. Taylor is right when he says, "we do Plato the gravest of wrongs, if we forget that the Republic is no mere collection of theoretical discussions about government. . . . but a serious project of practical reform put forward by an Athenian. . . . set on fire . . . with a passion for reforming the world" (*Plato : The Man and His work*).

Thus in reply to the critics who contend that Plato 'hovers in a balloon' and who tried to belittle Plato by emphasizing the fact that his philosophy is nothing but an idealistic hallucination, we can reply with a rebuff that though there may be some tinge of idealism in his political programme, yet it is invaluable. He is conscious of the openings in his arguments. He knows fully well that his scheme does not keep pace with the reality beneath. Comprehending the critics, in an answering tone he says, "in heaven there is laid up a pattern of such a city" Thus quoting Durant we say, "At the same time we should not forget that man is an animal that makes Utopias.....Nor is it all without result : many a dream has grown limbs and walked, or grown wings and flown, like the dream of Icarus that men might fly." This idea is aptly expressed by Shelley in the following musical lines :-

"The desire of the moth for the star,
Of the night for the marrow ;
The devotion to something afar
From the sphere of our sorrow."

Thus our preceeding analysis proceeds with the conviction that Plato's political philosophy is epoch-making ; for it sternly marks, in the teeth of stubborn opposition, a decisive turning point in the political tradition of antiquity. Like the evergreen tree in the fables, "his evergreen branches have given support and shelter to all manner of strange birds, great and small". Here our analysis normally draws at an end with the panegyric that the "debonair and versatile tutor, who spent the major part of his life imparting . . . learning to succeeding generations of cavendish heirs, is one of the great political thinkers of the human race, one whose name will endure as long as men trouble their minds about matters political."

MALHAR RAO HOLKAR—THE FOUNDER OF THE HOUSE OF HOLKAR

BY PROF. S. N. QANUNGO

ONE day, in the first decade of the eighteenth century, a Maratha chieftain named Banda, while passing through an obscure village near Poona on a hunting excursion, saw a strange sight which made him halt along with his retinue. He saw a black snake spreading its hood over the head of a sleeping goatherd like an umbrella to protect him from the sun. The snake on hearing the approaching clatter and footsteps slipped away into the jungle. Impressed by this sight, the chieftain asked Malhar—for such was the name of the boy—whether he had any wish to make a name for himself by joining his service. Deccan in those days was a great theatre of war and provided prospects for soldiers of fortune. The boy nodded assent. This incident, recorded in *Wagui-Holkar*, was the beginning of the career of the founder of the house of Holkar (b. 6b). With that shepherd boy and with this small beginning the Holkars

emerged from obscurity into the arena of Maratha politics and rose into prominence.

The Holkars took their name from their ancestral village of Hol situated under the shadow of the Sahayadri Range about 10 miles from Phultin and 40 miles from Poona. All those who called themselves Holkars did not live at Hol. Malhar Rao Holkar spent his boyhood in the village of Maswali which was situated about 'five kos from chandor' (*Wagui-Holkar*, b. 5b). Tukoji Holkar belonged to the village of Wafgaom and his brethren Santagi Holkar and Korji Holkar to Boregaon. By caste they were Dhangers.

The long and eventful career of Malhar Rao Holkar (1560-1766) is a subject too wide to be more than glanced at. It occupies a prominent place in the history of the rise of the Maratha Empire in Northern India in the first half of the eighteenth century. He was not reared at the plough as suggested by Malcolm

(*Memoirs of Central India*, vol. I p. 143). Son of a goatherd of Maswali, Malhar lost his father Kundaji at the age of twelve, spent several years with his maternal uncle Narayani Bargule and then joined the service of Banda. By dint of merit, daring, courage and intimate knowledge of the Satpura Range, Malhar Rao speedily found himself elevated from a genuine soldier of fortune to the rank of a silahdar of 2000. His triumph over a commander of Nizam-ul-Mulk brought him much fame. But his entry into the Peshwa's service marked the real beginning of his distinguished career.

Campaigning remained Malhar's master passion till his last days. Against Girdhar Banadur, the Mughal Governor of Malwa, Malhar had a difficult game to play and he played it with consummate skill in the Amjhara campaign in 1729 (Selection from Peshwar Daftar, XIII, 33). Though twice outmanoeuvred at Sarangpur and Dhar by the wily Muhammad Khan Bamgash, Malhar Rao Holkar gave him no rest by his constant harassment at Mandasor and Sironj (S.P.D.X, 70 and XVII, 8). The light cavalry of Malhar made havoc with the soldiers of Jai Singh and Khan-i-Daun in Malwa between 1729 and 1734 and compelled them to sue for peace. Malhar Rao was appointed to the supreme command in Malwa by Peshwa Baji Rao I, on the 3rd of October, 1730 (S.P.D. XXX, P. 370).

Of all the Maratha chiefs in Malwa, Malhar Rao enjoyed preferential treatment at the hands of Peshwa Baji Rao I in spite of the fact that Ranoji Scindhia had been associated with Holkar in the management of that province (*Holkarranchi Kaifiyat*, pp. 8-9). When Udaji Pawar withdrew from Malwa, Holkar was granted a Saranjam of 74 Parganahs. On January 20, 1734, Malhar Rao was honoured by a grant in perpetuity to his family. He was given the district of Maheswar and nine villages from Indore district (viz. Harsol, Savan, Barlol, Dipalpur, Hatod, Mahidpur, Jagoti Karamj and Makdom. After the formal cession of Malwa to the Marathas by the Mughal Emperor in 1741, the Holkar state of Indore became crystallized into a

political entity and came to possess a unique importance.

Malhar Rao was a commendable Hindu in private life. It is said that he wanted to destroy Aurangzeb's mosque built on the site of the Vishwanath temple of Varanasi; but a deputation of the Brahmanas of Varanasi pleaded hard with him to give up his project as after his departure the Muslims would destroy every vestige of Hindu worship. After the death of Baji Rao I, wars fought by Malhar assumed more and more the character of brigandage. It is difficult to accept Sardesai's view that Malhar Rao's undertakings were "particularly intended to get the holy places of Prayag and Kashi back into Hindu possession" (*New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 363). Wars had hardly ever been waged with so much perfidy, cruelty and avarice as by Malhar Rao and Jayappa Scindhia in Rajputana. Malhar's activities in Rajputana and the Doab diminished his own fame and caused irretrievable loss to the ideal of *Hindupad Padshahi* and to the state he served.

It is unfortunate that Malhar's talents were not limited to those of a soldier. In his political dealings, he always backed 'wrong horses' for good money such as Madho Singh of Jaipur, Najib Khan and Raghunath Rao. He espoused the cause of Madho Singh, who had no legal right to the throne of Jaipur. Malhar was an avowed partisan of Raghunath Rao, the most infamous character in Maratha history. Malhar Rao and Raghunath Rao actually paved the way for the diplomatic isolation of Maratha power. Raghunath Rao got into trouble with Surajmal of Bharatpur who sent gunpowder in reply to the former's demand of an extravagant ransom. Raghunath suffered humiliation and Malhar Rao lost his only son Khande Rao at the siege of Kumbhir (January 1754—May 1754). After the death of Surajmal of Bharatpur, Malhar espoused the cause of Nahar Singh against his brother Jawahir Singh and had to eat the humble pie at Dholpur. Najib Khan, the *Dhuramputra* of Malhar, had all along been the chief source of mischief for the Marathas. Yielding to Malhar's entreaties, Raghunath Rao allowed Najib to depart unscathed to his home in August 1757. Being in collusion with Najib,

Malhar remained inert during the critical stage of the Third Battle of Panipat and returned to Poona with tarnished glory and to carry a tale of woe for which he was himself partly responsible.

The deaths of his only son and wife Gautami Bai, a widowed daughter-in-law and an unpromising grandson, made the last days of Malhar Rao miserable and gloomy. But he

had not lost the martial fire of his youth. As an ally of Shuja-ud-daula, Malhar Rao severely harassed Major Fletcher with his light foray tactics on the plains of Kara in 1766 A.D. With his death at Alampur on the 20th May 1766 (*Holkaranchi kaifiyat*, p. 34), it appeared as if the story of the House of Holkar had come to an end, but in fact a new chapter had begun.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

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THE LAST YEARS OF BRITISH-INDIA : by Michael Edwardes, Cassel, London and Allied Publishers, Bombay ; Demy 8 Vo. Pp. 250 Price Sh. 25' net.

This is not a book desinged to extol the magnanimity and generosity of the British, who chose, of their own accord, to relinquish their power over their vast Indian empire, once the brightest jewel on the British Crown. But, as the author himself claims, "the primary aim" of the book under review was "to place in its proper historical context one of the most significant and portentous events of modern times,—the end of Britain's Indian Empire." The present work, the writer continues, "is an essay in explanation, an attempt to display and examine the many and diverse ingredients of an historical event and to disentangle them from the web of propaganda and special pleadings." It should be of more than passing interest, therefore, to the student of contemporary Indian history to examine the presentation under review and to assess

the extent to which it can lay claim to objectivity free from the influences of complex emotional or environmental orientations as well as of inherited inhibitions—we must remember that the author is not merely an Englishman of the intellectual elite but happened also to be in close contiguity to the events of his researches—which so often colour if not even materially distort the historical process and the significance of the bare bones of cold facts which make up the foundations of the process.

After a fairly intensive study of its pages, the reader, however, is left in no doubt that the author—despite the obvious disadvantage of having lived too close to the centre of events when they were actually unfolding themselves—has been able to maintain throughout a tenor of impartial objectivity in his analysis, assessment and juxtaposition of facts into the chain of contemporary events in their appropriate contexts and the result has been both edifying and rewarding. There is hardly any scope

for differences with the author's conclusions, and they are only a very few,—for the simple reason that facts have, themselves, been presented as the writer's conclusions in most cases without the embellishment of his personal interpretation of events.

This is as objective and straightforward a study of the unfolding nuances of Indo-British political connection since after the First World War until the final act of renunciation of empire and imperialism by the British as I have ever come across. He analyses with perfect candour the reason that persuaded the British Labour Government which, according to him was neither an unwonted upsurge of political magnanimity nor the result of apprehension that, otherwise, it would be compelled to relinquish power in any case by political pressures in India, and it were always wiser to give up voluntarily what one would, in any case be obliged eventually to disgorge without seeming to have been compelled to do so but simply on account of the dictates of what may be called enlightened self-interest. The empire, in spite of being apparently exploitive in contents, was really an economic burden to the British people at large except to certain limited areas of the upper middle classes who alone were the beneficiaries. It were far better, in the circumstances, that the empire were relinquished and the burden dropped and, in the process, retain the friendship of India. This, indeed, would appear to have already yielded very large dividends: India offers very lucrative employment to a far larger army of Britishers in a variety of occupations than ever before in Indo-British history; India has been offering an increasingly fruitful field for investment of surplus British capital; Indo-British trade has been steadily increase in volume; and, above all, India has made valuable contributions to the prestige of the Commonwealth which has done so much to compensate for the reduction of Britain's imperial status by investing her with a new importance and glamour in international relations.

But the primary interest of the book under review is in the many vaguely apprehended but never quite clearly known facts of those hectic last two years after the Second World War that finally led up to Indian Independence and,—this is very

significant—the creation of Pakistan. The author frankly lays the responsibility for the final vivisection of the country at the door of the British Labour Government, and particularly upon the invidious points of view and commitments made by the Cabinet Mission under Lord Pethick Lawrence. It was, according to the author, the Cabinet Mission's manner of discussing the problem that had added fresh fuels to the fire of M. A. Jinnah's personal ambitions and to have raised the latter's perpetual intransigence to the level of downright intractability. He also blames the leaders of the Congress, especially Jawaharlal Nehru, for foolishly mishandling the situation that made it absolutely impossible for them to repudiate the creation of Pakistan. The book also records the real reasons for the advancement of the day of independence—the deadline was originally set for June 1948—by very nearly a year. It was neither the pressures of Indian opinion nor pressures at home—that led the British Government to this later and, apparently hasty decision. It was the visible danger, in the intervening period, of the utter breakdown of the residual administration of the country—extraordinary pressures had already been placed upon it by the daily mounting and steadily widening areas of communal frenzy leading to murder, arson and loot—and the almost inevitable certainly of chaos that induced the British to hasten the date of their departure while some semblance of administration was still in existence. This really caught up Indian leadership on the wrong foot long before they were even remotely ready to assume the burdens of responsibility.

This was demonstrated in the colossal ineptitude with which Congress and the Muslim League alike prepared for assuming the inheritance of power. Mutual distrust of each other's intentions and policies, perhaps, led them to concentrate almost wholly upon the division of assets without a thought to the possible repercussions of partition upon law and order. The very manner of redrawing the map of India into the East and the West to accommodate the Pakistan State to be which was entirely left to the unfortunate Sir Cyril Radcliffe—because the two Partition Councils consisting of an equal number each of Hindu

high court judges virtually refused to have anything to do with it, also played a part in the muddle. And the price had to be paid in hundreds of thousands of lives, destruction of homes and the creation of a generation of more than a million refugees—a terrible burden upon the conscience of readers on both sides of the curtain.

The book is absorbingly interesting and highly rewarding. No student of contemporary Indian political history could, in our view, really afford to do without it.

CHATURANGA, a novel in four parts by World Poet Rabindranath Tagore; transliterated into English by Ashok Mitra, M.C.S., Published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, Royal 8 Vo. Price Rs. 8.

I delved into the book under review in considerable trepidation for the apprehension was never too far away from my mind that this might prove to be again one of those bastard publications which seek to present a Bengalee story with a characteristically Bengalee theme and background in ineffectual and, not infrequently, painfully stilted English, perhaps, for just the variety of it. I must frankly acknowledge at the very outset that I have been agreeably disappointed.

Ashok Mitra takes few liberties with the original in his transliteration of this enthralling but deeply inward story of the poet. It would be impossible for anyone, however highly endowed, to reproduce the enthralling style and easy and fascinating action of the original **Chaturanga** in any other language. But Ashok Mitra must be acknowledged to have made as near an approach as would hardly make any difference. With the result that the book is comfortably easy on the intellectual palette and never spells annorexia of the remotest degree. What is more, by faithfully following the original in almost all its nuances of emotional expression, he has made it pos-

sible for the alien reader to enjoy the story, even scour beneath its unfathomable depths, even if they knew nothing of the background of nineteenth century renaissance in Bengal in which it is, indeed, rooted.

Sachis, reared and brought up by a positivist idealist uncle, started out on the journey of life as an atheist, honest, straightforward and forthright. The uncle's death sort of snaps the mooring strings of his life and the violent reaction throws him into the arms of an esoteric preceptor who would seem to sustain him on the apex of a never ending flood tide of emotional ecstasy which, while stimulating his physical responses, were drawing his emotional being to a point of extinction. But Damini, the vivacious young widow which the preceptor inherited from a devoted disciple along with all his worldly possessions, impinges upon Sachis's devotional life with the impact of a cataclysm and thus helps him to find his feet on firm earth once again away from the preceptor.

Those who are acquainted with the history of nineteenth century Bengal would appreciate that the story is an attempt at reconciliation between the opposite forces of rationalism and orthodox polytheism in contemporary Bengalee intellectual life and **Chaturanga**, composed during the poet's early middle age, sought to strike a balance between the two. But even without these historical overtones, it is a delightful and enjoyable story, fascinatingly told. Perhaps it is a little too inward for a normally superficial reader, but then there has never been anything superficial in all that the poet had produced during his long and amazingly prolific life. For those who do not know the Bengalee language and are yet to know more about Tagore and his wonderful creations, the book under review should prove both helpful and enjoyable.

Karuna K. Nandi

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.
JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.B.A.S



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ରା. ସାବନା ଡକ୍ଟୋପାସ୍ତା

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ফোর্ট উইলিয়ম কলেজ হইতে প্রশিক্ষিত যাবতীয় প্রসিদ্ধ
অংশবর্জিত মূলগ্রন্থ অঙ্গসারে ৫৮৬ পৃষ্ঠায় সুসম্পূর্ণ। ইহা
বিশ্ববিখ্যাত ভারতীয় চিত্রকরদিগের আঁকা রঙীন ঘো-
ষানি এবং একবর্ণের তেত্রিশখানি শ্রেষ্ঠ ছবি আছে। রঙ-
ছবিগুলির ভিতর কয়েকটি প্রাচীনযুগের চিত্রশালা হই-
সংগৃহীত ছবির অধুলিপি। অত্যাশ্চর্য বহুবর্ণ ও একবর্ণ
ছবিগুলি শিল্পীসম্রাট অবনীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, রাজা রবি-
নন্দলাল বসু, দারদাচরণ উকিল, উপেন্দ্রকিশোর
চৌধুরী, মহাদেব বিশ্বনাথ ধুরন্ধর, অসিতকুমার হাল-
সুরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় প্রভৃতির সুনিপুণ তুলিকায় চিত্রিত।

প্রবাসী প্রেস আইভেট লিমিটেড — ৭৭/২/১, ধর্মতলা স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১৩

Indian Periodicals

Betrayal

Writing editorially under the above caption what *The Economic Weekly* says about the handling of the problems of displaced minorities, should find endorsement in all fair minded thinking :

India has not yet appreciated the problem of East Bengal minorities. How ignorant and unaware the country is of this problem has been brought out forcefully and tragically in the last few days. The Hindus have been slowly but steadily squeezed out from East Bengal ever since the partition. The inflow of refugees has waxed and waned; once in a while it has swollen into a flood and then abated but the flow has never stopped. It continued in a trickle. This was the case even after the Centre in its wisdom had officially closed the borders some years ago and announced its decision to end the refugee problem once and for all by stopping all further inflow on the one hand and settling those who had already come and were languishing in refugee camps by dispersing them in settlements outside West Bengal, primarily in Dandakaranya. The progress in the latter direction has been known to everybody; not so well known perhaps the results of the sealing of the border. The ban did not stop the influx but it did deprive those who came in spite of the ban, of what little help the Government could provide, pitifully inadequate though it was.

The latest recrudescence, more violent and savage than any in the past, and also on a much larger scale, produced a different reaction in India. The Centre was moved; it changed its previous policy and made the dramatic announcement that it would take over the entire nine million and odd minority population that was still in East Pakistan, if need be, and assume the responsibility of rehabilitating them. This was on the face of it a very bold decision to take at the conference of the Union Ministers with the West Bengal Government, attended by the Minister for Finance, was intended to demonstrate that the Centre really meant what it said, and preparations were set afoot with much fanfare for taking in the new wave of refugees.

In West Bengal, naturally, much political capital can be made by the Congress leaders by

championing the cause of the refugees and foremost among those who came forward to aid the refugees was Shri Atulya Ghosh, the President of the State Congress Committee, who has lately been very prominent in all-India politics also. But while political capital can be made by championing the cause of the refugees, the gain cannot be retained and indeed the Congress cannot even survive in West Bengal unless the refugees who come in are speedily moved away from the State. Otherwise, the presence of these disgruntled elements would be a constant threat to the Congress in West Bengal which may spell disaster for it in the elections any day. Hence its concerted move this time to remove the refugees straightaway to destinations outside the State so that they may not harm the West Bengal Congress and weaken Atulya Ghosh's hegemony. Delhi reported that special trains were being arranged to move out the refugees with the utmost despatch.

What has happened in the past few days, however, shows up what the Centre's concern and dramatic decisions mean in practice. The much heroic announcement of settling the refugees speedily has not been followed up by any kind of advance preparations even to provide them with temporary shelter. A team of Members of Parliament who visited the refugee camps in Orissa a week ago reported the atrocious conditions which face the incoming refugees. They have been dumped on waste land where there are not even any trees to provide shelter in this summer heat, no water to drink, no roof over their heads and none of the minimum amenities without which life cannot survive. Soon after this came the news from Orissa of police firing on a band of desperate refugees who had revolted against these conditions, deserted the camp in which they had been thrown in and were squatting on the station's platform and on the tracks wanting to be sent back to West Bengal. Five persons were killed and eight injured as a result of the firing according to first reports that had come out.

The immediate reaction of the new Minister for Rehabilitation was to issue a public statement condemning the lawless conduct of the refugees, and stating that it was impossible to provide all of them with agricultural land, along with an appeal for their co-operation with the State authorities and admonition not to shirk manual

work. Shri Tyagi, to boost his own morale, also made the astounding statement that "the State Governments were doing their utmost to reclaim 'land for agriculture,' presumably for settling the refugees. And all this after the Members of Parliament had reported the state of affairs as witnessed by them.

According to Shri Mahavir Tyagi, the number of refugees who have crossed over from East Pakistan since January is about 800,000 (and not 300,000 as mentioned in the AICC resolution on the communal situation), of whom only half have registered themselves as refugees while the rest are lingering on in West Bengal without any relief or rehabilitation assistance from the Government. One can well imagine the plight of those who do not get help. But what about those who are promised help and then betrayed? If this is the fate of those who have come, what fate awaited more than ten times their number, whom the Centre has solemnly promised to resettle?

Recent developments have completely destroyed the impression created earlier that the Centre was fully seized of the problem and determined this time to shoulder the responsibility of taking in the refugees instead of leaving them to shift for themselves or to be locked after, if at all, by West Bengal. Partition was not the creation of West Bengal. Why should the consequences fall on its weak shoulders?

The distress of the refugees and the pathetic incompetence of the administration in implementing programmes of relief and rehabilitation are old stories. There would not be any point in harping upon them but for the altogether new and heightened significance that they have assumed after the change of policy in regard to Indo-Pakistan relations in general and the problem of East Pakistan minorities in particular. If the East Pakistan minorities could be brought

over to India and re-settle somewhere, India would no longer have a whipping horse to beat periodically and create a law and order problem for India by fomenting a communal upsurge. This should now be the accepted theory if one were to take the pronouncements of the Government of India at their face value.

The resolution adopted at the recent AICC session, however, comes as an anticlimax to these earlier protestations of a change of policy. It does not confirm the mock heroic resolve to solve the problem of minorities in East Pakistan by bringing them over, if need be, or the commitment of the Government of India to rehabilitate them. Quite the contrary in fact, for the resolution goes on to recount all that the Congress has done since the days of Gandhiji to foster communal harmony and concludes on a note of hope that Pakistan will also see reason and be more conciliatory in the future, citing the recent—abortive inter-ministerial meeting in support of this very wishful thought. The resolution refuses to accept the problem as one of law and order, nor does it seek a political solution on any practical level.

There is enough evidence to show that the maintenance of communal peace and the so-called secular character of the State has now become a Central responsibility which can be discharged only through the Army in fact—and not merely in theory as in the case of refugee rehabilitation—and no longer through the police force of the State Governments. That the AICC should be aware of the new character of the problem, so much more menacing now than in the past, and yet refuse to face it and take shelter behind platitudinous inanities, is in keeping with the general character of the Congress Party today. The resolution accords well, however, with the official parleys with Sheikh Abdullah and the simultaneous reiteration that the accession of Kashmir is final and irrevocable.



Foreign Periodicals

Report on C.P.R.

Diplomat and educationist, soldier, and author, Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines, has been a figure of romance. The following editorial excerpt from the **Saturday Review** will help to present a clear picture of this maker of modern Philippines:

Two years ago, Carlos P. Romulo left his ambassadorial post in the United States to become president of the University of the Philippines at Manila. For almost a quarter-century his life and work had made a deep impress on the American mind. He was known as author, lecturer, aide-de-camp to General Douglas MacArthur during the Second World War, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, head of the Philippine Delegation to the United Nations, and Ambassador to the United States. It is probable that not since Lafayette had any representative from another nation been more highly regarded or acclaimed.

It is natural, therefore, that there should be a great deal of interest in Carlos Romulo's new career as university president. While in Manila, I had ample opportunity to visit the General and observe him in action. This piece is in the nature of a brief report.

His first few months as university president were not lacking in excitement or personal challenge. Some of the students seemed to feel that the Ambassador's identification with the United Nations and his persistent advocacy of a world-citizenship philosophy ran counter to the new spirit of Philippine nationalism. Or they assumed that the fact of his adherence to the Catholic Church would endanger the university's standing as a secular institution. Or they were apprehensive that his long service in the United States had given him such a conditioning that the university would be indistinguishable from an American campus in no time at all.

Even before he arrived on the campus, critical comment appeared in the student newspaper. And he had hardly hung up his hat in the President's office when trouble loomed in connection with the announced state visit to the Philippines of Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko of Japan. A delegation of students served notice that if the royal visitors came to the university they would be greeted by a demonstration protesting Japan's treatment of the Philippines during the war.

Characteristically, President Romulo responded to the attacks of the student newspaper by increasing the freedom and responsibility of the editors and reducing the role of the faculty adviser. To the students who warned they would demonstrate against the Japanese royal visitors, President Romulo said that this was entirely within their rights. He stressed that the right of protest was one he intended to uphold but stressed equally the need to equate freedom with responsibility. And he made it clear that the university was looking to tomorrow and not to the perpetuation of old grievances.

To the more general apprehensions and criticisms, the president's reply was to direct his main attentions to the central problems of the university. He embarked immediately on an eighteen-point program of development—raising academic standards, enlarging the scholarship program, strengthening the faculty, stepping up faculty salaries, refurbishing the university plant, instituting research programs in both the physical and social sciences, establishing a medical school, undertaking basic planning for an Institute of Communication that could serve as a research and training center in South-east Asia for mass media and related fields.

It is only a short time, relatively, since Carlos Romulo became a university president, but all the early troubles and criticisms

are far behind him. The students like their access to the chief and his readiness to discuss or debate with them. Meanwhile, substantial progress has been made on the eighteen-point program. Two boosts in faculty salaries have already been put through and more are scheduled. Academic standards have been raised and will go even higher. The library is being expanded. Land is being cleared for the major new buildings. Intellectual ferment is in style; visiting lecturers like Arnold Toynbee and Barbara Ward have challenged the students to relate the problems of the Philippines to the larger problems of the human community. The spirit of Philippine independence has been strengthened in official school activities and observances. At the same time, President Romulo has made the point that independence for the Philippines, or for any other nation, depends on interdependence in the world.

Carlos Romulo believes that the first obligation of his university is to the nation and its people, but he also recognizes that the school is uniquely situated to serve as common ground between East and West. The Philippine people have had a triple heritage—Asian, European, and American.

He regards this as a prime natural asset, enlarging the university's place in the educational community in general.

Several attempts have been made to entice Carlos P. Romulo back into public life, but he has successfully held his ground. His role is that of elder statesman and educator. He is consistently consulted on questions of foreign policy by President Diosdado Macapagal. And his influence as educator is being felt throughout a large part of Asia.

At sixty-four, Carlos Romulo has what he considers to be the most rewarding of all possible jobs. The government has warned him it has no intention of letting him return next year or for some years to come. Meanwhile, he maintains the kind of schedule that is exhausting just to contemplate. He is often at his desk by 7 A.M. for a day stint of twelve hours or more. It is possible the workload may be eased as his eighteen-point program comes to fruition. He welcomes this prospect, for it will give him time to do something he has hoped to do since he came to the university. In addition to his work as president he would like to give a course in American literature.



EDITOR—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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